This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

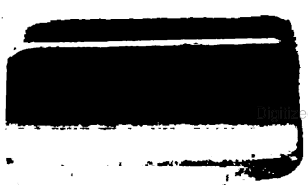
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

Digitized by Google

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
[redacted]

C. K. OGDEN COLLECTION



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

VOL. 199.

COMPRISING Nos. 397, 398,

PUBLISHED IN

JANUARY & APRIL, 1904.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1904. 8234
LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
DAVIS
Digitized by Google

LONDON
Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, Limited,
Stamford Street, S.E., and Great Windmill Street, W.

Digitized by Google

THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. 397.

PUBLISHED IN

JANUARY, 1904.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1904.

Digitized by Google

LONDON:
Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, Limited,
Stamford Street, S.E., and Great Windmill Street, W.

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

OF

Nos. 394, 395, AND 396.

No. 394.—APRIL, 1903.

ART.		PAGE
I.	Montesquieu in England	331
II.	Imperial Telegraphs	364
III.	Leprosy	384
IV.	Byzantium or Ravenna?	409
V.	John Gower, Poet	437
VI.	The Macedonian Maze	459
VII.	A Miltonian Romance	484
VIII.	Hellenism in the East	503
IX.	The Provincial Mind	522
X.	The Needs of Rural England	540
XI.	The Irish University Question	569
XII.	The Consular Service and its Wrongs	598
XIII.	London Education and the Act of 1902	627

No. 395.—JULY, 1903.

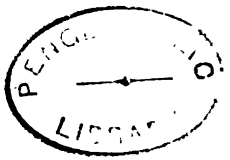
I.	The Sagas and Songs of the Gael	1
II.	The History of Mankind	28
III.	The Second Afghan War	56
IV.	The Improvement of British Forestry	81
V.	The Submarine	105
VI.	New Lights on the French Revolution	127
VII.	Asia in Transformation	155
VIII.	Siena	178
IX.	The Royal Academy and Reform	196
X.	The Survival of Personality	211
XI.	Religion and the Poor	230
XII.	Mr Chamberlain's Fiscal Policy	246
XIII.	Pope Leo XIII	279

No. 396.—OCTOBER, 1903.

I.	Sophocles and the Greek Genius	307
II.	The Religion of Napoleon I	336
III.	The Novels of Mr Henry James	358
IV.	Our Orchards and Fruit-gardens	380
V.	The 'Time-spirit' in German Literature	404
VI.	Pope Leo XIII and his Successor	430
VII.	The Reign of the Engineer	462
VIII.	Macedonia and the Powers	485
IX.	La France et les Congrégations	515
X.	Mr Morley's Life of Gladstone	545
XI.	The Cabinet and the War Office	580
XII.	Retaliation and Reciprocity	613

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google



CONTENTS

OF

No. 397.—JANUARY, 1904.

PAGE

ART. I.—THE NEW SOCIALISM - - - - - - - 1

1. Life and Labour of the People in London. By Charles Booth. Final volume. London: Macmillan, 1902.
2. History of Trade Unionism; Industrial Democracy (two vols); and Problems of Modern Industry. By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. London: Longmans, 1894–1898.

And other works.

ART. II.—THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH ARMY - - 32

1. A History of the British Army. By the Hon. J. W. Fortescue. Vols 1–3. London: Macmillan, 1899–1902.
2. Cromwell's Army: a History of the English Soldier during the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate. By C. H. Firth. London: Methuen, 1902.

And other works.

ART. III.—THE METRIC SYSTEM OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES 57

1. Opinions of H.M. Diplomatic and Consular Officers on British Trade Methods. (C. 9078 of 1898.)
2. Reports of the Standards Department of the Board of Trade.

And other works.

ART. IV.—THE ART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY - 80

Nineteenth Century Art. By D. S. MacColl. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1902.

ART. V.—MATTER AND ELECTRICITY - - - - - 100

1. Conduction of Electricity through Gases. By J. J. Thomson, F.R.S. Cambridge: University Press, 1903.
2. Les nouvelles substances radioactives, et les rayons qu'elles émettent. Par P. Curie et Mme Curie. Rapports présentés au Congrès International de Physique. Tome III, p. 79. Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1900.

And other works.

Digitized by Google

PAGE

ART. VI.—SOME TENDENCIES OF MODERN SPORT - - 127

1. Cricket. Edited by Horace G. Hutchinson. London: Newnes, 1903.
2. The Cricket of Abel, Hirst, and Shrewsbury. Edited by E. F. Benson and Eustace Miles. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1903.

And other works.

ART VII.—'QUE SÇAIS-JE?' - - - - - - - 153

1. The Essays of Montaigne. Translated by Charles Cotton. Edited by W. C. Hazlitt. Four volumes. London: Reeves and Turner, 1902.
2. The Journal of Montaigne's Travels. Translated and edited, with an introduction and notes, by W. G. Waters. Three volumes. London: Murray, 1903.

And other works.

ART. VIII.—POOLS, TRUSTS, AND INDUSTRIAL COMBINATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES - - - 183

1. The Trusts. By W. M. Collier. New York: Baker and Taylor Company, 1900.
2. The Other Side. By Lyman Horace Weeks. New York: National Publishing Company, 1900.

And other works.

ART. IX.—MR CREEVEY AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES - 216

The Creevey Papers. A selection from the Correspondence and Diaries of the late Thomas Creevey, M.P. Edited by the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart., M.P. Two vols. London: Murray, 1903.

And other works.

ART. X.—LATEST LIGHTS ON THE HOMERIC QUESTION - 245

The Iliad. Edited, with apparatus criticus, prolegomena, notes and appendices, by Walter Leaf, Litt.D. Second edition. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1900, 1902.

And other works.

ART. XI.—THE ABBÉ LOISY AND LIBERAL CATHOLICISM IN FRANCE - - - - - - - - - 268

1. L'Évangile et l'Église. By Alfred Loisy. Paris: Picard, 1902.
2. Autour d'un Petit Livre. By Alfred Loisy. Paris: Picard, 1903.

And other works.

ART. XII.—LORD SALISBURY AND 'THE QUARTERLY REVIEW' - - - - - - - - - 296

'The Quarterly Review,' 1860–1883.

Digitized by Google

THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. 397.—JANUARY, 1904.

Art. I.—THE NEW SOCIALISM.

1. *Life and Labour of the People in London.* By Charles Booth. Final volume. London: Macmillan, 1902.
2. *History of Trade Unionism; Industrial Democracy* (two vols); and *Problems of Modern Industry.* By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. London: Longmans, 1894–1898.
3. *Aristocracy and Evolution.* By W. H. Mallock. London: A. and C. Black, 1898.
4. *The Science of Civilisation.* By C. B. Phipson. London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1900.
5. *The Heart of the Empire.* Essays by several writers. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1901.
6. *Democracy versus Socialism.* By Max Hirsch. London: Macmillan, 1901.
7. *The Strength of the People.* By Helen Bosanquet. London: Macmillan, 1902.
8. *Psychologie du Socialisme.* By Gustave Le Bon. Paris, 1902.
9. *The Social Unrest.* By John Graham Brooks. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903.

And other works.

In one of the works which now lie before us, the writer asserts that, although the programme of socialism has failed to realise itself in that particular way which its apostles regarded as imminent some twenty years ago, yet none the less the adherents of socialism, as a creed, are to-day more numerous than they ever have been before. In a sense this assertion may very possibly be true; but if it is true at all, it is true for a certain reason which the writer himself did not take the trouble to emphasise, although even he was far from blind to its

Digitized by Google

character. The reason we refer to is this. The growth of theoretical socialism, or sympathy with socialistic ideals, is far less due to the fact that socialism has been converting the world, than it is to the fact that the world has been modifying socialism. It is well known how the theology of the early Church was gradually modified by the delay of the second Advent; and the party that expected, about the middle of the nineteenth century, that the existing social order would be violently overthrown in a year or two, and an international society of artisans would inaugurate a social millennium, has, by the mere fact of the complete falsification of its hopes, been finally made to realise that there was some error in its original principles. The lever which was to move the world in a year or two, or perhaps in a moment, has continued for half a century to break or bend in its hands. Deferred hope, however, has done very much more for the socialists than merely teach them, by disappointment, the folly of needless impatience. It has given them time to think, and, not without searchings of spirit, to bring their original theories into closer accordance with realities. We propose to make a short general survey of the change which has, during the past quarter of a century, come over the workers and thinkers who call themselves, or are called, socialistic.

The reason, say the modern socialists, why their predecessors failed, was this. They failed to see how existing evils could be remedied, because they had failed to see, by any scientific analysis, in what precise conditions existing evils originated. The first socialistic thinker who addressed himself to this task, and gave to socialism a true scientific basis, was, they say, Karl Marx. This writer is known to the world, and acquired his position in the ranks of the socialistic party, mainly through his treatise on capital, published about the middle of the nineteenth century. The part of this work which his admirers most eagerly welcomed, and which formed for many years their chief argumentative weapon, was the theory of surplus value.

Owing, said Marx, to a series of historical causes, the great mass of the population, first in our own country, and then throughout Europe and America, became dispossessed both of the means and materials of labour,

Digitized by Google

without which they were unable to produce anything; and these were gradually concentrated in the hands of a small class. The people at last, in fact, became like a body of mill-hands, who must either be given employment in a particular mill or starve; and the possessing class, as a whole, became like the owner of such a mill, who, practically holding the keys of life and death, is able to impose on the hands almost any terms he pleases as the price of admission to his premises and to the privilege of using his machinery. And this price which the owner under these circumstances exacted—such was the contention of Marx—inevitably will come to this. The entire value of the goods produced in the mill being due to the labour-hours which the hands spend in producing them, the owner will claim and seize the whole of these goods and values except what is absolutely necessary to keep the hands alive. Capital, in other words, as the modern world knows it, is, according to Marx, merely another name for a monopoly, acquired by the few, of the instruments and materials of labour. Since its possession gives them the keys of the great national factory, and since the hands, who form the mass of their countrymen, can only enter it by their leave, it enables them to appropriate all that the hands produce, and to give them back only the bare means of subsistence. Thus all capital, all profits, and all interest on capital, are fundamentally neither more nor less than this—an abstraction from labour of commodities, or the exchange value of commodities, which are produced by manual labour and by manual labour alone.

Such, said Marx, when reduced to its simplest terms, is the essence, and ultimately the outcome, of the modern economic system. It had not, however, he continued, attained, at the time when he wrote, to its complete development, as above sketched by himself, even in England, the country in which it took its rise; but there and elsewhere the consummation was rapidly approaching; and it seemed to Marx, half a century ago, that the final stage would be reached in the course of a few years. What was actually taking place, he said, at that time was as follows. Throughout the western world generally, by the middle of the nineteenth century, most of the small producers, who worked with their own

Digitized by Google

implements, had been swallowed up by a limited but an increasing number of capitalists, who had reduced the formerly independent labourers to bondage. A certain remnant, however, of the old class still survived, and together with them a considerable middle class also. But, he continued, in all capitalistic countries a new movement, inevitable from the first, had by this time set in, and its pace was daily accelerating. Just as the earlier capitalists had swallowed up the small producers, so were the greater capitalists now swallowing up the smaller. The poor, he said, are getting poorer; the rich are getting richer; the middle class is being crushed out; and the time, he said, was already in sight, in all capitalistic countries, when nothing would be left but a handful of millionaires on one side, and a whole nation of half-starved wage-earners on the other. And then, he concluded, in a prophecy which was for a long time the watchword of socialism, when that hour arrives the knell of capitalism has sounded. The nations, unable to endure the economic situation any longer, turn on this handful of men who have absorbed their whole possessions and forcibly resume their own. 'The expropriators are in their turn expropriated.'

It is difficult to imagine a work more adapted to form a gospel of revolution than this treatise of Karl Marx on capital. The severity of its style, its parade of scientific formulas, many of which were presented in the guise of algebraic equations, its elaborate statistics, and, we must add also, an element of original and partially sound reasoning, inspired the socialistic world with a confidence, previously wanting to them, that they had not only numbers and sentiment but science also on their side; whilst its principal argument, in spite of its seeming abstruseness, was reducible to a form so simple, so crude, and so startling that a mob could understand it in a moment, could sum it up in a shout, and repeat it in all its integrity in the workshop, or to their wives at home. This is the argument that ordinary manual labour, measured by time, is the sole producer of value; that 'all wealth,' as it was put, 'is due to labour, and therefore to the labourer all wealth is due'; and that the wealth of all classes whatever, which do not consist of manual labourers, is robbery.

Digitized by Google

Of this work, for most of those who accepted it, the first hostile critic that made any impression was time. Marx's prophecies of the future, which were inseparable from his analysis of the present, persistently failed, as time went on, to fulfil themselves. Capitalists, instead of becoming fewer, continued to increase and multiply; and although the growth of trusts has, during the past few years, encouraged some to think that in this respect Marx was right after all, socialists themselves now see that this growth has so many limitations that it cannot constitute ultimately a fulfilment of the Marxian scripture; whilst his prophecy that the poor would get poorer, and the middle class be crushed out, has been contradicted by events in a manner so general and so absolute that, though the followers of Marx for years endeavoured to ignore the fact, and though some of the more ignorant of them vociferate the old fallacy still, the more educated socialists of to-day, with greater or less candour, admit the error of Marx in this respect to be complete and glaring. A more careful study of his writings has, moreover, further discredited him by showing that even with regard to his own times his account of things was grossly inaccurate.

But the kind of discredit due to such causes as these, which gradually clouded the earlier reputation of Marx, was a vague discredit only, and would hardly have diminished his influence if it had not prefaced a criticism, not of his history and his prophecies, but of his central theory of the nature of wealth and value, which he used his history to illustrate, and out of which his prophecies arose. The first fact as to this, which serious critics fixed upon, was the fact that it does not correspond with even the surface realities of things. The fundamental assumption with which he set out was wrong. Commodities do not, under existing conditions, exchange, as he said they did, in proportion to the labour embodied in them. The labour embodied in them is an element of their exchange value, but it is one element only. Let us take on the one hand a million cotton shirts, and take on the other a million pounds of tobacco; and assume that the two aggregates represent the same amount of labour. It by no means follows that the latter can be bartered for the whole of the former—that each pound

Digitized by Google

of tobacco will exchange for a corresponding shirt. The desire of men for shirts is more general than their desire for tobacco; and if of the men who have made the million shirts only half of them desire tobacco at all, whilst all the tobacco-makers require the useful garment in question, the latter for each shirt must give two pounds of tobacco instead of one, or otherwise half their stock will be left unexchanged for anything, and will consequently possess no value whatever. Marx, in fact, had entirely failed to perceive that the exchange value of commodities is, and must always be, determined, not alone by the labour which is necessarily spent in producing them, but by the judgment with which labour, alike as to kind and quantity, is directed to the production of commodities which the public desire to possess.

Now this direction does not come by chance. It must necessarily emanate from some centre of human sagacity. Here at once we come to an element other than labour—an element, moreover, not measured by time—which is no less essential than labour to the production of exchange values. And from this element we are led on to a third, which, indeed, includes it, and exhibits it under a wider aspect. This is the quality of labour—or, as we may call it, industrial effort—in sharp contradistinction to its quantity measured by labour hours, or even to its intensity measured by expenditure of muscular tissue. The fact that industrial effort is not all of one quality was, indeed, dimly perceived by Marx and by his disciples themselves; and with one class of effort, separated by its quality from ordinary manual labour—though with one class alone—they certainly did deal, and flattered themselves that they had made short work of it. This class of effort was invention; and they dealt with it in two ways. In the first place, they contended that exceptional effort of this kind was really nothing more than average labour multiplied by the number of hours consumed in the inventor's intellectual training. But there was a second argument in which the Marxians laid much more stress than on this. They contended that invention, although it increased the production of commodities, only increased their numbers—or, as they called it, the values in use—but did not increase the aggregate of exchange values at all. Thus, if under conditions of

Digitized by Google

production which prevail this year, a shirt and a pair of boots take the same time to make, their exchange values will be equal. One pair of boots will exchange for one shirt; or to express the matter in money, each will be worth ten shillings. And now, said the Marxians, let us suppose that a machine is invented that enables two pairs of boots to be produced as quickly as one was formerly. In this case, though there are two pairs of boots instead of one, the two will nevertheless be worth only one shirt still. Each pair will be worth five shillings instead of ten. The machines will have added nothing to the exchange value of the bootmaker's total output. And if we keep ourselves to this single example, the argument of the Marxians is correct; but it is not really an example of what takes place. To make it so, we must suppose that invention increases production generally—that it increases the production of shirts just as it does that of boots, and that it increases in the same ratio the production of shillings also. In this case one pair of boots will still buy one shirt, and each will, moreover, be worth ten shillings as formerly; but the change will be that there are more boots and shirts, and that each producer has a double amount of shillings. This simple truth the Marxians utterly failed to see. By an extraordinary mental blunder they confused the fact that invention does not increase the value of individual commodities or of coins, with the fact that it does multiply the number of commodities and the number of coins that purchase them; and it is precisely in this multiplication that the growth of wealth consists. In proportion as invention is applied to the multiplication of commodities generally, it increases values in exchange, as it does values in use. As the number of boots produced in a given time multiplies, they command in exchange a correspondingly increased number of other commodities which are multiplied in a similar way, and mean for those who own them a multiplied amount of money. Invention, therefore, which increases production does precisely what Marx said it did not do. It increases values without any definite relation to the amount of ordinary labour, measured by time, which is embodied in them. It multiplies ordinary labour by indefinitely varying numerals, with which ordinary labour, as such, has nothing at all to do.

Digitized by Google

This fact all the more thoughtful socialists during the past twenty years have been gradually coming to realise. They have come to realise also other facts equally vital. They have come to realise that invention is a comparatively rare faculty—that it is a natural monopoly confined to a comparatively small class; and they have come to realise further that it is not alone in this respect, but is merely one amongst a group of other exceptional powers, which play a similar part in increasing the production of wealth, and maintaining it. These are business energy, a genius for managing men, and for dealing with complicated detail, and quickness and perspicacity in discovering what commodities the public needs. All this is admitted by our educated socialists to-day, as fully as it was denied by their predecessors or themselves twenty years ago. In other words, they have learnt that the nature of productive process is a very much more complicated thing than Marx and his followers perceived; and that the crude doctrines which represented economic society as undifferentiated labourers who produced all wealth on the one hand, and a group of capitalists on the other who economically did nothing but appropriate it, is now discarded as bearing the same relation to fact as the doctrine which represented the universe as made out of fire and water.

The practical result of their acquisition of this sounder knowledge has been as follows. Seeing that the existing régime is so much more complicated than they thought it was, they have come to realise that it cannot be transformed by a sudden and violent revolution, as the followers of Marx had imagined, and that any successful change must be very cautious and gradual; and they have most of them come to admit that even in its most successful developments the change can never be as complete as they once had ventured to hope. Theoretically it may be possible to socialise all the means of production, but it can never be possible to socialise the capacities of exceptional men; and, since it is now admitted that these, under any régime of socialism, would be as necessary to the productive process as they are at the present moment, the socialists of to-day perceive that the ideal socialistic state, whatever inequalities might be eliminated from it, would so far resemble society as it now is that it would be controlled by a hierarchy of men whose economic

Digitized by Google

positions were exceptional, in point of importance and power, and most probably of income also.

In this way socialism is coming in England, just as it is said to be coming in Germany also, to be practically indistinguishable from some peculiar species of radicalism. We say, as the reader will observe, that it is coming to be this practically, or, in other words, as regards its immediate policy; but in respect of its theory, or its conception of the ultimate condition of things, towards which, by its policy, it hopes to direct society, it continues to differ from radicalism in a very specific way. Whilst the ideal of radicalism is to protect individual enterprise, except where it can be shown to be definitely injurious to the community, the socialistic ideal is, with the same limitation, to extinguish it. The value or significance of this theoretical difference of opinion we will discuss presently; but first, with the aid of certain of the volumes before us, we will illustrate and justify the account which we have just given of the gradual change of character exhibited by the socialistic movement.

So far as socialism itself is concerned, the most interesting of these volumes are 'The Social Unrest,' by an American writer, Mr Brooks; and 'Problems of Modern Industry,' by Mr and Mrs Sidney Webb. Of English socialistic writers, we may say without hesitation that Mr Sidney Webb—to combine both authors under one name—is by far the most distinguished. He has many of the qualities of an acute and practical reasoner. He realises, as he says in his preface to his book on 'Industrial Democracy,' that socialism, like all other sciences, 'can advance only by a precise observation of actual facts'; and in this volume, and also in his 'History of Trade Unionism,' he has shown both the industry and the aptitude proper to a conscientious historian. He is, moreover, in his capacity of speculative economist, fully alive to the extreme complexity of the problems with which socialism has to deal; nor can any one speak with a fuller knowledge than he of the trend of socialistic thought and the moral of socialistic experience. In his 'Problems of Modern Industry,' Mr Webb writes:—

'Modern Socialism is not a faith in an artificial Utopia, but a rapidly spreading conviction, as yet only partly conscious of itself, that social health, and consequently human

Digitized by Google

happiness, is something apart from and above the separate interests of individuals, requiring to be consciously pursued as an end in itself; that the lesson of evolution in social development is the substitution of consciously regulated co-ordination among the units of each organism for their internecine competition; that the production and distribution of wealth, like any other public function, cannot safely be entrusted to the unfettered freedom of individuals, but needs to be organised and controlled for the benefit of the whole community; that this can imperfectly be done by means of legislative restriction and taxation, but is eventually more advantageously accomplished through the collective enterprise of the appropriate administrative unit in each case; and that the best government is accordingly that which can safely and successfully administer most' (p. 232).

Socialism, in short, as he elsewhere repeats emphatically, is not an attempt to produce in a few years 'a new social order from which all contemporary evils are eliminated,' such as that described by Bellamy—whose book, 'Looking Backward,' he very properly ridicules—but is 'a principle of social organisation,' which socialists desire to realise to the utmost extent possible, but which may never be capable of being realised more than partially, and to which we can only approximate by the slow and prosaic process of modifying existing arrangements as they show themselves severally in succession to be ripe for the desired modification. At present, according to Mr Webb, the most important modifications which the adherents of the socialistic principle can profitably endeavour to secure are certain modifications of taxation, increased supervision of factories, the extension of municipal enterprise, the advancement of popular education, and—most important of all—the extension of trade-unionism to the class of 'sweated' workers, and the industrial residuum generally, the amelioration of whose condition is, in Mr Webb's opinion, of all social problems at the present time the most urgent.

Let us next turn to the work of Mr J. Graham Brooks. Mr Brooks forbears to call himself a socialist, but for this reason only, that although, like Mr Webb, he believes in the socialistic principle, he believes that it can never be capable of more than a partial application. It enlists his sympathies, however, as warmly as it enlists

Digitized by Google

Mr Webb's; and, since Mr Webb likewise holds the opinion that the application of the socialistic principle can probably never be complete, the two writers practically belong to the same school. Mr Brooks's volume, like Mr Webb's, contains a survey of socialism as it exists at the present day—a survey in which it is contrasted with the socialism of former times. The field of Mr Brooks's observation is more extensive than Mr Webb's, for he deals not only with America, but also with Great Britain, with New Zealand, with France, Germany, and Belgium. In all these he has watched the socialistic leaven at work; and with regard to all he confirms our own account of the situation, which has just now been illustrated by our quotation from Mr Webb. The old Marxian idea that ordinary manual labour was the sole source of wealth, that the present system was merely a system of monopoly, and that all the possessions of those who were not manual labourers were crude abstractions from an aggregate which manual labour had produced, has everywhere, he says, given way to a more accurate conception of facts.

Socialists now perceive that industrial effort is not all of one quality, and that workers, man for man, are not equally productive. In other words, they understand that the 'organiser, the director, the inventor,' may in many cases *produce* an amount of wealth out of all proportion to that produced by the average labourer, and the old idea that all large incomes are robbery is now confined generally to incomes of a special kind, namely, those which result from the passive ownership of capital. Moreover, says Mr Brooks, even the notion, once so prevalent, that great enterprises would, according to the prediction of Marx, swallow up all the small ones and reduce the mass of the population to slavery on starvation wages, has now throughout America been finally discredited by events. During the last few decades wages have continued to rise, and the most, with regard to their amount, that objectors can now say is, that they have not risen proportionately to the incomes of the rich; whilst as to small enterprises, the most memorable fact is this—their continuous multiplication, and 'the tenacity with which they retain their hold,' thus 'making it clear that an enormous part of profit-making service is here to

Digitized by Google

stay for such an indefinite future that all opinion about their duration has as much value as the most fanciful guessing about the unknown.' And he elsewhere gives a very interesting account of the consternation produced in the hearts of certain German socialists when, by means of undoubted statistics, they first learnt that precisely similar phenomena—phenomena completely stultifying the economic predictions of Marx—were exhibited by Germany likewise. Everywhere else, he says, the same change is discerned. The ideas and the policy of socialists are being met and modified by an experience which has shattered the formal doctrines on which they originally rested. 'The socialist with a formula,' says Mr Brooks, 'will neither get nor deserve very serious attention in the future.' Instead of making war on the existing constitution of society, the new socialism seeks to modify it by an 'appropriate yielding' to circumstances.

The examples which Mr Brooks gives us of the practical application of its principles which the new socialism has accomplished fall under three heads—municipal or state enterprise, municipal care of the poor, and co-operative enterprise organised with a consciously socialistic intention. The first, he says, is exemplified most completely in New Zealand.

'Here the State invades one by one the fields where private enterprise has been supreme. Not only are railroad, telegraph, and street-car under community ownership, but also a very different order of undertakings, state banking, life insurance, loan funds for farmers, worked through the agency of the post-office . . . sugar-mills, cold-storage, irrigation, exportation of products.'

All this however, though it naturally, in proportion to its success, narrows the field open to the enterprise of the private capitalist, attacks him only by the simple process of competing with him. It leaves him otherwise in the position which he previously occupied.

Of the second form of applied socialism, namely, the municipal care of the poor, Mr Brooks finds the most advanced example in France. In France, he says, as everywhere else, socialism has at last learned 'that co-operation with other social agencies is a necessity'; but the municipal care of the poor, though it does not com-

Digitized by Google

prise the whole, forms by far the most important part of what French socialism has thus far undertaken. It amounts to an 'attempt,' he says, 'to cast out the whole charity tradition,' and supplant it by giving the necessitous such help as they require, not as a gift, but as the discharge of a state liability. In one town the socialists boast that they are spending on poor relief three times, in another town ten times, as much as was formerly spent by the *bourgeoisie*. They have supplied the poor with free medical attendance, raised the pensions of 'socialist soldiers,' delivered free bread at the doors of the needy, paid the car fares of certain city officials; but, says Mr Brooks, they have for the most part done their work so clumsily that it amounts to nothing more 'than a loose and promiscuous form of out-door relief'; and in many localities the community has risen against the socialists and dislodged them. As to municipal trading, France gives us certain examples of it. Here is a municipal drug store, there a municipal bakery; and there is in Grenoble a large municipal restaurant, though in all such respects as these France is far behind England and Germany. Socialistic Germany to-day, says Mr Brooks, presents an extraordinary contrast to socialistic Germany as he knew it some ten or twelve years ago. Socialists, who then would have nothing at all to do with any economic arrangements conducted on existing lines, fraternise to-day with individualists in schemes of municipal enterprise, and realise a fraction of their programme by provisionally abandoning the rest.

But if we want to see socialism realised in the fullest degree to which it has thus far succeeded in attaining in any country, we must, says Mr Brooks, turn to Belgium, where we find flourishing businesses being run by independent socialists on professedly socialistic principles. The first of these businesses was founded more than twenty years ago. It consists of a bakery at Ghent. Its founder was a workman of strong and practical character. He manages it still, and it still continues to flourish. It sells bread to a body of six thousand socialists, who appear to be affiliated to it by some species of membership; and a part of the profits has been given back to the members in the shape of a large club-house, which is called 'The House of the People.' Brussels has followed

Digitized by Google

Ghent in the establishment of similar bakeries. The prices charged for bread are those which prevail elsewhere; but the portion of the price which would elsewhere represent profit and the various remunerations of middlemen, is here credited to the purchasers, who are, as in the case at Ghent, affiliated to the store by membership. The members include the heads of eighteen thousand families. Of the amount credited to the purchasers, about four fifths were returned to them, and the rest was applied to extinguish the debt on a club-house, with which, as in Ghent, the profits of the bakeries had provided them, and also to expenses connected with the propaganda of the party. Besides these bakeries there has also sprung up in Belgium a multitude of analogous enterprises, which, according to Mr Brooks, are by this time nearly fourteen hundred in number, and include credit associations, drug stores, grocery stores, boot factories, agricultural businesses, and a brewery.

To these examples—the best that Mr Brooks can adduce—of the new socialism in practice we shall recur later; but, before quitting them for the moment, the following observations must be made. In the first place, some of them are not co-operative at all in any sense that connects them with the socialist scheme, but are communities of ordinary producers, established in order to facilitate the sale of their products; and in the second place, as Mr Brooks tells us, most of them are distributive businesses, and comparatively few productive. Their main function is to provide for the poorer classes the necessaries of life without the intervention of middlemen. But the principal point to be noticed here concerning them is, that these enterprises—the most successful approximations to applied socialism yet made—have been put into operation in accordance with the conditions of existing society, and in a large number of ways, as we shall see more fully hereafter, have adopted its most distinctive methods.

Having seen how socialism is adapting itself to existing conditions, we may next examine another process, which is the correlative of this, and see how existing society is adapting itself to the methods of socialism. On the one hand, socialism has gradually grown more reasonable; it has learnt that the economic conditions which

Digitized by Google

generally prevail to-day are not due to the invention or the wickedness of any particular class, but result from causes whose roots are deep in the soil of history; that consequently their change must be no less gradual than their rise; and that while some of them are being superseded or modified, most of them for the time must be acquiesced in. On the other hand, there has arisen in all capitalistic countries a body of men who, while sympathising with socialistic philanthropy, were formerly alienated by its programme, but who now, so far as immediate action is concerned, are able to meet it on a common ground of agreement.

Prominent among such men, and seemingly nearest to socialism, are those reformers, still a numerous class, who maintain that the remedy for all social evils is to be found in the socialisation of the soil, and whatever may be valuable under it, all other property rights being guarded with the utmost jealousy. Such thinkers, like Mr George, are, except with regard to this one question of the land, generally sober Liberals of the old economic school, and regard any tampering with capital, profits, and competition as tantamount to social suicide.

We have before us two recent volumes in which this principle is advocated afresh, the one being 'Democracy *versus* Socialism,' by Mr Max Hirsch, the other 'The Science of Civilisation,' by Mr Cecil Balfour Phipson. Of neither of them is it necessary to say much. Mr Hirsch, who is an Australian, practically does little more than repeat Mr George in a style which is incomparably saner than Mr George's, and at the same time less forcible; whilst Mr Phipson transforms the scheme for actually nationalising the land into a scheme for a nationalised right, inhering in every citizen who desires to cultivate land, to rent on lease what he requires from any private owner, the rent representing the value of the land at the moment of taking it, whilst any future increment shall become the property of the tenant. Then, again, there are still a number of enthusiasts whose scheme for social salvation consists in the division of the land amongst a number of small freeholders, and whose creed is summarised in their motto, 'the land for the people.' None of these sections, and least of all the last, represents any real approximation to the temper, the theory, or even the practical

Digitized by Google

policy of socialism. In the theory that land should be nationalised, socialists recognise a partial truth; but, taken by itself, they maintain that, instead of advancing socialism, it would merely widen the basis of the present competitive system; whilst as for the establishment of innumerable small land-owners, this would mean merely a widening of the basis of private property.

The class of social reformers who, without being socialists, are nevertheless for the time in practically sympathetic alliance with them, we shall find in a body of thinkers, writers, and workers who have no such notions as those we have just described, and are not, indeed, the apostles of any distinctive formula. They are merely men and women who perceive and feel, as keenly as any socialist, the extent and depth of the suffering which progress leaves untouched, and which, as populations increase, though it may relatively become less, becomes absolutely greater, and is, moreover, so massed together in our great modern towns that it appeals now, as it never did before, to the sympathies of the philanthropist, and also to the apprehensions of the statesman.

This class of reformers, in spite of very serious differences, are at one with the socialists in respect of the main items of the immediate socialistic programme. Without questioning the right of the rich to their riches, they nevertheless feel, though they may not deliberately state it, that riches deserve some penalty in order to atone for their existence; and that, not only on political, but also on moral grounds, the rich should be made to bear as much of the burden of taxation as, with any show of justice, it is possible to put on their shoulders. Again, without denouncing the great employers as a class, they desire that the condition of the employed, to the utmost extent possible, should be regulated by the State in the interest of those employed. They are generally favourable also to the development of municipal enterprise, though without any desire, without any hope or fear, that it ever may occupy the entire field of production. Further, they are at one with the socialists with regard to the question of education. Their ideal is a system under which the boy who begins with the board-school may, with the requisite aptitudes, end as a university graduate; and, finally, they are at one with the socialists with regard to

Digitized by Google

the most immediate need of protecting and raising, partly by means of trade-unions, partly by improved dwellings, the condition of the lowest and most helpless stratum of workers. Amongst reformers of this class there no doubt are, as we have said, a number of minor, though by no means unimportant differences. Some of them are wild in their enthusiasm, some are eminently sober; but whilst all of them aim at social, as distinguished from socialistic reform, their sympathies are those which animate the best among the socialists, and in respect of their immediate programme the two parties work together.

It does not fall within the scope of the present article to deal at length with the labours of Mr Charles Booth, whose enquiries into the condition of the London poor are unique in the annals of economics and social investigation; but the general conclusions summarised in his latest volume deserve to be mentioned here. Mr Booth refrains from putting forward any general programme or doctrine of reform on his own account. He sees that the problems which demand solution are far too various and complex to admit of being solved by any formula, socialistic or other. He has, however, arrived at two conclusions, at all events, which may be profitably alluded to in connexion with the subject treated in this paper. One of these is that improved social conditions must be reached, not through the conflict, but through the co-operation of classes—through a constant and nice readjustment of things as they are, not through any fantastic attempt to create a new world. The other conclusion is that, through this process of readjustment, the worst of the economic evils incident to modern life are, on the whole, being steadily, even if slowly, lessened. This last volume of Mr Booth's is one of singular interest, and forms a most valuable key to the whole of his monumental work—a work which, while it justifies many of the darkest touches that socialists are accustomed to introduce into their picture of society, shows that the picture, as a whole, is merely a crude caricature possessing, except in a few features, no resemblance to the original, and worthless for any serious purpose.

We have before us two interesting volumes in which the trend, the aim, and the sympathies of this class of reformers are represented, namely, 'The Heart of the

Digitized by Google

Empire,' consisting of essays by various writers, and 'The Strength of the People,' by Mrs Bosanquet. The writers of the former are men of scholarly culture, some of whom have studied the evils they desire to remedy as residents in university settlements; and, though we think that in dealing with the urban poor they occasionally give their pictures too dark a colouring by imputing their own standards of happiness to others who do not possess them, they have every desire to be just, and, in a general way, they are so. The specific evils from which the very poor suffer are, they say, firstly, their poverty, which arises from various causes, such as an actual inferiority in the members of the residuum themselves, the reckless manner in which they aim at underselling one another in the labour market, and the absence of any trade organisation; secondly, the insufficiency of the manner in which they are housed, the squalor, the overcrowding, and the high rents which competition produces; thirdly, the prevalence of intemperance, which at once consumes money and destroys the capacity for earning it; and lastly, the bad effects on moral and physical health of a constant confinement of life to an unlovely and over-populated neighbourhood.

The essays deal with these various evils in detail, and describe the means and agencies which are actually being applied, or may be applicable, to the purpose of reducing or lessening them. So far as the character of the people themselves is concerned, the writers hold that the various religious bodies, Roman, Nonconformist, and Anglican, are, potentially at all events, the most efficacious forces existing for raising the submerged masses from their prevalent degradation or apathy. It would be foreign to our purpose to discuss this question here. Indeed, so far as these writers rely on any definite religious agency, they probably differ completely from the great majority of the socialists. But, inasmuch as they would associate religion with an education in social duties, and use religion as an aid to social reform, they are practically at one with the socialists in their more immediate purposes; whilst, with regard to the housing question, to temperance reforms, and an amelioration of life in the poorer quarters generally, their method of approaching these questions hardly differs from that which is for the moment adopted by the modified socialism of to-day.

Digitized by Google

Of Mrs Bosanquet's 'Strength of the People' much the same may be said, except for the fact that her faith in individualism as the basis of society makes the ultimate theoretical difference between socialists and other reformers somewhat clearer than does the volume we have just been discussing. So far, however, as the problems of the moment are concerned, the social evils on which she fixes her attention, and even the methods which she suggests for their reform, place her on a platform along with writers like Mr and Mrs Webb, from whom, except perhaps with regard to questions of arguable detail, she is hardly to be distinguished.

This practical *rapprochement* between socialists and other reformers might no doubt have been illustrated in a more sensational way by quotations from numerous volumes by more emotional and less weighty writers. But those we have just dealt with offer far more valuable evidence. Their authors, though as ardent for reform as the maddest or most ignorant enthusiast, meet the socialists of to-day not in any cloudland of pities, indignations, and hopes, but on the sober and solid ground of reason and practical sympathy. Socialism, in a word, has become more reasonable, and economic conservatism has become wider; and this change has, indeed, become so marked that the optimists of conservatism might well be tempted to argue that socialism, whatever its importance, has been almost completely absorbed in that broader stream of liberalism which, whether Tory or Whig politically, has its basis in economic conservatism. This is, however, far from being the case; and, in order to see why, we must return to an aspect of the question to which we have already referred, and deal with the underlying differences in economic aspiration and theory by which socialists are still divided from those who are provisionally their allies. Mr Webb, as we have seen, is very earnest in insisting that socialism represents a principle, an economic counsel of perfection, not any cut and dried programme by means of which this principle may be realised. If, however, we attentively consider this principle as it emerges from that process of destructive criticism which the new socialists have applied to the crude theorising of their predecessors, we shall find that, though they have discarded many of the doctrines

Digitized by Google

of Marx, though they perceive that capital is very much more than the products of labour monopolised, that ordinary labour is by no means the only productive factor, and that in his estimate of the existing situation Marx was wholly mistaken, they still cling as firmly as did Marx himself to one Marxian doctrine, though they justify it on altered grounds. This doctrine is that the economic condition to be aimed at, the economic condition which will produce the maximum of general welfare, is a condition of things under which all the means of production, land included, will be owned by the centralised State, though probably, for administrative purposes, the powers and rights of the State will be exercised by local bodies.

Now what is the precise meaning of this general doctrine? It is one which, by a careless enquirer, is very likely to be misunderstood, and it is, according to Mr Sidney Webb, still misunderstood largely by many of the socialists themselves We have seen that the socialists as a body altogether reject Mr George's scheme for nationalisation of the land, though an ultimate nationalisation of the land is included in their own programme. Their own programme can be explained by their reasons for this rejection. In the first place they realise as fully as the most inveterate conservative that Mr George indefinitely overestimated the proportion which the rent of the land bears to the total income of any progressive country; but they realise something also that is more important still. They realise that, even if the difficulties —of which Mr George had no conception—incident to the transfer of the land from the existing owners to the State were got over, the result of Mr George's programme would be merely to populate the country with a vast body of land-holders, who would differ from landlords only in the fact that, instead of enjoying the freehold, they would feu their properties from the State, paying for them a certain quit-rent, much in the same fashion that is prevalent in Scotland now. Each of the new holders would still be a competing individualist; and his individualism, instead of being diminished, might very probably be intensified. In fact, the socialists hold that the realisation of Mr George's programme would be just as inimical to socialism as the multiplication of peasant proprietors. The socialist theory is, so far as the land is concerned,

Digitized by Google

that not only should no private landlord receive rent for its use, but that not even those who cultivate it should have any special interest in any of the special areas to which severally their labour is applied. Every agricultural worker would be the salaried farm-labourer of the State, or the local corporate body which represented the State in his district; and, excepting for local associations, it would be a matter to him of total indifference whether the fields which he tilled were situated in Cornwall or Caithness. The State would pool the whole agricultural wage-fund, and would pay the ploughman or the reaper, to use an illustration of Mr Webb's, just as a railway company actually pays its engine-drivers. A minimum of efficiency being assumed, all ploughmen would have equal wages, estimated according to their needs, and not according to the amount of produce actually extracted by them from the varying soils they work upon, just as the engine-driver receives the same wages from the company whether the train which his engine pulls be full or empty.

As in theory the socialists would deal with the land, so would they deal in theory with all the means of production—with raw materials, machinery, and all the means of transport. Every steam-engine, every railway, every vessel, with the exception of pleasure-boats, would be as much the property of the State as the Post-office is now. Houses, clothes, furniture, implements of private amusement, or stores of consumable goods, would be private property still; but what would not be private property would be any implement, or indeed any possession, by means of which anybody could produce goods for sale, or for the use or enjoyment of which he would be able to extract payment. Thus, to take an example adduced by a recent socialist, a man would be allowed to possess a very beautiful picture, but he would not be allowed to make an income by charging for permission to look at it. In a word, private life and enjoyment, private incomes or wages, would be private and individual, just as they are now; but all work would be done in the workshops of the state company, and all goods would be bought at the state company's shops.

Next comes the question of how the business of this company would be managed. It would be managed exactly as business is managed now, except that the

Digitized by Google

proceeds would be taken by a single board of directors, who would, like a railway company, pay the nation its wages; the only difference being this, that the portion which is now called profits would be included in the wage-fund, and distributed as a kind of bonus. How far the wages thus distributed would be equal is another question altogether, and it is one as to which modern socialists commit themselves to no definite statement. An absolute equality, however, such as was once dreamed of, forms no part of their programme, and is, indeed, inconsistent with their theories; for the modern socialists profess to recognise, as clearly as their opponents, that the capacities necessary for success in production would be as various in degree, no less than in kind, as they are under the existing régime. Business capacity, energy, the genius for managing men, genius of all kinds—artistic, scientific, and inventive—all these would be required by the socialistic State, and would not only be universally greater in point of economic efficiency, man for man, than the work of the average labourer, but would for their development require exceptional circumstances. Under socialism then, no less than at present, wages or salaries would be apportioned in a certain graduated scale. But there is another point to be noticed still more important than this. The success of the socialistic scheme would, as Mr Webb admits, depend on the exceptional men being elevated to their appropriate places—on the management of the national businesses being entrusted to the most competent. In other words, the employés of the state company—that is to say, the great mass of the nation—would be under the autocratic direction of a hierarchy of state officials; and these, so far as industrial control was concerned, would occupy a position essentially the same as that which is occupied by private capitalists, with their allies and subordinates, to-day.

What, then, is the value of this ideal, considered firstly, as representing a state of society in which the root of the evils which exist at present has disappeared; and secondly, as a state of society to which it is possible so far to approximate that its distinctive principle shall be predominant, even if not absolutely supreme? With regard to the first of these points, we are assured both by Mr Brooks and by Mr Webb that what the mass of

Digitized by Google

discontented workers most desire to-day is equality of opportunity; and that what they most resent, under the system of private capitalism, is not primarily the fact that their labour is underpaid—for in many cases, at all events, their wages are admittedly high—but the fact that their work is done under the control of others; and they imagine that socialism would render their opportunities equal, and at the same time liberate them from their obedience to economic superiors. Now, are these ideas true? With regard to equality of opportunity, there is something to be said in favour of them. But if equality of opportunity under socialism mean anything, it means something which to the majority would be of very little comfort. It might possibly supply the oligarchy of socialistic administrators with able men whose ability would have been otherwise dormant; but, regarded under its present aspect, its primary effect would be as follows. The capacities and the energies of men being, as they are, unequal, equality of opportunity at starting inevitably means this—a licence to the exceptional few to outdistance the average many; whilst if, so far as external rewards are concerned, the gifted and energetic man who makes his opportunities fructify receives little more than the man who is unwilling or unable to do so, equality of opportunity means nothing for the idle and weak, and loses most of the meaning that it ever had for the strong; whilst finally, in so far as it was really a stimulus to the economic life of the community, it would reintroduce the entire process of competition, and that in a form which would be at once diffused and intensified.

In the next place, would socialism form a remedy for the evil of economic subjection, of obedience to the orders of others, against which, more than against anything else, the present generation of workmen (so we are told) rebels? Instead of removing that evil, or, indeed, of in any way lessening it, socialism, were it ever the primary force in the state, would accentuate it, and make it universal, and aggravate it with circumstances which at present are undreamed of. How does a sorter of letters in the General Post-office differ in point of freedom to manage his own work from a clerk in a private office who sorts the letters when they are delivered? If one is freer than the other, it is the clerk in private employ-

Digitized by Google

ment. How does an engine-driver on a state railway in Germany differ from an engine-driver on our railways in England? As Mr Webb tells us in so many words, an engine-driver under socialism would have no more freedom to order his day and to manage his work as he liked than he has at this moment under the London and South-Western Company. The only real difference which socialism would introduce would be this—that if the workman disliked his employer, he would be unable to seek for another; and if he wished to change his employment or migrate to a new locality, he would, from the nature of the case, be wholly unable to do so, unless the State, the universal employer, permitted him. In fact socialism, as an ideal condition, however beautiful from a distance, resolves itself, like Constantinople on closer inspection, into a home of squalor and misery.

But a question yet more important still remains to be considered—the question, not whether such a condition of things is wholly desirable or no, but whether it is a condition which is capable of being approximately realised. If all production were really, as Karl Marx thought, due to the exertion of ordinary manual labour, a State like that of the socialists might, no doubt, conceivably exist. It would be a nation of slaves working under the lash of elected taskmasters, just as Italy is a nation bled by the exactions of elected tax-collectors. But the possibility of such a State would depend, in this case, on the fact that the amount of ordinary labour of which the average man is capable can be accurately gauged by others, and that the man can be compelled to perform it. Since, however, as is admitted by the socialists themselves to-day, ordinary labour is, in the modern world, only one of the factors to which production is due, and must be supplemented by the exercise of faculties which, in various degrees, are exceptional, and since, moreover, these exceptional faculties are faculties which no one can detect and whose use no one can command, unless the individual possessing them desires to develope and show them, they can never in the long run be at the service of any State unless social conditions are such that the possessors of these faculties are stimulated, by the rewards that society makes attainable, to develope these faculties spontaneously, and are given the means of exer-

Digitized by Google

cising them. Now modern socialists are very careful to tell us that amongst the exceptional faculties which the socialistic State will require are those of the business manager, the inventor, the scientist, the speculative thinker, and even the artist and the literary genius. It is, no doubt, conceivable that the state company under socialism might, assuming the requisite stimulus to be given, secure and find a place for a number of expert business managers. They might also, with a similar proviso, find a place for the sculptor and the painter; but how could the State secure for itself works of literary art? The State would be the sole publisher; the publisher's readers would be state officials. The State would exercise over all books a censorship incalculably stricter than that of the Russian Government; and if it rejected a great poem or novel the work would be crushed out of existence. There would be no court of appeal.

But, what is still more important, opinion, speculation, discovery, would be similarly at the mercy of the State. The State would own every newspaper. None could be printed under the direction or on the initiation of individuals. No view could be uttered which the State desired to suppress. With regard to speculation and discovery, the case would be just the same. Socialism would have gagged Galileo far more effectually than Rome did. It would have strangled the higher criticism and the doctrines of Darwin in their cradles. It is, moreover, a fact that much of the scientific knowledge which socialists count upon utilising in the ordinary work of the world is based upon studies and speculations which for centuries had a speculative interest only, and which any state hierarchy, representing public opinion, would have scornfully rejected as useless, if it did not crush them as false. And finally, the same thing may be said with regard to inventions. There has rarely been an invention, there has rarely been an improvement in industry, which a State representing prevalent public opinion would not have killed, either by its apathy, its ignorance, or its opposition. Mr Mallock, in a work to which we shall refer presently, has shown how this would have been the case, for example, with regard to the production of iron; and, had Europe been socialistic four hundred years ago, Columbus would never have discovered America.

Digitized by Google

We come last to the great question, yet more fundamental than those we have been just considering—whether, under the régime of socialism, any inducement could be offered to persons of exceptional capability to develope their capabilities even if they were allowed to exercise them. If it would not, the distinctive ideal of socialism, whatever its other characteristics, is nothing more than a dream. It stands for a scheme which, in its integrity, would fail to work. The question is one with which Mr Mallock, in his works, 'Aristocracy and Evolution,' and 'Social Equality,' has dealt at considerable length, insisting, with reiterated emphasis, on its fundamental importance. He rightly maintains that all economic analysis resolves itself ultimately into a study of human nature, as associated with the various types of human talent and temperament; and the general result of his argument is that, as a matter of hard fact, exceptional talent is, with certain exceptions, elicited only by the prospect of exceptional reward. To purely speculative thought, to abstract scientific discovery, and also to artistic production under some, though not all, of its forms, this doctrine, he admits, is only partially applicable; but in the case of all exceptional application of capacity to the practical affairs of life, and more especially to the productive and constructive processes which affect and improve and sustain the material conditions of life, he contends that exceptional energy, initiative, resource, and ingenuity, are indissolubly associated, as a rule, with types of character and temperament which demand that exceptional effort shall meet with a corresponding reward.

Socialists have studied this question in the most cursory way only; and Mr Mallock holds up to ridicule the argument of the Fabian essayists, that the motives which stimulate men in battle may be counted on to operate in the daily work of the factory. The socialists, indeed, in dealing with this all-important question, err for several reasons. One is that, seeing its difficulty, they habitually tend to ignore it; another is that the peculiar kind of temperament which, amongst educated men, goes with socialistic opinions, unfits them to understand the nature of the hard practical man to whose power and energy alone industrial progress is due; and a third is the fact

Digitized by Google

that, in addition to their disqualifying temperament, socialists are very rarely what we call men of the world. They may know a great deal about the wrongs and miseries of the weak, but they have a very imperfect acquaintance with the constitutional ambitions of the strong. Instead of discovering what the strong do or are likely to do, they resort to abstract speculation with regard to what the strong ought to do.

Thus Mr Webb, in spite of his acuteness and commonsense, seeks to escape from the difficulty of this question of equality of reward by declaring that 'equality of reward' is all that the exceptional man is entitled to,

'because the special abilities or energy with which some persons are born is an unearned increment due to the effect of the struggle for existence upon their ancestors, and consequently, having been produced by society, is as much due to society as the unearned increment of rent.'

Mr Mallock, in 'Aristocracy and Evolution,' has selected this passage as typical of most of the distinctive reasoning of the socialists, and, submitting it to a close analysis, shows that, whilst in a purely speculative sense it embodies a certain truth, it is, nevertheless, when applied to practical matters, nonsense. If Mr Webb's argument, says Mr Mallock, has any practical application,

'the French might have said to the Germans in the Franco-German war, "You acquired by fighting with us the faculties which have enabled you to conquer us. Your strength, therefore, in reality belongs to us, not to you; and hence justice requires that you should give us back Alsace." In the same way it might be urged that all the idle apprentices of the past have, by the warning they afforded, stimulated the industry of the industrious, and therefore, in abstract justice, had a claim on their earnings. . . . If the great man who produces an exceptional amount of wealth can with justice claim no more than the average man who produces little, the man who is so idle that he shirks producing anything may with equal justice claim as much wealth as either. His constitutional faults and his constitutional disinclination to mend it are both due to society, and society, not he, must suffer.'

The truth is, as Mr Mallock elsewhere points out, that abstract speculations as to what is socially just have no meaning whatever till we have first settled what is socially

Digitized by Google

workable. However strongly ascetics may condemn sexual love, they must accept the fact that humanity could not exist without it. We have a book before us—'Social Justice,' by Professor Willoughby—which consists of an elaborate discussion of how to reconcile private property, inequalities of positions, competition, coercion, and the punishment of criminals, with some abstract system of ethics deduced from the metaphysics of Hegel. The first question really which practical men have to ask is, not whether the punishment of criminals, competition, and private property, are consistent or not consistent with any *a priori* ideas of justice, but whether human society can exist or progress without them. If it is right that society and civilisation should exist at all, we must assume the justice of whatever is essential to their existence, and try to harmonise this with our abstract ideals afterwards. The question, therefore, for socialists is not whether equality of rewards has any justification in the abstract, but whether, or to what extent, we can make it a practical fact, without doing to society more harm than good; whether, by saving our coal, we may not stifle the generation of our steam.

Now in so far as socialism would make any change in the distribution of wealth, and in the graduation of classes, which would render society substantially different from what it is and always has been hitherto, it would do this in one way, and in one way only, namely, by lessening or constantly diminishing the relations between personal power and efficiency, and the advantages which those who possess them would be able to gain by their exercise. Mr Webb, in the volume before us, frankly admits that this is so. It may be impossible, he says, to do away with all inequality of reward, but the essence of socialism is to reduce this to a minimum; and he illustrates this opinion in several interesting ways. He illustrates it by giving us examples of what he calls false socialism. One of these, he says, is the doctrine of the land for the people, which means that every cultivator should own the land he tills. Another is what he calls trade-sectionalism, which means that the workers in every trade should be joint owners of the materials and the machinery in question, and divide amongst themselves the entire proceeds of their sales. A third is what he

Digitized by Google

calls joint-stock individualism, which means that the operators in every separate factory should hold all the shares, and do the best they could with their business, as the ordinary capitalist does now. All these methods, he says, though they often pass muster as socialistic, are in absolute opposition to the root ideal of socialism, for they all imply that the motive of those concerned is to secure a reward for themselves proportionate to their personal efforts. The peasant, with his own plot of land, would exert himself to increase his own hoard. If the colliers owned the coal trade they would struggle to fill their own pockets by restricting the output and by raising prices, precisely in the manner practised by the colliery owners now; whilst each co-operative company would act in the same way. These methods and ideas, says Mr Webb, form a practical hindrance to socialism, and they do so for the following memorable reason. They form a practical danger to socialism because, whenever they have been partially realised, the rank and file of the workers exhibit precisely the same spirit as that which socialists reprobate in the ordinary employer and capitalist. The desire of each unit to compete, to do the best it can for itself, and to keep for itself the advantages which it has itself gained, springs up as naturally in the heart of the peasant proprietor, of the trade-unionist, or the joint-stock co-operator, as it does in that of a Rothschild, a Beit, or a Morgan. It is impossible to imagine a stronger condemnation of socialism than this complaint of Mr Webb's, that even men who imagine themselves socialists instinctively rebel against its primary principles.

And now let us go back to the accounts, already glanced at, given us by Mr Brooks of socialistic experiments in Brussels. These, it would appear, if judged by Mr Webb's standard, are not in the true sense socialistic experiments at all. But, however that may be, they illustrate two important facts. Their success is admitted to depend on the capability of the managers; and, though the managers have hitherto consented to do their work for salaries inferior to those they could command in private businesses, they have, Mr Brooks tells us, consented to do this because they are themselves propagandists, enthusiastic for a new idea. Even so they are aware that they are making a great sacrifice. They are

Digitized by Google

practically giving in alms the money they refrain from earning. That this should take place when a new experiment is being started, and an industrial or distributive business is being run as a social protest, is not unprecedented. But history shows us that, in proportion as undertakings succeed, the militant enthusiasm which made them successful evaporates, and enthusiasm has to be replaced by a different kind of stimulus. No successful business, whether we call it public or private, can be permanently based on the self-immolation of those on whom its success depends. Moreover, in these so-called socialistic experiments another counsel of perfection, which is a prominent feature in the socialistic programme, has been tried. This is the establishment of a minimum wage. But, Mr Brooks tells us, the Belgians have found it absolutely necessary to accompany the minimum wage by a concurrent insistence on a certain minimum of work; whilst a French socialist told Mr Brooks that socialists, if they ever become predominant, would apply, and be forced to apply, means of compelling the reluctant to labour of a far more drastic kind than those practised or thought possible now.

In New Zealand, the country where state socialism has assumed the largest proportions, the Government, says Mr Brooks, is in form a great capitalist. It manages many businesses which elsewhere are in private hands. But, in the first place, he says, it does not manage them well; and, in the second place, he shows us that, though the Government is a capitalist in form, it is a capitalist in form only, the government stock being held by private investors and bought, sold, and gambled with like the stock of any private company. Thus New Zealand, in spite of its seemingly socialistic advances, retains and consolidates one of the most important features which it is the aim of socialism, according to Mr Webb, to eradicate. It stimulates men to produce and to save wealth in order to invest it as capital and make it a source of income.

If, then, we are told to regard socialism as a beacon towards which we should direct our course, we have no hesitation in saying that it is a beacon on a fatal rock, which we ought rather to regard as a lighthouse whose function is to warn us away from it. Regarded thus, it is a mere ideal of dreamers, who know nothing, or next

Digitized by Google

to nothing, of the broad facts of human nature. Indeed, Mr Webb himself indicates in one place that this view, if not correct, is, at all events, not an unreasonable one. 'All through the tale,' he says, 'two views are possible, and we shall take the one or the other according to our knowledge and temperament.' This is perfectly true; and our hope is this, that the world may learn from the socialists—what it might have overlooked otherwise—the extent of the social evils which at present call for a remedy; and that the socialists will gain gradually from the world a calmer practical knowledge which will show them that socialism is not the way to remedy these evils.

Meanwhile, however, a salutary warning is given us by M. Gustave Le Bon, who, in his acute and elaborate work, 'Psychologie du Socialisme,' presents us with an analysis of the elements in human nature out of which, under given conditions, the socialistic temper developes itself. We say the socialistic temper, instead of the socialistic theory, because, as M. Le Bon points out, the latter is a result rather than the cause of the former, being little more than an attempt, or a variety of attempts, to justify it. According to him, the immediate injury with which socialism threatens society does not consist in the realisation of any definitely socialistic institutions—in this way, he says, it has had no success worth notice—but in the state of uncertainty, in the weakening of the will, in the want of confidence which it tends to produce in the minds of the ruling classes, especially the ruling classes in the world of commerce and industry. These men, he says, despite their capacity, are in danger of losing confidence in their own position. They become unable to define it to themselves; they become unable to defend it; and the muscles of the industrial organism accordingly lose their vigour. There is truth in this criticism, doubtless, as applied to all countries. There may be special truth in it as applied to France; but there is one thing which is tending at the same time to dissipate socialistic fallacies, and this is the criticism of experience. Whatever may be the case with M. Le Bon's country, we see signs that such criticism is becoming increasingly efficacious in our own.

Digitized by Google

(32)
LIBRARY

Art. II.—THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

1. *A History of the British Army.* By the Hon. J. W. Fortescue. Vols 1–3. London: Macmillan, 1899–1902.
2. *Cromwell's Army: a History of the English Soldier during the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate.* By C. H. Firth. London: Methuen, 1902.
3. *A Bibliography of English Military Books up to* 1642, *and of Contemporary Foreign Works.* By Maurice J. D. Cockle. London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1900.

OUR military literature is fairly rich in regimental histories. Many of them are elaborate works, well illustrated with plans of battles and costume plates; and some show extensive research. Colonel John Davis's history of the Queen's regiment is notable in this respect. Unfortunately he did not live to complete it, but his four volumes follow the fortunes of 'Kirke's Lambs' from the Restoration to the accession of Queen Victoria, and are incidentally a military miscellany of great value. The British army as a whole has not been equally fortunate. Francis Grose, the antiquary (who belonged, by the bye, to the same Militia regiment as Colonel Davis), and Sir Sibbald Scott, also of the militia, have brought together much good material especially relating to early times. Colonel Clifford Walton set to work in more systematic fashion, and, restricting himself to the standing army, gave an admirably full account of it from 1660 to 1700, where death cut short his undertaking. Mr Clode has dealt with the subject on its legal and constitutional side in his 'Military Forces of the Crown.' But, apart from popular summaries of little merit, there has hitherto been no book which gives us the history of the army in its full length and breadth.

This reproach Mr Fortescue bids fair to do away with. He has brought his history nearly to the end of the eighteenth century. According to his original plan, four volumes were to bring him to the year 1870, which he took as his limit. There has been some change of scale, however, in the course of the work; and the third volume, lately published, covers only thirty years, from the end of the Seven Years' War to the beginning of the wars of

Digitized by Google

the French Revolution. Two, or perhaps three, volumes will be needed for the remaining period.

The increase in bulk may well be justified in so comprehensive a work; but it is due to a change of method which is, on the whole, to be regretted. In his preface Mr Fortescue explained that he had set down in the earlier part of his work only such points and incidents as were essential to a coherent sketch of the growth of our military system, and that his endeavour had been to elucidate the political not less than the military aspect of the army's history, sometimes at the sacrifice of purely military matters. There can be no doubt that he was right. One turns to a history of the army for information about its origin, structure, and characteristics, not for a detailed record of its deeds. Père Daniel's 'Histoire de la Milice Française' would not be improved, but would be overloaded, by incorporating with it Quincy's 'Histoire Militaire du Règne de Louis le Grand.'

About two thirds of Mr Fortescue's first volume were concerned with the history of the army as distinguished from annals of its wars. In the second volume the proportion was much less, and in the third it is hardly more than one tenth. That volume is, in fact, a military history of the first half of the reign of George III. A continuous narrative of the war of American Independence occupies nearly half of it; and most of what remains is devoted to Indian campaigns against Hyder Ali, his son Tippoo, and other princes. So much illustrative detail is apt to make the reader lose sight of the primary subject of the book. Sometimes the author seems to do so himself. We are told how well the Sepoys fought on many fields, but hardly anything is said about that very remarkable creation, the native army of the East India Company.

There are also inevitable shortcomings in such incidental treatment of British wars. The due development of the naval side of the American war is essential to a true understanding of it, and yet would be obviously out of place in a history of the army; nor can the difficulties which Washington had to overcome in his dealings with Congress, his officers, and his men, be much more than glanced at. So it can hardly be said that we get a thoroughly adequate account of the war. At the same time it is due to Mr Fortescue to add that he describes

Digitized by Google

military operations very well. His narrative is illustrated by excellent maps, and this side of his work will prove attractive to many readers who care little about the growth of institutions. Indeed, whatever he is writing about, few men are less likely to incur the charge of dullness. While accurate and well informed, he is no Dryasdust. He is vivid and animated, but, as a rule, sober and well balanced. Occasionally, as in speaking of Burke, he lets his warmth get the better of him, and does himself injustice.

The problem of army history meets with a very different solution in Mr Firth's 'Ford Lectures,' which he has published under the title, 'Cromwell's Army.' His book is a history of the English soldier during the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate. The battles of the Civil Wars are referred to again and again, but only for evidence bearing on the particular point that is under discussion. There is no continuous narrative. Those who need to refresh their memories as to the wars of the time must turn to Dr Gardiner's history or to Mr Firth's other writings. By absolutely eschewing such digressions he keeps the attention of his readers fixed throughout upon his main subject, the evolution of an efficient army out of chaos; and his unrivalled knowledge of the period enables him to light up every aspect of it.

He tells us how the men were raised and the officers chosen; how infantry and cavalry were trained, armed and equipped, fed and paid; how discipline was maintained, and what provision was made for the sick and wounded. The part played by field artillery and the conduct of sieges are reviewed; and two long chapters are devoted to religion and politics in the army. All this is done so thoroughly and systematically, and with so wide an outlook, that though his book, he says, does not aim at being an exhaustive treatise on the military history of the Civil War, it is, in fact, an excellent guide to the art of war in the seventeenth century. It is of the more value in this respect because the statements in it are always supported by references, and often by extracts from books which lie out of the track of ordinary military students.

There is another recent work which deserves mention in this connexion—Mr Cockle's 'Bibliography of Military

Digitized by Google

Books.' The compiler originally intended to include histories and pamphlets bearing on military affairs, but the immense quantity of pamphlets produced during the Civil Wars made him stop short at 1642 and confine himself, as a rule, to works treating of the art of war, excluding historical pieces, with a few exceptions. He is concerned primarily with English books, and of these he gives not a mere list, but the full title-pages, and often adds enough about their contents to enable his readers to judge whether it is worth their while to make further acquaintance with them. This first part is supplemented by a classified catalogue of the more important books published abroad, to the number of nearly five hundred, because, as Mr Cockle explains, 'I soon found that a parasite such as our military literature was in its first period, could not be reviewed independently and, at the same time, efficiently.'

The work is a choice example of bibliography, and is of the more value because the foreign guides to military literature almost entirely ignore English contributions to it. No doubt most of the English books were merely compilations from foreign authors. But there were several men who wrote from their own experience, like Sir Roger Williams and Sir John Smythe, or who, like Thomas Digges, Sir Clement Edmonds, and the two Markhams, handled military subjects with sufficient originality to deserve a place among the two thousand authors whose works are noticed in Max Jähns' 'Geschichte der Kriegswissenschaften.' None of these names, however, are to be found there.

To return to Mr Fortescue. The six centuries from the Norman Conquest to the Restoration occupy less than half of his first volume; and in writing it he had not the benefit of Mr Firth's book or of Mr Oman's 'History of the Art of War' in the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, these early chapters well deserve the high praise they have received from the most competent judges. The picture is the more effective for its breadth and for the subordination of detail. We are shown how the feudal system broke down in England sooner than elsewhere, and was supplemented by hired soldiery and by reversion to the 'fyrd.' Perhaps owing to the difficulty of obtaining good war-horses, it became the custom of English knights and men-at-arms

Digitized by Google

to fight on foot, The yeoman archer was developed by Edward I; and the combination of pike and bow won a series of surprising victories from Halidon Hill to Agincourt. Then the tide turned.

'French military organisation, spurred by a century of misfortune, made one gigantic bound ahead of English, and may be said to have kept the lead ever since.'

There followed half a century of civil war in England, due to national discontent and the abundance of unemployed soldiers; but it was a war of alarms and excursions which left the country exhausted, and behind other nations in the art of war. It did not stamp into the heart of the people, as the heel of an invader does, the paramount necessity of organised defence.

Under the Tudors, prosperity revived; and Henry VIII paid a good deal of attention to military matters; but no great progress was made.

'The lesson of Flodden to the English was mainly that bows and bills were still irresistible; and to a conservative people none could have been more welcome.'

Elizabeth's parsimony, on which Mr Fortescue is rather too severe, and the impecuniosity of her successors, hindered the creation of any really efficient force, whether for service abroad or at home. In the year before the Armada, Barnaby Rich wrote:—

'When service happeneth we disburthen the prisons of thieves, we rob the taverns and alehouses of tosspots and ruffians, we scour both town and country of rogues and vagabonds.' ('A Pathway to Military Practice,' 1587.)

Such was the material which was sent, under Sir Edward Cecil, against Cadiz in 1625. After a month's training they were embarked; and, says Mr Firth (p. 4),

'as soon as they were on board it was discovered that many of their muskets were defective—some muskets had no touch-holes—the bullets were often too large for the barrels, and no one knew in what ship the bullet-moulds were to be found. They were put on short allowance of victuals at starting, and died by hundreds from bad food as they returned. They had no discipline, and even when sober they were ungovernable.'

Digitized by Google

Commanders are not to be blamed for the failure of such expeditions.

As for the militia or trained bands which were relied upon for home defence, Robert Ward has described, in his 'Animadversions of War (1639),' what their training amounted to.

'Our custom and use is nowadays to cause our companies to meet on a certain day, and by that time the arms be all viewed, the mustermaster hath had his pay (which is the chiefest things many times he looks after), it draws towards dinner-time; and indeed officers love their bellies so well as that they are loath to take too much pains about disciplining of their soldiers. Wherefore, after a little careless hurrying over of the postures, with which the companies are nothing bettered, they make them charge their muskets and so prepare to give the captain a brave volley of shot at his entrance into his inn; where, having solaced themselves a while after this brave service, every man repairs home.'

When King Charles and his Parliament appealed to arms to settle their quarrel, there was no organised body of troops to be thrown into either scale. Each side had to improvise an army out of untrained men, but each had the assistance of a good many experienced officers who had learnt war in the Low Countries or under Gustavus. As the militia, with the exception of the trained bands of the City, was unserviceable, commissions were issued to officers for the raising of new regiments; and, when volunteering flagged, impressment was resorted to. Mr Firth estimates the number of armed men on each side at from 60,000 to 70,000, or about three per cent. of the population; but they were so widely distributed as garrisons or local forces that 20,000 were rarely brought together.

Parliament was better able to pay and equip its men than the king, but the men themselves were at first inferior; the chief command was not in vigorous hands, and was hampered by local jealousies and civil control. For the first two years the fighting was indecisive; but want of money forced the Cavaliers to live on the country, thereby scattering their men, damaging their discipline, and alienating sympathisers. At the end of 1644 Parliament reorganised its forces, formed the New Model army,

Digitized by Google

and substituted Fairfax for Essex. Six months afterwards the issue of the struggle was practically settled at Naseby.

The New Model corresponded to the 'continental army' of Washington. Originally formed out of the remains of the armies of Essex, Manchester, and Waller, and strengthened by impressment, it gradually absorbed or superseded the older parliamentary corps, and became the army of the Commonwealth. It was cavalry that decided the battles of the Civil War; and Cromwell's Ironsides formed two regiments of the New Model, and served as a type for the rest. Mr Firth has carefully reviewed all the evidence about them, and their method of fighting. They were not cuirassiers, though they had iron headpieces and back and breast plates. They were classed as harquebusiers, but they carried no harquebuses or carbines; they were armed with sword and pistol only.

Gustavus had taught his cavalry that they should not wheel and caracole like the German *reiters*, but should make straight for the enemy and ride them down. The first rank, and perhaps the second, should discharge one of their pistols when they were near enough to see the whites of their enemies' eyes, and then take sabre in hand; the third rank should reserve their pistols for the *mêlée*. Rupert had served with the Dutch and with the Swedes, and handled his horsemen on these principles. Cromwell followed Rupert's example in the main. He took care to charge instead of waiting to be charged, and made his men reserve their fire and keep their files close. But he seems to have relied less than Rupert did on speed and shock. His men came on at a good round trot, and if the enemy stood his ground they 'disputed it with swords and pistols a pretty time.' This had something to do, perhaps, with the contrast noted by Clarendon.

'Though the king's troops prevailed in the charge and routed those they charged, they seldom rallied themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second charge the same day . . . whereas the other troops, if they prevailed, or though they were beaten and routed, presently rallied again.'

But that was largely due to the stamp of men whom Cromwell accepted as recruits, 'such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did,' and to the discipline he maintained among them,

Digitized by Google

In the matter of keeping his men in hand he showed himself superior not only to Rupert, but to Wellington's cavalry leaders in the Peninsula and at Waterloo.

Charles II, we are told, had thoughts at first of keeping up the army of the Commonwealth; but Hyde 'prevailed upon him by this argument, that they were a body of men that had cut off his father's head; that they had set up and pulled down ten several sorts of government; and that it might be his own turn next.' * The people had fretted under the Major-Generals. As Mr Firth says, the army bequeathed to English political life 'a rooted aversion to standing armies, and an abiding dread of military rule.' So the Cromwellian regiments were disbanded with one exception—Monk's regiment, now the Coldstream Guards. The Act of disbandment sanctioned the maintenance of 'guards and garrisons.' No number was fixed for the guards, and no money was appropriated for their pay. The king might keep as many as he could afford, out of the liberal revenue (1,200,000*l.* a year) which had been granted to him. No Act was passed for the maintenance of discipline; and, though the king issued articles of war regulating courts-martial, they conferred no legal powers of punishment in time of peace. Soldiers were in the strictest sense mere servants of the Crown.

The growth of the standing army was jealously watched by Parliament, and was the subject of frequent protests; but fresh regiments were raised or brought to England as means and opportunity offered—the Tangier regiments, the Holland regiment, and the Admiral's regiment. Money voted by Parliament for the fleet was sometimes spent on the soldiers. At the death of Charles II the number of armed men in England had risen to about 8500. Monmouth's rebellion gave James II an excuse for largely increasing it; and 24,000 men were brought together at Salisbury when William of Orange landed at Torbay. The sequel showed how little reason there was to fear that the king could use the army to crush the liberties of the country.

Refusal to recognise the standing army and to provide money for it had proved so ineffectual a check upon its

* John Trenchard, 'Short History of Standing Armies' (ed. 1731), p. 28.

Digitized by Google

growth, that Parliament took a different course after the Revolution. It laid down the principle that the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom, unless it be with the consent of Parliament, is against law; it voted a definite number of men year by year, and a sum of money for their pay; and it granted statutory powers for the discipline of the army by passing an annual Mutiny Act.

But, while taking securities for the good behaviour of the troops, Parliament did not concern itself about their efficiency. The aversion and distrust remained, and lasted throughout the eighteenth century. In the preface to his 'Treatise of Military Discipline,' published in 1727, Humphrey Bland said:—

'I am well aware how little thanks some people may think I deserve for this attempt, and am very sensible that standing armies, and consequently the modelling of them, are little relished in time of peace in this kingdom. . . . I know it will be objected that the better our troops are, the more dangerous they may be.'

Instead of being placed on a 'business footing' as the safeguard of the nation, they were still looked upon as armed retainers of the Crown. The king, for his part, claimed the exclusive control of them as his prerogative.

Naval affairs were fairly well looked after by the Admiralty and other boards; but, in the case of the army, the administration which Charles II had created to meet the needs of his Household troops, was left unchanged. The king was Commander-in-Chief, though at times he appointed a deputy, as Monk in 1660, and Monmouth in 1674. The Commander-in-Chief had a civil secretary to assist him, styled Secretary to the Forces, or Secretary at War. The first holder of the office was William Clarke, who had been Monk's secretary in Scotland, and whose papers (edited by Mr Firth) have thrown so much light on the Cromwellian military system. His pay was small, at first only ten shillings a day; but he received fees on officers' commissions.

The influence and authority of the Secretary at War soon became considerable; and orders, at first issued by him in the name of the king, came, in course of time, to be issued by a clerk in the name of the Secretary at War.

Digitized by Google

In Anne's reign the long war of the Spanish Succession added importance to the office, especially as Marlborough, who was Captain-General, was usually abroad; and it came to be filled by prominent politicians, like St John and Walpole, who sat in the House of Commons. Many instances are given by Mr Fortescue to show how much they took upon themselves, and how largely they were guided by political pressure.

Both constitutionally and professionally the system was unsound. The army was virtually governed by a man who knew nothing of war and little of soldiers. At the same time he claimed that he was not, like a secretary of state, responsible to Parliament. He was an officer of the Crown, bound to issue orders according to the king's direction. Parliament could take care of itself. By various Acts it made the Secretary at War responsible for the preparation of the estimates, the examination of army accounts, and the protection of civilians from military violence. But the army had the disadvantage of being under a civil minister who was not, as a rule, in the Cabinet, and carried no great weight with the House of Commons, and whose chief business it was to make it, not a better instrument for war, but cheap and harmless. The office of Commander-in-Chief, which should have served as a corrective, was, as a rule, left vacant in time of peace throughout the eighteenth century, and came to be regarded as one of dignity rather than power. It counted for much or for little, according to the influence and authority of the man who held it.

In 1662 Charles II had created the office of Paymaster-General. Sir Stephen Fox, the first holder of it, undertook to advance funds for the weekly payment of the forces in consideration of a commission of a shilling in the pound; and this tax continued to be levied on officers and men till Burke's time as a charge for agency. After the Revolution the Paymaster-General acted as a banker in regard to the money voted for army services, and held the unexpended balances. This practice also was altered by Burke's Act of 1783, and the custody of public money was transferred to the Bank of England. It was found that the average balance in the hands of the Paymaster-General had been more than half a million; and successive holders of the office had enjoyed the use of it. In his

Digitized by Google

'Memoir on the Events attending the Death of George II and the Accession of George III,' Lord Holland writes:—

'The sudden and great rise of stocks has made me richer than ever I intended or desired to be. Obloquy generally attends money so got, but with how much reason in all cases let this simple account of my gains show. The government borrows money at 20 per cent. discount; I am not consulted or concerned in making the bargain. I have as Pay Master great sums in my hands, which, not applicable to any present use, must either lie dead in the Bank or be employed by me. I lend this to the government in 1761. A peace is thought certain. I am not in the least consulted, but my very bad opinion of Mr Pitt makes me think it will not be concluded. I sell out, and gain greatly. In 1762 I lend again; a peace comes, in which again I am not consulted, and I again gain greatly.' ('Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox,' vol. i, p. 72.)

The example set by the men at the head of the army administration was followed by those under them. Commissaries of musters and auditors claimed their fees. There were, as Mr Fortescue says,

'fees to the exchequer, fees to the Treasury, fees for the issue of pay-warrants; fees, in a word, to every greedy clerk who could make himself disagreeable.'

Colonels of regiments and captains of companies did likewise. They took bribes from contractors, made unauthorised deductions from the pay of their men, and drew pay for men who were non-existent. The purchase of commissions had been allowed to become a recognised practice under Charles II, and this made it impossible to insist on a high professional standard among the officers. General Kane, who fought under William and under Marlborough, confesses:—

'I have not known, among all the nations I have served with, any officers so remiss on duty as the generality of our countrymen, who in other respects not only equal, but in a great measure excel.'

The soundest part of the military system was the Board of Ordnance. It was of old standing, and had more to do with the navy than the army. If arms were required for a regiment, the Secretary of War wrote to

Digitized by Google

one of the Secretaries of State requesting that the king's pleasure for the issue of the arms might be signified to the Board of Ordnance. Under its wing grew up the two scientific corps—artillery and engineers. The supply of provisions for the troops was the business of commissariat officers, who were under the direct orders of the Treasury. This continued to be the case down to the Crimean War; and the inquiry into the sufferings of the troops before Sebastopol, during the winter of 1854–5, showed that they were traceable to the neglect of the Treasury to meet the demands for hay sent home by their local officer. The horses died for want of forage, and the men died for want of supplies, which were on the wharf at Balaclava, but for which there was no means of transport.

The army corps, of which we have heard so much lately, consists of infantry, cavalry, and artillery combined in fixed proportions, with so many companies of engineers, army service corps, and medical corps attached to them, the whole bound together by a network of staff officers. But the standing army of the eighteenth century was a mere aggregate of regiments of horse and foot. There were an adjutant-general and a quartermaster-general, who were under the Secretary at War. General officers were appointed from time to time to serve on boards of advice, to make inspections, or to command particular districts; but practically there was no organisation higher than regimental, except on active service. It was not an army, but the raw material of one, and that only in part.

The first nine years of the reign of William III were years of war; and the number of soldiers in British pay rose to nearly 90,000 men. The Peace of Ryswick had no sooner been signed than Parliament began to insist on a reduction of the land forces to the standard of 1680. William knew how little the peace was to be depended on, but he had to give way. The English establishment was fixed at 7000 men for land service, and 3000 marines; 12,000 men were voted for the Irish establishment; and there were about 5000 in Scotland. This reduction was far from satisfying men like John Trenchard, the author of 'A Short History of Standing Armies in England,' who pressed for a complete disbandment of the army and

Digitized by Google

dependence on the militia, which would never be worth anything while the army lasted. They complained that the reduction was effected by lessening the number of privates in the regiments and preserving their cadres. If the death of the king of Spain was to be followed by fresh campaigns in Flanders, and England must needs take part in them, let her employ German troops, who were much cheaper and could be more readily disbanded.

Within four years came the war of the Spanish Succession; and England did not depend wholly on foreign mercenaries to fight her battles. She undertook to provide 40,000 men, of whom 18,000 should be British; but in course of time she went much beyond her pledges. In 1709 there were over 50,000 British troops in the Netherlands and the Peninsula. The wastage from sickness and desertion was very great, and recruiting became a matter of extreme difficulty. Criminals and debtors were taken freely; and better men were pressed. Bounties were given to those who would enlist for even three years. The market rate rose so much above the levy money granted that officers employed in recruiting lost heavily, and some were ruined.

If peace had been made in 1709, when the allies were at the height of their success, and if Marlborough had retained command of the army, his authority, abilities, and experience might have put the military administration on a better footing. As Mr Fortescue says,

'he understood the British soldier. He took care to feed him well, to pay him regularly, to give him plenty of work, and to keep him under the strictest discipline; and, with all this, he cherished a genial feeling for the men, which showed itself not only in strict injunctions to watch over their comfort, but in acts of personal kindness kindly bestowed' (i, 588).

But when peace came in 1713 it found Marlborough dismissed and discredited, and the country sick of a war which had trebled the national debt, and had latterly gone ill. The disbandment of regiments, already begun, was hurried on; and Bolingbroke tried to carry it out in such a way as should strengthen the Jacobite interest; but the death of Anne cut short his operations. The estimates of 1714 provided for only 22,000 men, of whom two thirds were for service abroad; and when the Jacobite

Digitized by Google

insurrection broke out in the following year it was hard to find troops to deal with it. In 1719 an alarm of invasion, owing to the quarrel with Spain, drove the British Government to borrow 6000 men from the Netherlands.

Nevertheless the cry against a standing army remained a popular one, made use of by malcontents of all sorts. Proposals for the building of barracks were resisted, in order that the people 'might be sensible of the fetters forged for them.' Consequently regiments had to be broken up and the men billeted in alehouses, to the detriment of discipline and drill. This caused friction with the civil population; and the Secretary at War made examples of the soldiers inculpated, in the hope of rendering 'the whole body more agreeable to the country, and the clamour against them less popular in the House of Commons.'

If the troops fared ill at home they fared worse in garrisons abroad, where they suffered from every kind of neglect. There were no periodic reliefs. One regiment was left in the West Indies for nearly sixty years; others spent twenty or thirty years at Gibraltar. As enlistment was for life, men remained with their regiment as long as they were fit for service. The drafts sent out were largely made up of bad characters. It became the practice to pardon deserters if they would go to the West Indies; but some men preferred to take their thousand lashes.

Walpole had joined in the attacks on the army while he was in opposition, but when he returned to the Treasury he raised the British establishment from 14,000 to 18,000 men; and that remained its normal figure throughout his long administration. In 1744 England found herself once more formally at war with France; and 40,000 more men were voted, of whom 25,000 were for service in Flanders. The defence of the Austrian Netherlands was not only a treaty obligation, it was regarded as a matter of vital concern for Great Britain that the country should not become French territory. But the allies, leaning on one another, made inadequate efforts to arrest the progress of Marshal Saxe. Defeated at Fontenoy, and outnumbered by two to one, they had to fall back on Brussels and Antwerp.

Meanwhile the young Pretender had seized his opportunity. He had landed in the Highlands, and had swept

Digitized by Google

away the small force, only 3000 men, which was north of the Tweed. A few years before, Sir William Yonge, who was now Secretary at War, had declaimed against a standing army in the popular bluffing style :—

'I hope, sir, that we have men enough in Great Britain who have resolution enough to defend themselves against any invasion whatever, though there were not so much as one red-coat in the whole kingdom.' (Fortescue, ii, 17.)

The time had come to make good such words; but bluster gave place to panic. Ten battalions were recalled from Flanders, ill as they could be spared; and the United Provinces were also called upon to send troops according to treaty. Henry Fox wrote on September 5, 1745 :—

'England, Wade says (and I believe), is for the first comer; and if you can tell whether the 6000 Dutch and the ten battalions of English, or 5000 French or Spaniards will be here first, you know our fate.' (Coxe's 'Memoirs of Lord Walpole,' p. 284.)

The ten battalions were followed by the Duke of Cumberland with the rest of his infantry; and, by the time the Highland army reached Derby, the English forces were too strong for it. It turned northward before the 12,000 French troops that were being assembled at Calais and Boulogne to aid it were ready to cross the Channel. England had a narrow escape of disaster, and the diversion served French purposes well; for the withdrawal of the British troops from the Netherlands enabled Saxe to get possession of Brussels and Antwerp.

The eight years that followed the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle were a mere breathing space, during which hostilities still continued in America and India. But the Pelham administration did not turn the interval to account by preparing for the inevitable renewal of the war; and when it came the army was much too weak for its work. Minorca was taken from us in 1756 because its garrison was too small, and no men could be spared from Gibraltar or from home to reinforce it. Recruits who enlisted for home defence only were, by a flagrant breach of faith, shipped off to Gibraltar. Nineteen thousand Hanoverians and Hessians were brought over to guard the country

Digitized by Google

from invasion, to be sent back again as soon as Pitt came into office.

Something was done during the spell of peace to improve the army; but this was mainly the work of the Duke of Cumberland. He was a keen soldier, though not a great general, and had ability and force of character and great influence with the king. He had been made Captain-General in 1745; and the tone of the War Office changed when he came back from abroad.

'The Secretary at War almost reverts to his old position of clerk to the Commander-in-Chief. . . . There is no longer the indiscriminate correspondence with every rank of officer; but due regard is paid to the rights of superior officers as channels of communication and discipline, and to the authority of the Commander-in-Chief as the supreme motive power.'

Wolfe complained that the Duke's notions were narrow, and did not go beyond perfection of battalion drill; but he was a strict disciplinarian, and made officers take their profession seriously. It was a charge against him that he was trying to Germanise the British army. He disliked the purchase system, and had an eye for merit. The men who won laurels under Pitt owed their advancement to Cumberland. Wolfe was made lieutenant-colonel of a regiment when he was only twenty-three. In the words of Horace Walpole,

'he plucked a very useful feather out of the cap of the ministry by forbidding any application for posts in the army to be made to anybody but himself.'

No wonder the politicians rejoiced when George II chose to make him the scapegoat of the Convention of Klosterzeven. After his resignation there was no commander-in-chief of any weight till the time of the Duke of York.

While the ordinary business of the army was in the hands of the Secretary at War, there were certain matters that were left to one of the Secretaries of State. He submitted to the king the proposals of the ministry as to the strength of the establishment for the year, the employment of the troops, and the choice of generals to command expeditions. He corresponded direct with those generals, and conveyed to them the orders of the Government. It was in this capacity, and not merely as the

Digitized by Google

dominant member of the administration, that Pitt directed the British forces during the Seven Years' War. Mr Fortescue's estimate of him is so just that we quote it in full:—

'He was not a great minister of war, nor was he a great administrator; and his wild intemperance of speech, his incorrigible proclivity to faction, and his lordly contempt for all detail, impair his claim to the title even of a great practical statesman. But never has England produced one who was more emphatically a leader and a king of men. He is known as the Great Commoner; but his habits, his speeches, his writings were rather those of a king. His orders read like royal edicts; his letters, in outward form no less than inward substance, bear the semblance almost of royal charters; and, in truth, his passion for the grandiose amounted almost to a disease. His qualities, with the exception of what may be called his driving power, were, indeed, rather those of the poet than of the statesman. His deep insight pierced into the heart of things; his wide imagination delighted to compass great designs; his imperious will brushed aside all difficulties; his fiery enthusiasm kindled all subordinates to like energy with his own; his passion for the greatness of his country carried his countrymen with him on an irresistible wave of patriotic sentiment; but he trusted overmuch and too often to sentiment. His genius showed him the broad foundations on which to build; but he was impatient when the superstructure which his imagination had raised did not at once arise in obedience to sentiment; and it is not sentiment but patience which conquers all things. His reign was short, and possibly his reputation would have suffered had it been longer; but he was a king of men' (iii, 248).

It was no part of Pitt's original plan to 'conquer America in Germany.' The capitulation of Klosterzeven was largely due to his refusal to give assistance to Hanover when her connexion with England exposed her to French invasion. He preferred to send futile expeditions against French ports. At the beginning of 1758 he declared that Mitchell, the British minister at Berlin, was 'mischievous to a degree' in proposing that British troops should be sent to Germany. He said to Newcastle:—

'Thus it is, my Lord, in every part of the government; the tools of another system are perpetually marring every hopeful measure of the present administration. . . . I do not intend,

Digitized by Google

for one, that Andrew Mitchell shall carry me where I have resolved not to go.' *

It was only gradually that he came to realise that British troops could not be better employed for his purpose than under Ferdinand of Brunswick.

In addition to 65,000 Germans in British pay, Pitt persuaded the House of Commons to raise the British establishment to over 100,000 regular troops. As usual, it was most difficult to get recruits; and Mr Fortescue finds that the ranks were filled by compulsion far more than by attraction. But some new fields were opened. Proposals for raising Highland regiments from clans which had fought for the Pretender were welcomed by Pitt, though they shocked Newcastle; Irish Catholics were accepted as recruits; and regiments were raised in America. Pitt's aversion to the employment of foreign troops in England had made him bring forward a bill to raise 60,000 militia. The numbers were cut down in the House of Lords, and there was some resistance to the measure in the country; but it yielded a force of nearly 30,000 embodied militia during the latter part of the war.

But in 1761 there came the inevitable swing of the pendulum. The war was costing thirteen millions a year, twice as much as any former war. Men began to murmur; and the new king and his friends saw their way to get rid of Pitt, and to bring about a discreditable peace. The establishments were reduced to 45,000 men. This was more than had been thought necessary in former days; and George Grenville, bent on economy, soon came to the conclusion that, as the increase was due to the increase of the British dominions in America, the Colonies ought to pay part of the cost of the men sent out for their defence. He passed the Revenue Act of 1764 imposing port duties with this object, and followed it up by the Stamp Act. So began the disputes between the Colonies and the mother-country which ten years afterwards blazed out into war.

That war, which robbed Great Britain of her best possessions and added one hundred millions to her debt, is a striking example of her habitual unreadiness and her slowness in putting forth her strength. It passed through

* Additional MSS. (Brit. Mus.) 32,877, fol. 236.

Digitized by Google

three successive stages. In the first, the aim was to suppress the rebellion at its focus; in the second, to isolate the New England provinces, and prevent their sending assistance to other parts less disaffected; in the third, to win back the southern provinces from the newly formed Union. Each in turn seemed hopeful, but each failed because of the tardy and half-hearted way in which it was carried out.

At the beginning of 1774 General Gage told the king that he thought an addition of four regiments would be enough to prevent any disturbance at Boston; but before the end of the year he warned the Government that a policy of coercion would mean the reconquest of New England and would require 20,000 men. Lord Dartmouth replied:—

'It is impossible, without putting the army on a war establishment; and I am unwilling to think that matters have come to such a pass yet' (iii, 149).

It was thought sufficient to raise the Boston garrison to 10,000 men. In August 1775, after Lexington and Bunker Hill, the Government proposed and carried an increase of the army from 33,000 to 55,000 men. But it was one thing to pass the vote, another to raise the men. Lord Barrington, who was Secretary at War, wrote to Lord North:—

'My own opinion always has been, and still is, that the Americans may be reduced by the fleet, but never can be by the army. I wish I could flatter myself that the utmost exertion of our endeavours would produce the recruits we shall want before next spring.'

The Adjutant-General declared that to attempt to conquer America by our land force was 'as wild an idea as ever controverted common sense.' But it was not a case of conquest. There was a large neutral element, and a loyalist element of uncertain proportions, which could only assert itself with the help of British troops. To operate only by sea was to forgo this assistance, and to encourage the energetic minority which was bent on separation. The Government, therefore, rightly rejected the idea of a mere blockade.

Howe, who succeeded Gage at Boston, could do nothing towards suppressing the rebellion with 10,000 men. He

Digitized by Google

was, in fact, besieged, and in the spring of 1776 he had to hasten his evacuation of the town, which had already been decided on. He advised, and the Government approved, the occupation of New York, where loyalists were plentiful, to be followed by the seizure of the line of the Hudson. It was a scheme which Washington regarded with great anxiety, for the safety of America depended, in his opinion, on free communication between the New England colonies and the rest. He did his utmost for the defence of New York, though the British command of the sea placed him at great disadvantage there.

It took so long to raise troops and send them across the Atlantic, that it was near the end of August when Howe reached the mouth of the Hudson with a fine army of 25,000 men, of whom 8000 were Hessians. He had learnt caution at Bunker Hill, and did not make the most of his opportunities. Practically the only result of the campaign was to give the British possession of New York. The occupation of the line of the Hudson was left for the following year.

At the beginning of June 1777 Burgoyne set out from Canada with about 7000 men, and moving up Lake Champlain he reached the upper waters of the Hudson by the end of July. Howe, who might have met him there, was by that time sailing southward in pursuance of a new scheme, the capture of Philadelphia. The result was the surrender of Saratoga.

'This unfortunate event, it is to be hoped, will in future prevent ministers from pretending to direct operations of war in a country at three thousand miles' distance, of which they have so little knowledge as not to be able to distinguish between good, bad, or interested advices, or to give positive orders upon matters which, from their nature, are ever on the change' (iii, 242).

So wrote Carleton, who commanded in Canada; and Mr Fortescue quotes it as the only pertinent comment on the disaster.

Here and in other cases he is too much disposed to lay the blame of miscarriage on Lord George Germain, who was the minister in charge of the war, having succeeded Dartmouth as Secretary of State for the Colonies. It was certainly not a happy choice to give the direction of

Digitized by Google

military operations in America to the man who had been cashiered after Minden; and his character, his ability, and his former service as a soldier made him especially prone to interference. He was careless also in the matter of sending out instructions to secure the success of a plan which depended on timely co-operation.

But this does not acquit Howe. The seizure of the line of the Hudson was a thing which he had himself recommended; and he knew that Burgoyne was to march from Canada. When he wrote to Germain in December 1876, proposing to operate in Pennsylvania, he added that the northern army was not expected to reach Albany before the middle of September. This implied that he counted on taking Philadelphia before the time came for him to reach out a hand to Burgoyne. But it was the beginning of July when Howe embarked his troops for Philadelphia, and it was near the end of September when he entered that city. Three weeks afterwards Burgoyne, surrounded by five times his own numbers, and half starved, was forced to capitulate.

Saratoga brought France into the field, to be followed by Spain, and later by Holland, while the rest of Europe was unfriendly. The estimates for 1779 provided for a British establishment of 121,000 men (including 24,000 foreign troops) and 40,000 embodied militia. Such a provision would have crushed the rebellion in Massachusetts three years before, or would have secured the isolation of New England, but it was insufficient for waging war all over the world. The numbers rose year by year to a total of more than 200,000 men, including the Irish establishment; but there was still a cry for reinforcements.

The occupation of Philadelpia had no such effect as Howe hoped from it. Clinton, who succeeded Howe, took the troops back to New York, and was told to direct his operations chiefly against the southern colonies, where loyalists were said to be numerous. If those colonies could be won back, their trade, which had been the mainstay of the rebellion, would be restored to Great Britain. In 1780 Clinton took Charleston and then returned to New York, leaving Cornwallis with 5000 men to complete the recovery of the Carolinas. It was a scanty force for so large a task, and not well suited to it. 'The enemy are mostly mounted militia, not to be overtaken by our

Digitized by Google

infantry, nor to be safely pursued in this strong country by our cavalry.' So wrote Lord Rawdon; and it reads like a recent letter from South Africa.

At Camden and at Guilford the British troops showed that in a fair fight they could win victories over odds of two to one; but their numbers dwindled in spite of reinforcements; they ran short of supplies, and Cornwallis had to return to the coast. He came to the conclusion that the recovery of the south was only to be effected by securing a firm footing in Virginia, and that it would be worth while even to abandon New York with that object. So from Wilmington he marched north to the James River, to join the British troops already there, leaving Lord Rawdon to hold the posts in South Carolina as best he might.

A few months later Cornwallis's operations in Virginia came to a deplorable end in the capitulation at Yorktown. Those who care to plunge into the tangle of recrimination which sprang from that surrender will find facilities in the late Mr B. F. Stevens's reprint of the Clinton-Cornwallis controversy. It is quite clear that the main responsibility rests neither with Clinton nor Cornwallis, but with the Admiralty or the naval officers who allowed De Grasse to get command of the American waters. But on the military side also there were mistakes and disagreements. The 30,000 men at Clinton's disposal were too few to do all that was expected of them, but they were not made the most of.

We cannot agree with Mr Fortescue that Clinton was made the scapegoat for the blunders of Cornwallis and Germain. He was a capable officer when charged with a definite enterprise, but as commander-in-chief he was anxious and vacillating, more apt to raise difficulties than to overcome them. The objections to any large scheme made him lean to masterly inactivity varied by small raids. In a characteristic note to his 'Narrative' he says:—

'Had Lord Cornwallis staid in Carolina as I had ordered him, and I had even assembled my Force at N. York and remained there with my arms across without affront, negative victory would have insured American Dependence.'

Rodney complained to Germain of Clinton's dilatoriness

Digitized by Google

at the end of 1780, and shared the view of Cornwallis that it was in the James and Chesapeake that the war could be brought to an end. It is a pity that the resignation which Clinton repeatedly tendered was not accepted; for Cornwallis, as his subsequent career showed, was a man of ability and decision of character, not afraid of responsibility.

The American war was a good school for officers; it brought the two-deep formation into vogue and taught the value of light infantry. It also had its effect in an opposite direction, for Dundas's 'Theory of Infantry Movements,' borrowed from the Prussians, and officially adopted in 1792, was meant as a corrective of the open order and independent ideas picked up in America. As regards army administration, the lessons that might have been learnt were neglected. The establishment was reduced as usual, and the men were so ill paid that they could not keep themselves smart enough to escape punishment; so that, in the words of the adjutant-general,

'unable even to satisfy the common calls of hunger, and being without hope of relief, the soldier naturally deserted in despair.'

Recruits were not to be had by fair means; and, instead of paying the British market price, the Government subsidised Hessians to come when called upon.

Sir Henry Bunbury, a most competent witness, gives the following description of the British military forces at the beginning of the war with the French Republic:—

'Our army was lax in its discipline, entirely without system, and very weak in numbers. Each colonel of a regiment managed it according to his own notions, or neglected it altogether. There was no uniformity of drill or movement; professional pride was rare; professional knowledge still more so. Never was a kingdom less prepared for a stern and arduous conflict.'

Seeley has said that in the eighteenth century we conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind, without allowing it to affect our imaginations or change our ways of thinking. The history of the army bears this out. Its successes did not win public regard for it; its failures did not overcome public indifference

Digitized by Google

and neglect. The administration was left in the hands of an official who had not the weight necessary for extensive reforms, who wanted to stand well both with the king and the House of Commons, and found jobbery and low estimates the readiest means thereto. An increase of the army by twenty new regiments meant, according to Burke, 'twenty new colonels capable of seats in this House.' Good officers like Conway were deprived of their regiments for voting against the Government; bad officers evaded their military duties without risk of supersession if they supported the ministry in Parliament.

This state of things made a lasting impression on men like Wellington. It became a cardinal principle with him to keep the army as much as possible out of the hands of the House of Commons. After 1793 the office of Commander-in-Chief was not left vacant, and it gained a good deal of influence and authority during the Duke of York's long tenure of it. There grew up a 'dual system,' the Horse Guards and the War Office, representing military and civil authority respectively, each jealously resisting encroachments by the other. This system of check and countercheck hindered some abuses, but it also hindered reform and led to stagnation. A very strong commission, of which Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston were members, made proposals in 1837 for the better administration of the army; but Wellington was against them because they would 'transfer the effective command of the army from the king to the House of Commons.' They would give so much power to the civil minister that the Commander-in-Chief would be a mere instrument in his hands. He added: 'Have we never seen a Secretary at War carry on the discipline of the army by an adjutant and quartermaster-general, himself administering the patronage?'

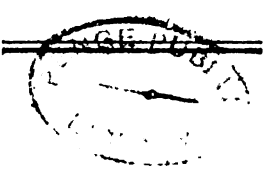
Nothing was done till the Crimean War, when Palmerston became Prime Minister, and the main features of the scheme of the commission were adopted. The Secretary at War was made a Secretary of State; and the ordnance and commissariat were placed under him. The Duke's forecast was realised. The dual system gradually disappeared; and the Commander-in-Chief became the principal military adviser of the war minister. The administration of the army has been refashioned on the lines

Digitized by Google

of the navy—a civil minister with full powers, advised by experts who are heads of departments. It is far from being an ideal system, but it is the one best suited to our constitution, and it has not entailed the political jobbery which Wellington feared. The needs of the army can now be pressed upon a man who is in the first rank of politicians and who is wholly responsible for its efficiency. He in his turn transmits the pressure to the House of Commons with all the weight of the Cabinet and of his party behind him. He is far more likely to carry his point than the most capable soldier-minister of the continental type, who is open to the charge of professional bias, demoralises the army if he becomes a party man, and has no one to back him if he does not.

The result has been an unprecedented activity in army reform. In the second half of the nineteenth century the army was increased by one half; a reserve was created and rose to eighty thousand men, in addition to a volunteer force numbering a quarter of a million; the pay and condition of the soldier were improved, and the death-rate reduced by more than one half; the purchase system was abolished, the supply services were remodelled, the auxiliary forces were linked with the regulars, and the whole were to some extent organised for war. Much remains to be done; and it has yet to be shown that the problem of national defence can be satisfactorily solved without some form of compulsory training. But the progress made is sufficient to justify some confidence that, even under our present system, we may yet have an efficient army, provided that the most able men are entrusted with the duty of supervision, that adequate attention be paid to intelligence and strategy, and that harmony and co-operation between the Government and their military advisers be established on an effective and permanent basis.

E. M. LLOYD.



Digitized by Google

(57 LIBRARY.

Art. III.—THE METRIC SYSTEM OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

1. *Opinions of H.M. Diplomatic and Consular Officers on British Trade Methods.* (C. 9078 of 1898.)
2. *Reports of the Standards Department of the Board of Trade.*
3. *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Metric Weights and Measures.* 1895. (Commons Paper, 346.)
4. *Papers relating to a Conference between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Prime Ministers of Self-governing Colonies.* June–August, 1902. (Cd. 1299 of 1902.)
5. *Publications of the Decimal Association, and other Reports and Pamphlets.*

SINCE the Arabs familiarised Western Europe with the Indian discovery of decimal notation there has been a growing contradiction between our methods of computation and of measurement. So great and so obvious are the advantages of reconciling this antagonism that, had the decimal system been as well adapted for concrete measurement as for calculation, it is hard to believe that it would not long ere this have driven all rivals from the field. If, however, the system of counting in groups of ten is based on the physical fact that the normal human being possesses ten fingers, the human mind is no less universally addicted to multiply and divide quantities by a process of repeated doubling and halving. Indeed, it may be argued that this habit is more deeply rooted in the natural laws of human thought than the decimal system of counting in the laws of the human body. That we have five fingers on each hand is but an accident; and there is no difficulty in imagining a race of men each possessing twelve digits and counting in duodecimals. But without a change of mental constitution, which it is difficult even to imagine, it would not be as easy to form a mental picture of a third as of a half, of a fifth as of a quarter, or even of a tenth as of an eighth. When we deal with more minute subdivisions or larger multiples, so that a mental picture is no longer immediately conveyed by the numerical expressions employed, the binary

Digitized by Google

system loses its advantage over its decimal rival. The expressions 'hundred' and 'one hundredth' call up pictures no more and no less definite than 'ninety-six' and 'one ninety-sixth.' For purposes of calculation, in which, beyond the simplest processes, it is neither necessary nor possible for the mind to form a concrete conception of each step, it is of minor importance that the scale of notation should correspond to the ascending and descending scales in which the mind naturally thinks. And though it may possibly be a matter of regret that the Arabic notation is based on a number which only admits of a single division by two and is indivisible by three, this defect has not prevented its other merits from causing it entirely to supersede in all civilised countries the cumbrous systems of computation formerly in vogue. That it would be possible to displace our decimal notation by one founded on a duodecimal or binary basis at this time of day is a chimerical dream.

What would have been the result of a straightforward contest between the decimal and binary systems as the basis of our weights and measures can only be a matter of conjecture. For our existing units are very far from forming a binary system—or indeed any system which is intelligible, except by reference to their historical origin and evolution. Like the hierarchy of the gods in the Greek and Roman mythology, our weights and measures, with their quaint and time-honoured names, have been gradually formed into certain mutually related series by a process of syncretism and adaptation. Thus, for example, the mile, furlong, pole, yard, foot, and inch were originally all independent units with no definite proportion among themselves; and none of them bore any relation to measures of surface such as the acre or the rood. The distinction of origin was one both of nationality, e.g. as between the Roman foot and mile and the English yard and furlong, and of purpose, e.g. as between the measurement of land by 'furrow-longs' and of cloth by 'cloth-yards.' Most, however, of the units of measure (except the furlong and pole) were derived originally from the length of parts of the 'average' human body. The words 'foot' and 'hand' explain their origin; the 'inch' was the length of the first joint of the thumb, and the yard that of the king's arm.

Digitized by Google

Had the lengths of these human members been decimally related to each other the series evolved out of the combination of the rival units would have harmonised with the system of counting based on the ten fingers. As, however, Nature has been unkind enough not to form human bodies in this way, the mutual relations of the units derived from the various members were naturally both indefinite and complicated. The furlong and the pole had come, by the time of 'Domesday Book,' to be definitely related to the rood and the acre, the rood being the area of a strip of field a furlong in length and a pole in breadth, and the acre consisting of four of such strips. The mile (which does not appear in 'Domesday' at all) became afterwards identified with ten furlongs, and was only later again shortened into eight (a change from a decimal to a binary relationship which is worth notice, and but for which the mile would be almost exactly a double kilometre). The yard was still independent; and, in fact, several different yards were in use for different purposes, while the Roman foot of twelve inches long contested the ground with the Belgic foot of 13·2 inches, which is said to have been the prevailing builder's foot in the Middle Ages. This old foot seems to have given rise to a yard almost exactly equivalent to the modern 'metre' or to one fifth of a pole—the 'yard and full-hand,' as it was termed in the law of 1439, which suppressed its use in consequence of the confusion with the 'cloth-yard,' whose length was fixed by that statute. Thus any chance of the natural evolution of a decimal system of measurement in this country was lost; while the legal foot of twelve inches, which survived its competitors, had to be fitted into the series of land measures by the awkward relationship to the pole (still more awkward when we deal with surface measurements) which is still a stumbling-block to every generation of school-children.

The interference of government, with the view of bringing order and uniformity into the chaos of local and customary trade units, was not in the main inspired, at least in early times, by any idea of facilitating commerce or of promoting scientific accuracy. It was more the protection of revenue than the fostering of trade that our ancestors had in mind in framing and administering the series of statutes bearing on the standards of weights

Digitized by Google

and measures. An example is the limitation of the size of the 'chaldron' of sea-coal to stop the evasion of duty by the continual increase of the measure on which it was levied.

It required the five centuries which followed the Norman Conquest to establish, partly by natural selection, partly by statutory enactment, the existing series of weights and measures out of numberless units, independent in origin and varying widely according to locality and purpose, and often differing appreciably within the same district and trade. The process is not even now entirely completed, some units, such as the stone, proving refractory and retaining their perplexing local and trade variations of meaning. That even in the simple matter of enumeration the syncretic process stopped short of completeness is shown by the survival of such numbers as the 'great hundred' and the 'bakers' dozen.' The dry and liquid measures of capacity were only imperfectly consolidated; and practically nothing was done to establish fixed relations among the units of weight, measure, and volume, beyond the statutory recognition of the accidental coincidence that a gallon of cold water weighs ten pounds. It is only within recent years that the long battle between the old legal pound (or troy pound) and the old customary or merchants' pound (avoirdupois) was ended by the victory of the latter; there still remain two legal ounces and two drachms, while the ounce avoirdupois still bears no integral relation to the grain. In these and other ways our system of weights and measures bears the marks of its composite historical origin; and, whatever element of truth there may be in the contention that it represents the survival of the fittest, and thus may in some ways correspond more truly to the actual wants of life than any artificial system is likely to do, it must be admitted that, to say the least, the imperial weights and measures have the faults of their qualities. And very serious faults they certainly are.

It was in the eighteenth century that the growth of international intercourse and commerce led men to look not only for the system best adapted to a particular country, but for an international unit which could be universally adopted. The search for a universal standard was appropriate to the temper of the eighteenth century,

Digitized by Google

with its wide humanitarian and cosmopolitan outlook, and its impatience of the bounds of nationality. The movement received a great impetus from the advance of natural science, which knows no limitation of country. Students of natural science, dwelling in different countries, inevitably desiderated a common language of quantitative expression in which they could communicate their researches—which would be to modern natural philosophy what mediæval Latin was to the theologian or philosopher. What was passing through the minds of scientific men at this time cannot better be described than in the language of James Watt, the inventor of the steam-engine. In a letter to Mr Kirwan, dated November 14, 1783, he wrote:—

'Having lately been making some calculations from Messrs Lavoisier and De la Place's experiments, and comparing them with yours, I had a great deal of trouble in reducing the weights and measures to speak the same language; and many of the German experiments become still more difficult from their using different weights and different divisions of them in different parts of that empire. It is therefore a very desirable thing to have these difficulties removed, and to get all philosophers to use pounds divided in the same manner; and I flatter myself that may be accomplished if you, Dr Priestley, and a few of the French experimenters will agree to it; for the utility is so evident that every thinking person must immediately be convinced of it.'

Watt goes on to suggest the universal adoption of the Paris pound as the standard, 'being now the most universal in Europe; it is to our avoirdupois pound as 109 is to 100.' If, however, it should turn out that all philosophers could not agree on one standard unit, he proposed that each should employ his own, provided that the decimal subdivision is adopted universally. The philosophical pound was to contain ten ounces, each containing ten drachms of one hundred grains. In a postscript Watt adds:—

'I have some hopes that the foot may be fixed by the pendulum and a measure of water, and a pound derived from that; but, in the interim, let us at least assume a proper division, which, from the nature of it, must be intelligible as long as decimal arithmetic is used.'

Digitized by Google

Watt's proposal for a decimal system of weights and measures was not new, having been made by Sir James Stuart nearly a hundred years earlier, while his suggestion to derive the standard of length from the pendulum had been made by Picard many years before. It is, however, interesting to English readers to note that all the fundamental features of the metric system—the derivation of units of weight and volume from a unit of length, itself derived from some physical constant, and the decimal subdivision of the units thus formed—were advocated by Watt and pressed on Lavoisier and Laplace several years before the report of the French Commission on which the metric system was based.

The next few years, however, were momentous in the history of Europe. In 1789 the assemblage of the States-General in Paris brought to a focus the long-felt discontent at the numberless variations of the customary weights and measures which were in use in the various provinces of France; and in the following year the Academy of Sciences was instructed by royal decree to elaborate a uniform scheme. The Royal Society of London declined the invitation to assist in the work; and England lost any share of the credit of formulating the new system. The scheme of the Academy of Sciences was adopted by the National Convention in 1793. Its main features are too well known to need detailed description. All previous units were entirely abandoned; the pendulum scheme of Picard was rejected; and the standard of length was based on the ascertained length of a terrestrial quadrant. The ten-millionth part of this length was termed a 'metre'; and on this unit, together with the maximum density of water, the whole system of measures and weights was built up, all subdivisions and multiples of the standard units being decimally connected. Thus, for the first time in history, a simple, coherent system of weights and measures was elaborated, as superior in these respects to all previous systems as the Arabic notation to the now obsolete methods which it superseded.

Napoleon is quoted as having, in his declining years, girded at the men of science who, instead of making the Paris weights and measures universal throughout France, would be content with nothing but a brand-new system.

Digitized by Google

The criticism is no juster than many others of Napoleon's sayings at St Helena; but it is no disparagement to the French *savants* to suggest that their work might have remained a mere ingenious proposal to this day but for a very rare combination of circumstances—the practical grievance of the French provinces joining with the scientific difficulties of the chemists and coinciding with the revolutionary fervour of the times, and, perhaps not least, the fortunate accident that the new unit of weight was almost exactly the double of the old Paris 'livre.'

There is no space in this article to describe in detail the history of the adoption and spread of the metric system in France and other European countries. First made compulsory by decree of the National Convention, the system was only very gradually enforced in Paris; and after 1801, when it was extended to the provinces, it was slow to come into popular use, as is shown both by the successive circulars of the Ministers of the Interior, urging the prefects to greater activity, and by the Imperial Decree of 1812, which, in attempting a compromise between the new and old systems, threw everything back into confusion.

Not until 1840 was the dual system finally disposed of, the law of 1837 prescribing that from January 1, 1840, none but the weights and measures prescribed in the laws of 8 Germinal, year iii, and 19 Frimaire, year viii, should be employed; and that the use of unauthorised measures should be made punishable. Since then the metric system, and the metric system only, has been the legal system in force in France; but, when it is suggested that a space of two and a half years (July 1837 to December 1839) sufficed for its compulsory adoption, it is fair to remember the long period of preparation, of more than forty years, beginning in 1793.

The physical basis of the metric system, which was so dear to the men of science by whom it was elaborated, has long since disappeared with the discovery of an error in the measurement of the quadrant. The metre, therefore, has no more natural basis than our own yard, being merely the length of a certain piece of metal preserved in Paris. It was not, however, its supposed natural derivation, but its unrivalled qualities of simplicity, and

Digitized by Google

the direct inter-relation of its units, that gave vitality to the metric system, and that caused it gradually to spread until, at the present time, it is far more widely used than any other system in the principal commercial countries of the world. We shall presently see some reason to question the imposing statistics published by the Decimal Association as to the extent to which the metric system is now used; but, after making all allowances, if we consider the total population of countries by which the system has been adopted, and still more the rate at which it has spread, and if we further bear in mind the fact that no important country which has introduced the system has receded from it, we cannot fail to admit that the metric system 'holds the field' against all competitors. There may or may not be sufficient grounds for our taking the very serious step of exchanging the yard and pound for the metre and kilogramme, but assuredly there is no reason to expect any country to change the metre and kilogramme for the yard and pound.

The adoption of the metric system in Germany immediately after the constitution of the German Empire was perhaps the most important of the many successes which the system has achieved outside France. Here again three of the main conditions which had enabled the system to be introduced in France were present. The new empire consisted of a federation of states in which, as is stated in Sir Frank Lascelle's memorandum, 'there existed . . . previously to the introduction of the metric system countless other systems of the most divergent kinds, no single one of which possessed any advantages over the others or over the metric system.' In the next place the birth of the new empire, like the proclamation of the French Republic, was a 'psychological moment' when men's minds welcomed rather than resented a great organic change. In the third place the German Zollverein had already years before introduced the half kilogramme as the 'Zollverein pound,' so that the public were already accustomed to use a weight having an even closer relation to the metric unit than the old Paris pound. In these circumstances three and a half years sufficed for the compulsory adoption of the metric system, though the public in Germany still adhere largely to the old measures, especially of length and surface.

Digitized by Google

Still more obstinately do the old weights and measures resist displacement in popular use in some of the provinces of Italy, especially the Neapolitan provinces and Sicily. Here the compulsory introduction was not, as in the case of Germany, simultaneous with the unification of the kingdom, the metric system being already to some extent employed in most of the separate states.

While the spread of the metric system has been general and rapid among the more important commercial countries outside the limits of the English-speaking races, within those limits little progress has been made. In the United Kingdom the question of the general introduction of the system has not progressed beyond the stage of agitation by voluntary associations, and of official inquiries and reports. First the Decimal Association, then the Metric Association, and finally, the second Decimal Association, which at present exists, have carried on the uphill work of endeavouring to persuade successive governments to take action similar to that taken by so many foreign countries. Sometimes the proposals for change have been confined to weights and measures, at other times they have extended also to the decimalising of the coinage. Several commissions and committees have reported in favour of the metric system, the last being a select committee of the House of Commons in 1895. This committee, of which Sir Henry Roscoe was chairman, recommended almost unanimously the immediate legalisation of metric weights and measures, and their compulsory adoption after an interval of two years. The former of these recommendations was carried into effect by the Weights and Measures Act of 1897; and the metric weights and measures are now supposed to be generally taught in public elementary schools; but the question of the compulsory adoption of metric standards is as yet far from having come within the range of practical politics, though the Chambers of Commerce have passed repeated resolutions in its support.

Lately the somewhat languid interest of the public in the question has received a certain stimulus from the adoption by the conference of colonial premiers in 1902 of the following resolution:—

> 'That it is advisable to adopt the metric system of weights and measures for use within the empire, and

Digitized by Google

> the Prime Ministers urge the governments represented at this conference to give consideration to the question of its early adoption.'

The published Blue-book gives no clue to the origin or object of the above resolution. It can hardly have been designed to secure uniformity of standards throughout the empire, for, to a very large extent, such uniformity already exists. So little importance seems to have been attached to the matter by the editors of the report that they actually indexed the resolution under the heading 'decimal currency.' Perhaps the fear of the general introduction of metric standards in America may have weighed with the Canadian delegates, though the wording of the resolution suggests that the main object was to promote 'inter-imperial' rather than external trade. Perhaps in this case (as in that of the Zollverein) a misleading influence was exercised by the analogy of the German Empire. Possibly the colonial premiers themselves would find it difficult to give a coherent explanation of the wording of the resolution and of its appearance among the proceedings of the conference. But in any case the passage of the resolution will justifiably be used as an additional argument by the advocates of the reform.

The slow progress made by the movement for the adoption of the metric system in the United Kingdom, and the apparent indifference of the bulk of our commercial and industrial classes—so inexplicable in the eyes of the advocates of the change—may be better understood, though not perhaps justified, after a review of the principal grounds on which the introduction of the system is usually recommended.

By far the most popular of the arguments urged by the advocates of the compulsory adoption of the metric system is based on the disadvantage at which British manufacturers and traders are stated to be placed under the existing system in competing with their foreign rivals, and in securing a market for their exports. The argument is thus stated in a recent pamphlet published by the Decimal Association.

> 'The countries which have already adopted the metric weights and measures represent a population of over

Digitized by Google

483,000,000. Our customers in the metric countries do not understand quotations and specifications based on British weights and measures. Often they cannot spare the time required to calculate the metric equivalents, and prefer to deal with German and other makers who use the metric system. At present the British manufacturer, especially of machinery, who makes goods for metric countries as well as his own, must work to one system of weights and measures for his home trade and to another for his foreign trade. In several trades this also involves two sets of costly patterns, while the principals, the clerks, the mechanics, and others, must use both systems of measurement. This means increased trouble and expense, from which our foreign competitors who use the metric system, and no other, are free. If we keep to our old imperial weights and measures, and invoice foreign traders according to the metric system, there must be many intricate calculations and many risks of mistakes.'

In examining this argument it is convenient, first, to consider the obstacles which our adherence to the imperial weights and measures places in the way of our commercial intercourse with the 'metric' countries; and secondly, to inquire how far any conclusion at which we arrive on this point is modified by the fact that our foreign trade is not exclusively with countries using the metric system, but is to a large extent carried on with countries using either the British weights and measures or some other system differing from both.

The obstacles offered to our trade with metric countries by the discrepancy between our standards and theirs are of three different kinds, which are of different orders of importance. First, we have the fact that our possible customers do not understand, and will not take trouble to understand, quotations in the imperial system, and will not study catalogues in which these units are employed. Secondly, articles made by standard sizes according to the British system do not conform to the standards of size to which consumers in metric countries are accustomed, and consequently are unsaleable in those countries. The third difficulty, closely allied to the second, is that, in tendering for contracts in which the specifications are in terms of metric units, British manufacturers, whose machinery and patterns are adapted to the imperial system, are at a disadvantage and are compelled to con-

Digitized by Google

vert all the dimensions into British equivalents. This can only be done approximately, since our units are not only different from, but incommensurable with, the metric units. Numerous small errors are thus introduced into the work, which may cumulatively be of sufficient importance to cause the rejection of the article.

The chief arguments in favour of the adoption of the metric system, derived from the needs of our foreign trade, are usually based on consular reports, which abound in warnings to British traders of the danger which they run by neglecting to adapt their mode of doing business to the habits and prejudices of their customers. Among these deficiencies, to which is attributed our loss of ground in some foreign markets compared with our more energetic and pliable continental competitors, there naturally looms large the failure of many of our traders to adopt the metric system of weights and measures in dealing with customers who understand that system, but to whom our British weights and measures are a hopeless puzzle. The criticism usually forms part of a more general criticism, which embraces our unwillingness to make use of the currency and language of those to whom our trade catalogues are addressed, to quote for delivery to their doors instead of 'f.o.b.' ('free on board') at some British port, to study their tastes in packing, and, in general, to adapt our goods and trade methods to their habits and tastes. It is clear that, towards meeting the criticism as a whole, the adoption of the metric units would only be a very partial step. No one seriously proposes one general international coinage; and a universal language for commercial intercourse remains the dream of a few faddists. But if, in these two points, to say nothing of many others, the only remedy available must lie with the traders themselves, who must translate their catalogues and convert their price quotations into the terms best understood by their customers, it may pertinently be asked why the same should not hold good as regards weights and measures. Is it necessary to convulse the whole internal system of trade of this country in order to save those engaged in certain branches of trade with certain foreign countries from the necessity of converting English weights and measures at the same time that they convert English currency,

Digitized by Google

remembering, moreover, that the conversions will still remain necessary in the case of trade with non-metric countries, e.g. China or Persia? Why, it may again be asked, is it less easy for British exporters to express the terms on which they will do business with Germany in language and units familiar to Germans, than it is for Germans to do the converse in the case of their trade with this country? Yet the 'made in Germany' cry is sometimes heard from the very people who attribute the relative stagnation of our export trade to the difficulties of our weights and measures.

If these questions are not easy to answer, at least on the grounds usually taken by the advocates of the metric system, they afford no ground for criticism of the consular reports, but only of the uses to which they are sometimes put. The point of view of a consul reporting on the difficulties experienced by British traders must necessarily be a local and restricted one. He is looking at the conditions of a particular market, and if he finds that one obstacle to trade is the non-adoption of the metric system, he is quite right to mention it in his report. It is no part of his business to survey the conditions of other markets, or to balance the gain from the suggested change of system in a particular foreign market with the possible loss which the same change might cause, say, in some colonial market. His sermon to our traders is, 'If you want to trade, adapt your wares, your language, your currency, your weights and measures, and your whole system of doing business, to the habits and prejudices of your customers.' But it is beyond the consul's function to lay down how far the adaptation is to be done for himself by each individual trader studying the wants of each market, or how far, on a balance of all considerations, it is desirable to help his efforts by a change in our national system of weights and measures.

For these reasons the statements of our consuls as to the advantage to British trade which would follow the adoption of the metric system are to be regarded more as salutary warnings to individual traders engaged in particular trades to adapt their methods to the habits and understandings of their customers, than as conclusive testimony to the desirability of a general change of system by legal enactment. Nevertheless it must be

Digitized by Google

admitted that, so far as they go, these statements support the view that the adoption of the metric system would be followed by a real and substantial gain, at all events in certain trades carried on with metric countries; and the mere fact that some of the advantages to be expected from adapting our trade methods to the tastes and prejudices of our customers can only be realised by individual effort, is not sufficient reason by itself to deter the State from taking such steps as are open to it to aid our traders in their competitive struggle, provided the gain of the change is clearly not outweighed by the loss.

In this case the magnitude of the gain can only be conjectured. It will naturally be greatest in trades and countries in which British goods are hard pressed by their competitors. In some trades, e.g. cotton yarns, in which our supremacy has been so unquestioned that metric countries have actually been compelled to depart from their own system and to adopt the English system of 'counts,' the gain will of course be nil. In others, e.g. machinery, it may be considerable; and the change would certainly make it easier for British contractors to tender successfully for constructive work in metric countries. It is, of course, much more difficult for the British manufacturer to adapt the units of his manufacture and the graduation of his tools to the metric system than it is for British traders to translate their catalogues and price-lists into metric equivalents. In the one case, all that is needed is to adapt the conditions of sale, in the other it is necessary to alter the conditions of production; and where manufacture is carried on both for export and for the home market, at least two sets of patterns and standards must be worked to—a practical impossibility under competitive conditions in many workshops. Here, therefore, is the strongest case for the metric system as an assistance to our trade.

But before accepting the case as proved we must not only consider the cost of the transition, but must carefully inquire how far the argument is affected by the fact that the metric system is still far from universal among the countries with which our trade is carried on, and which compete with us in neutral markets.

The relative importance of metric and non-metric countries is not easily compared by means of exact

Digitized by Google

figures. Population is but an indifferent test of the prevalence of the metric as compared with other systems, because, estimated by this method, a number of backward and uncivilised countries, whose foreign trade is small, would entirely overshadow in importance the chief commercial countries. Moreover, in some of these backward countries one system may be officially adopted for foreign trade, while the vast majority of internal transactions are carried on according to local and customary standards; and to 'weight' such countries by their total populations produces a misleading result. Thus it is to be noted that the total population of 483 millions claimed by the Decimal Association for the metric system includes the whole native population of Java (34 millions); the French colonies and protectorates, including Indo-China (52 millions); French West and Central Africa; the whole Ottoman Empire (44 millions); and Japan (42 millions). It is difficult to see on what ground the two last countries ought to be claimed at all for the metric system. The metric units are not used in Turkey except for the comparatively insignificant purpose of foreign trade. Two attempts to introduce them generally in Constantinople have completely failed, while no effort has been made to extend their use to the provinces. In Japan the metric standards have not been adopted, but merely legalised as an alternative method of calculating. As a matter of fact, while Japanese traders invariably calculate by their old national units, they understand the British weights and measures better than the metric units. There can be no doubt that the relative weight given by the population basis to the other countries enumerated above is greatly exaggerated. The same difficulty applies in an even greater degree to a similar estimate of the populations of countries using non-metric standards, since here the immense populations of India and China, to say nothing of Central Africa, utterly distort the totals, looked at from a commercial point of view. If, however, we exclude all barbarous and semi-civilised races, and consider merely the populations of the chief commercial countries, some five or six hundred millions altogether, we shall find that, roughly speaking, the populations of these countries are equally divided between the metric and non-metric

Digitized by Google

systems. The Latin countries of Europe and South America, together with Germany and Austria-Hungary, figure in the one list, while the other includes practically the whole of the English-speaking peoples, together with Russia and Japan.

It is clear, however, that, so far as concerns the interests of British trade, a much better test than population is afforded by the statistics of our trade with the various groups of countries. In the following table the import and export trade of the United Kingdom is classified roughly under three heads, according as the countries with which it is concerned use the metric, imperial, or some other standard of weights and measures:—

Foreign Countries and British Possessions which use—	Imports into United Kingdom.	Exports of British Produce from United Kingdom.
	Million £.	Million £.
Metric system	215	114
Imperial system (or slight modifications thereof)	240	116
Other systems	68	50
Total	523	280

This table shows that the bulk of our external trade, both import and export, is done with countries and colonies that do not use the metric system, and also reveals the interesting fact that we send more of our products to customers who use our own system of weights and measures than to those who use metric standards. Of course the bulk of the export trade with 'imperial standard' countries is with our own colonies and possessions—98 millions out of 116 millions—the balance being with the United States. It is clear from these figures that, with the present distribution of trade, a change to the metric system on the part of the United Kingdom alone would destroy the uniformity of standard over an area of our export trade more extensive than that over which it would create such uniformity.

Enough has been said to show that the question of change of standards has a very direct and important bearing on inter-imperial trade. It is possible, indeed, that a metric country like Germany is not quite so much

Digitized by Google

handicapped in trading with a British colony such as Australia by the difference of standards, as we are in trading with a metric country, inasmuch as the metric system is probably more widely taught and understood in countries using the imperial system than *vice versa*. But by parity of reasoning the German must be even more handicapped in tendering for British and colonial contracts in which the specifications are made out in terms of the imperial standards. Be the handicap what it may, we are at present protected to that extent in colonial markets, and our colonists are protected in our own. Our most formidable competitor in our colonial markets at present is the only important foreign country which uses our weights and measures, viz. the United States.

Let us see what the effect on inter-imperial trade would probably be if (1) the United Kingdom without her colonies, (2) the British Empire as a whole, were to adopt the metric system. In the first case we should deprive ourselves of the whole of the advantage, such as it is, that we possess at present as compared with our metric competitors; while we should place ourselves in an inferior position to that of the United States, which would then be the only country whose weights and measures would be similar to those of the British colonies. In the second case we should place ourselves and our metric competitors on a level in colonial markets, and give to both a position superior to that of the United States. It needs no further argument to show that, from the point of view of inter-imperial trade, it would be not without danger for the United Kingdom to make an isolated change of system. If, however, the whole of the British Empire made the change simultaneously, we might perhaps stand to gain more by handicapping the United States—so long as that country remained non-metric—than we should lose by removing one of the present obstacles to the invasion of colonial markets by our European competitors.

The question has hitherto been discussed, as usual, from the point of view of our export trade. It has, however, as will be seen, an important relation also to our import trade, and it is therefore of interest to note that the proportions of our imports from metric and non-metric countries respectively are not very different from those of

Digitized by Google

our exports, i.e. 41 per cent. from metric and 59 per cent. from non-metric countries.

Now it is clear that if the difference between our weights and measures and the metric system hinders us in competing, say, with German manufactures in European markets, it must also act as a similar hindrance to competition by German manufactures in our own home markets. To this extent the difference of system, like all national differences of custom, language, and taste, operates as a protection in favour of our own manufacturers in our own markets as against the competition of metric countries. In the case, therefore, of manufacturing industries which make chiefly for home consumption, and are threatened by foreign competition in home markets, the adoption of the metric system by this country will tend to aggravate such foreign competition by removing one of its hindrances. When specifications for contracts in the United Kingdom are made out in metric units it will be easier for contractors in metric countries to tender. When the standard dimensions of our manufactures—the diameters of pipes, the thickness of girders, the breadth of tissues, the widths of wall-papers—are all in centimetres instead of inches, it will be easier for our metric competitors (though correspondingly less easy for the United States) to invade our markets. There seems no escape from the dilemma that in so far as a change of system would strengthen our manufacturers in foreign markets it would strengthen our foreign competitors in our own.

This consideration has so far been almost entirely overlooked by the advocates of the change; and in the early days of the movement, when our imports were mainly raw materials and food, and our exports manufactures, it was natural to look far more to the possible gain from increasing our exports than to consider the other side of the shield. But for some years past British manufacturers have in many trades been on their defence in the home markets. Last year our imports of manufactured goods reached a value of over 100,000,000*l.*; and they show an annual increase. British manufacturers have then to ask themselves whether they stand to gain or lose from a change which, while improving the position of British exporters to metric countries, will increase the

Digitized by Google

keenness of foreign competition in the United Kingdom and the colonies. The British manufacturer, accustomed to tender for constructive work in the United Kingdom, India, or the colonies, may well doubt the benefit to himself of stating the specifications in terms at least as familiar to his foreign competitors as to himself. The British wall-paper manufacturer who finds his market protected by the difference of width between British and German wall-papers will not think it an unmixed benefit to assimilate measurements. With a view, however, to facilitating the change, a suggestion has recently been made, apparently in good faith, that, if the metric system be made compulsory, a temporary 'countervailing duty' should be placed on foreign iron and steel manufactures in order to compensate the British manufacturers for the increased competition to which they would be exposed.

If, indeed, our whole foreign trade were with metric countries, the issue thus raised would be not unlike the general question between protection and free trade, and, like that question, it could not be settled merely by reference to the interests of manufacturers. The consumers' interest in the saving of cost resulting from any increase in the keenness of competition would be an important, possibly, in this country a decisive, factor in the situation. In such a case the balance of advantage would be held by free-traders to lie with the abolition of any barrier which *pro tanto* restricts freedom of commercial intercourse between the United Kingdom and foreign countries. Such abolition, like the removal of a protective duty, would not be a gain to all ; but, on the whole, any step towards uniformity of trade practice is a step towards greater freedom of trade. But the case is entirely changed by the fact that our trade with metric countries is positively less than that with the colonies and countries that use our system. So far as regards our trade with non-metric countries, the effect of the change would be like imposing a protective duty instead of removing one.

After the above analysis it will be abundantly clear that the stock arguments of the advocates of the metric system, based on the extent to which it prevails abroad and the disadvantage to British trade of our adherence to a different system, have very little justification when

Digitized by Google

we consider our whole trade, import and export, with our colonies and with foreign countries. And when we remember that the supposed advantage must be purchased by a temporary disturbance of the terms of every transaction, wholesale and retail, in the United Kingdom, and that the change must involve a very large loss to manufacturers owing to the necessity of replacing machines, tools, and patterns, not to mention the temporary disadvantage to which they would be subject while familiarising themselves with the new units, it is not too much to say that, if the above arguments were the only arguments in favour of the movement, British statesmen would be extremely ill advised to give it any countenance whatever.

But the arguments hitherto examined, though the most popular, are by no means the strongest by which the metric system may be supported. It will be observed that throughout the above reasoning the problem has been treated as purely and simply a question of the relative gain and loss to be expected from maintaining a system uniform with, or divergent from, that prevalent among our foreign and colonial customers and competitors. We have balanced the advantage of attaining uniformity with one set of possible customers against the disadvantage of losing such uniformity with another set; and we have considered the net result to our manufacturers of removing an obstacle to export which is, at the same time, a barrier against foreign attack on our home market. Finally, we have suggested the cost and inconvenience of the transition to home trade and industry as a matter to be weighed against the possible gain to our external trade from the new system. In all this argument no account whatever has been taken of any intrinsic superiority of one system to the other; and the conclusion to which we have been forced is that, apart from any such superiority, there is no case for a change simply for the purpose of conforming to the practice of metric countries. If our system were, on its merits, as good as the metric system, there would not be the least reason for alarm or regret at the isolation of the English-speaking races in the matter of standards.

But if it can be shown that the metric system is so superior as an instrument of calculation and measure-

Digitized by Google

ment; and therefore, indirectly, as a factor in economical production, that the countries using it must tend, on account of this superiority, to gain on those which adhere to less scientific methods, the whole question assumes an entirely different character. No longer should we have to balance a problematical gain in export against the certainty of dislocating our far more important internal trade, but we should be considering the claims of a change which ultimately would be bound to benefit all branches of our industry, the only counter-consideration being the temporary difficulty of the transition period.

Hence our analysis of the conditions of our foreign trade leads us back to the ground which the advocates of the change would do well never to have quitted, viz. the comparative merits of the metric and imperial systems. On this point little need be added to what has been said in the earlier part of this article. As regards such all-important points as logical arrangement and symmetry, ease and swiftness of calculation, simple and direct connexion among the fundamental units of length, weight, and volume, there can be no possible room for doubt as to the vast superiority of the metric system. There is more room for question as to the practical convenience of a purely decimal series of multiples and fractions of the primary units. But if, as has been already pointed out, we think in halves and quarters rather than in tenths, the experience of metric countries seems to show that the maintenance of decimal standards for all purposes of account is consistent with a limited use for practical purposes of binary multiples and fractions which do not conveniently fit into the decimal series. In Tyrol we call for a 'viertel,' and not for twenty-five centilitres of wine; in France we buy a 'demi-livre' of chocolate rather than two hundred and fifty grammes (or should it be twenty-five decagrammes?). This practice is sometimes adduced as an argument against the metric system, sometimes in its favour. At least it seems to show that, if a purely decimal series of weights and measures is insufficient for everyday transactions, its defects can readily be supplemented in practice without upsetting the basis of the whole system. This being so, the only other objection ordinarily urged against the metric standards, viz. the alleged inconvenience of some of the units,

Digitized by Google

loses much of its weight. If the kilogramme is too large, the half-kilogramme (the French 'livre,' and German 'Pfund') is quite as convenient a unit as our pound. Again, the metre and litre are as good units as the yard and the quart; and, though we should undoubtedly feel the loss of the inch, foot, and ounce, the inconvenience would be mainly, if not entirely, one of transition. When this is over, there seems no reason why a metric inch of twenty-five millimetres should not serve as well as our inch, a quarter-metre of ten metric inches as well as our foot, and a metric ounce of twenty-five grammes as well as our ounce.

On the whole, then, we have little doubt, after considering the advantages and defects of the metric system, that it 'holds the field' as the best system of weights and measures yet devised. This being so, the question before us is narrowed to the very simple issue, can we face the transition? Whom would it chiefly affect, and how could its difficulties be smoothed over?

It is impossible within the limits of this article to discuss in detail the very practical problems thus raised. Broadly speaking, however, we may suggest that probably the greatest difficulties will not occur where it is usual to expect them. Ordinary retail and wholesale trade may be found to adapt itself to the change far more readily than is commonly anticipated. The grounds for this forecast are, in the first place, that minute exactness affects retail transactions comparatively little. A temporary variation of one or two per cent. matters little. But by a fortunate coincidence it happens that within the above limits of error the change of pound, yard, and gallon into half-kilogramme, metre, and five litres can be effected by a simple addition of ten per cent. As the great majority of retail transactions are based on the above standards, a mere addition of ten per cent. to the price will in most cases be sufficient during the transition.

We should look for the maximum of inconvenience not in trades in which approximate equivalents will suffice, or in which the change of unit can be compensated for by a change in price, but in those arts and industries which depend on exact measurements for purposes of construction. The builder will have to recalculate his quantities; and the engineer who has to recast all his patterns and

Digitized by Google

gauges may find it a source of additional embarrassment that the new metric inch so nearly equals the old.

Are these industries, and many others in which vast capital is invested, prepared to meet the cost of the transition in the hope of distant advantage? We confess we are not sanguine as to the answer. The average member of the British commercial classes, slow to take in new ideas, and little inclined to believe in abstract perfection, will be hard to convince of the practical utility of any change unless he can be frightened into it by the cry that his trade is in immediate danger. Deprived of this support, the argument that a superior system of weights and measures would in the long run improve the economic equipment of the nation would, it is to be feared, appeal only to the more far-sighted among our men of business.

There is, indeed, another argument that may be utilised with some effect in an age in which 'time is money,' viz. the saving of time to be looked for in the education of our children through the abolition of the 'tables' which were the burden of our youth. This saving the advocates of the metric system do not hesitate to put as high as a whole school year. This argument will appeal strongly to teachers, and also to the growing section of the public who are really interested in educational methods. Whether, however, the saving of time will involve any direct material gain from a purely commercial point of view obviously depends on the nature of the subjects by which the old-fashioned tables and compound arithmetic are replaced in the school curriculum.

While then we entertain no doubt as to the superiority of the metric standards to our own, the exposure of the fallacious arguments by which the system is sometimes supported may tend for a time to deprive the movement of some of its motive power. Stated in the only way in which it can fairly be stated, the question is not likely to be settled without a long and uphill fight, in the course of which some of our practical if short-sighted fellow countrymen who have lightly given their adherence to the Decimal Association are quite likely to come to the conclusion that 'le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.'

Digitized by Google

Art. IV.—THE ART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Nineteenth Century Art. By D. S. MacColl. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1902.

SLOWLY the nineteenth century begins to recede into perspective. We are still too near to it to judge of its achievements dispassionately, yet it is inevitable that we should take stock of them, and at least attempt a verdict. At the close of the century Glasgow, among other cities, provided an exhibition of art which claimed to be more or less representative of the last hundred years. In order to commemorate this exhibition Mr D. S. MacColl has written a book which seems to have grown somewhat beyond its first intended limits, and, though illustrated from what was shown at Glasgow only, attempts a record and a criticism of all nineteenth century art. Such a volume could not but be interesting, even in the hands of a writer much less eloquent and ingenious than Mr MacColl. Let us at once praise his wise choice of method. Confining himself to painting and sculpture, practically confining himself indeed to the painting and sculpture of France and England, he has boldly omitted the names that have no significance and the movements that count for nothing. Many will think a treatment summary and unjust which scarcely mentions the art of Germany, for instance; but some such severity of concentration was indispensable if anything beyond a mere catalogue or chronicle was to be attempted.

The book is a series of studies of particular artists, grouped together and framed in some preliminary chapters of more general purview. The growth and shifting of ideals are followed through the work of the men who embodied and enforced them; the lineage of the typical masters is traced through successive generations. Many of the individual studies are admirable. We would also praise the more or less consistent endeavour to let the artists speak as far as possible for themselves; the author has tried to choose really significant sayings from notebooks and diaries rather than read into their work aims and meanings which rest only on his own theories. Nor would competent judges dispute the general rightness of judgment which has governed the selection of those

Digitized by Google

masters who are to be treated as important and those to be neglected as unimportant. As with other critics, Mr MacColl's writing is apt to be good in proportion as his sympathy is engaged. Where he appreciates and admires he can be illuminating and excellent; where his sympathy fails, or is imperfect, he has little to say that is worth saying. His treatment of Puvis de Chavannes is frigid; his criticism of Mr Watts a mixture of patronage and detraction. These examples sufficiently show the quarters in which his appreciation and, with it, we cannot but think, his intelligence fail him.

Let us acknowledge that, in the case of art, where so wide a field is covered, and so much of the art is near to us, a good deal must be allowed to individual taste and opinion. But in the introductory chapter there are, it seems to us, serious errors in proportion, together with confusions of thought and perversions of language, which render the book, as a whole, unsatisfying. We might pass these over lightly for the sake of the excellence of so many of the studies which follow; but Mr MacColl is a critic of reputation; he has earned for himself distinction among those who write about art, in that he has endeavoured to uphold the cause of what is best and most living in our English painting and sculpture against the mass of popular and academic opinion; and we can recall more than one case of this kind in which he has done signal service. It is just because he is worth correcting that we shall try to state clearly why we think that certain views contained in these chapters are wrong.

We may first say a word upon the style in which this volume is written. It is a kind of style which has many attractions, and receives much praise from the present generation; yet it is a style which, however fitting for picturesque writing, is a hindrance to lucid criticism. The great virtue of simplicity is absent from it. It is a style the qualities of which spring doubtless from a commendable effort to be nervous and alive. But the effort has been pushed to the point of fatigue. The sentences tend to have a teased and worried air. Hunting for metaphor after metaphor, the language becomes by turns excited and tired. Rarely is anything said plainly. We get happy similes, as when, of 'purely decorative arrangement of colour,' it is said that 'the rather fixed

Digitized by Google

colours that make it up are like a stock company of actors, each of whom, the red, the blue, and the yellow, demands his part in the new piece.' We get witty descriptions like that of Albert Moore—'a Pygmalion who transforms the woman into marble.' We get eloquent passages in plenty. But to write of 'sea-pieces planned with the pieces of Van der Velde's game,' or of 'the crepuscular spirit, bat or nightingale,' is to be curious without felicity; and there is far too much quasi-poetical rhetoric like this sentence from the essay on Rodin: 'Apollo leaves Olympus, denying his faithful, and flames beside the Python on the base of Sarmiento.' There is even, with this almost tormented carefulness of style, a carelessness which slips into involuntary blank verse: 'Supplies no buffers for the timid eye'; 'tacked far towards the coasts of Delacroix.' 'Le style est l'homme même'; and these outward and visible signs in the language are matched by a like character in the thought. We will not dwell on odd judgments like that which dismisses Gustave Moreau with a contemptuous phrase about his 'fevered impotence.' The greatest critics have uttered odd judgments. Nor will we dwell on such descriptions as that of Coleridge in his later years—'an anxious theological owl.' We are concerned rather with the main character of Mr McColl's critical outlook. And what strikes us in the book as a whole is a want of any sure standard, a want of unity and consistency of view.

One of the few passages in which any standard is expressly set up is this: 'The test by which we finally judge paintings is intensity, exquisiteness, and fitness of vision at the chosen pitch, not the abstract order of subject.' The meaning of this is made clearer by an illustration. 'Who is the greater painter—Louis David in the temple, or Chardin in the kitchen?' No one thinks that David was a successful painter of heroic subjects, while every one is agreed that Chardin's interiors and still-life pictures are unsurpassed. We raise no objection against so obvious a truth; but we protest against the way in which it is put. The whole passage seems to imply a denial that any one subject-matter is of more worth than another. But suppose we compare Chardin, the perfect painter of still-life, not with those who failed in great themes, but with those who succeeded—with Rembrandt, say, or

Digitized by Google

Velasquez. Either of those masters could doubtless, as painters, have surpassed Chardin on his own ground; but, in the main, what gives Velasquez and Rembrandt their greater glory is the superior value and interest to humanity of the content of their art, the immeasurably wider and deeper illumination which they give to life. Mr MacColl is quite aware of this. In his chapter on Whistler he puts the question with admirable force and truth; and he rightly accords to Alfred Stevens a special glory for having created beauty in the heroic style. But this is just what we complain of in this book. The advocates of many theories of art might all claim its author as their prophet; for each a text could be found. Mr MacColl can be brilliant and incisive in dealing with particular men; but his attitude seems to be continually shifting. His studies tend to be special pleas adapted to several occasions. In a word, we conceive his mind is rather the advocate's than the true critic's. This want of wholeness and steadiness of view is accentuated by his passion for metaphor and phrase-making; his own words seem at times to carry him off and usurp his native intelligence. Lack of simplicity, horror of the obvious—these may lead a man far astray. We cannot help surmising that the simple truth, to a mind of this temper, seems sometimes too simple to be worth telling. Of Manet he says, 'Criticise his subjects as insignificant and his views as superficial, and you have said nothing to those who adore the radiant surface of the world and behold it in a glory.' What is this but special pleading? Mr MacColl knows well enough that in any serious estimate of Manet the limitations mentioned must count, however much the special charm he glorifies may attract us; but in his capacity of advocate he insinuates for the moment that they count for nothing. The unfortunate thing is that the advocate is, in many cases, more eloquent and cordial for the lesser than for the greater masters. We cannot feel at all sure what Mr MacColl's real preferences are; but enough is implied to make us suspect that the absolutely first-rate is not that which kindles his most spontaneous enthusiasm.

One main source of bias and disproportion is revealed at the beginning of the book. Setting out to review the century, Mr MacColl begins with a chapter on its 'Vision'

Digitized by Google

By the time we have reached page 3 we are plunged in a disquisition on Impressionism. Here Mr MacColl is at home. He knows his subject, and we enjoy his mastery of it. We have an able analysis of what a painter's vision is, how it instinctively chooses and rejects, reinforces here and sacrifices there; and the point is made that 'in the habitual everyday action of the eye we are provided with an instrument that makes such reinforcements and sacrifices, and that painting parallels and extends that action.' Indeed, many good points are made; and the whole chapter is interesting. Besides this analysis we have a summary account of the gradual tendency in painting towards 'accepting the full contents of vision as material,' the development from the outline and coloured spaces of early art to the 'natural completeness of vision' aimed at in successive landscape painters, culminating in Monet and his followers, who sought to realise the high vivid illumination of actual nature.

We do not find fault with the chapter itself. Every one interested in modern painting should read it. What we complain of is the prominence and importance given to the subject, which are out of all proportion. One would think from this introduction that the painting of the nineteenth century was solely busied with 'matching values.' The fact is, it is this school of painting, and the scientific problems with which it is concerned, that interest Mr MacColl most: when he writes about Impressionism it is with the eloquence of an apostle. But his own book confutes him. When we come to the history of the century's art, the Impressionists are obliged to fall back into their proper place; and as we read of David, Ingres, Daumier, Delacroix, Blake, and the multitude of other great figures of the period, we feel more and more the singular disproportion of the opening chapter. Only at the end, after warming again to the impressionist theme, does Mr MacColl fall back into his first attitude and end with a flourish, saying, 'By the glory it caught in the pursuit of one impossible' [i.e. matching the values of nature], 'the painting of the nineteenth century will have its special stamp in history.'

And yet Mr MacColl can write of Monet:—

'In our time the beauty of aerial tones has had a peculiar power to excite in us the sense of reality; with the shift to

Digitized by Google

some other aspect of reality as the most beautiful and important, it may well come about that the landscapes of Monet will appear as a fantastic convention in which all facts are despised for the attractive beauty of this one, the aerial harmony.'

And again, in the forced colour of Monet's shadows, 'the violet note threatens to become as conventional as the old brown.' This is shrewdly said, and shows that our author has it in him to see things in a proper perspective if he chooses. But as it is, while guarding himself by any number of verbal reservations, in practice he is unconsciously or consciously biassed by his strong preoccupation with Impressionism. This comes out in a phrase which has taken him captive—'the innocence of the eye.' It is worth while examining this phrase, because it is one of Mr MacColl's worst faults as a critic that he uses terms which mystify instead of enlightening.

What is meant by the 'innocence of the eye'? The eye is 'innocent' when it sees the world as 'a mosaic of values.' To recover this innocence we must forget that what we see is a world of objects, with shapes, powers, and associations of their own; we must try to drop our minds altogether, and forget that our brains have ever worked. Bishop Berkeley showed long ago that the eye cannot see distance. By vision alone we cannot tell that any one thing is nearer or farther off than another. It is only by touch, by experience, by moving about in the world, and making mental comparisons and inferences, that we become aware of things as they really are. All this experience so tinges and controls our vision that those who have not thought about the matter usually take it for granted that the eye itself is intelligent, or even imagine that the visible world and the tangible world coincide. Obviously, 'innocence' of eye is only possible to those who have no intelligence and no experience. The new-born baby may enjoy this blissful state for a moment, but no one else. A grown man may try very hard to induce, by a highly self-conscious effort, this state of innocence or stupidity (the latter word seems fitter), but he will never quite be able to get rid of the colour and associations with which life has saturated him. But, could he do so, what would he gain? The gain is the accentuated pleasure of one special sense,

Digitized by Google

which undoubtedly this abstracting process produces. It is well known that any one sense can be sharpened by the numbing or loss of other senses. According to Mr MacColl, the 'glory' of nineteenth century painting is to have pursued (without success) the aim of forgetting that man has a mind, and of reproducing merely the sensations of his optic nerve. But, doubtless, it sounds much better to talk of 'recovering the innocence of the eye.'

Elsewhere, our author suggests that the vignette in art has its origin in the fact that the shape of our natural vision is 'a vague ragged oval.' Again, this is a fact of which the ordinary innocent person is quite unconscious, just as the ordinary innocent child always draws with a bold outline, reckless of 'values.' But if it is to be imputed for virtue to an artist that he tries to get back to the colours and tones of his natural vision, unpolluted by intelligent experience, why is it not imputed to him for virtue that he preserves also the shape of his natural vision, and keeps intact the virginity of the vignette? We recall a saying of another painter-critic, Mr Rothenstein, in his book on Goya, which is apposite. Goya, he says, 'brought back to painting the old architectural sense, and squareness of proportion and design, which the artists of the last century had allowed to dwindle into the vignette.' How much more to the point this is! In matters of art let us refer to the principles of art, which assuredly are not the facts of science.

Mr MacColl may complain that we are unjust to him; that in trying to push home the conclusions implied in that pretty phrase of his we have caricatured his ideas. We do not deny that he has made large reservations. We have quoted some of his remarks about Monet; and he adopts a very skilful line of defence with regard to that artist. Monet has been accused of having a scientific, not an artistic aim; but, says his advocate, whenever new beauties in art have been pursued, the science involved has had to be explored. Once it was anatomy and perspective, now it is natural illumination; but it is always beauty, through science, that has been aimed at. We believe this is true. We have no wish to decry Monet and his school, who have certainly discovered new beauties for us in the world, and to whom we owe a number of charming pictures. But it is all a question of proportion.

Digitized by Google

Uccello, Piero della Francesca, Mantegna, Leonardo—these men were all passionately interested in the science involved in the enlarging of their art. But it was toward mastery of the real significant world, of living humanity and its complex emotions, that they strove. Monet's aim is to dehumanise his art, to attenuate life into unintelligent sensation. His work, like Whistler's, is better than his theories. Mr MacColl forgets to say that there is any difference in magnitude between the discoveries of the Florentines and the discoveries of the French Impressionists.

After all, we cannot separate art from life. Art which is concerned with but a corner of life will have but a corner reserved for it in the estimation of mankind. We cannot do without pleasant corners and retreats where the exquisite has been sought and found. But it is on the main highway of art that the great men are met; and, fortunately, art in the nineteenth century did not desert the main highway, nor was there any lack of great men.

The relation of art to life, the background from which the great artists of the century rose, is dealt with by Mr MacColl in his second chapter, 'The Imagination of the Century.' Here again we find much that is true, acute, and interesting. But on the threshold we stumble on assumptions and definitions with which we feel bound to quarrel. Dissatisfied with the old labels of 'Classic' and 'Romantic,' our author has invented new ones. He classifies the three chief types of imagination as Olympian,* Titan, and Mystic; and he proceeds to discuss which type was most characteristic of the century. The language of criticism is always tending to become a stale and lifeless convention; and we shall not quarrel with a critic who handles that language with freshness, and who by any means in his power can bring home to his reader the real significance of the terms he uses. We sympathise entirely with Mr MacColl's aim, but we cannot think that he has succeeded. After all, the old terms 'classic' and 'romantic' are well enough understood. We may none of us define them in precisely the same language, but as

* Mr Swinburne, in his essay on Chapman, wrote of gods and Titans among the poets, but with no formal classification, and therefore eluded the difficulties which beset Mr MacColl.

Digitized by Google

standing for general tendencies of imagination they signify something which every one understands. At bottom, the one type of imagination is that which chooses its subjects from the normal and familiar, and relies mainly on the weight and force of its subjects; the other is that which chooses its subjects from the strange and the remote, and relies rather on the charm of atmosphere in which it invests them.

Mr MacColl objects that these terms do not really apply in many cases to the artists he has to treat of; they are too wide or too narrow. But the fault is not in the terms; it is in the criticism which will not be content with classifying tendencies, but must go on to force every artist into a particular pigeon-hole. If we reject classic and romantic and talk of Olympian and Titan, we gain nothing in enlightenment. Olympian and Titan are more swelling and grandiloquent terms; but criticism is more likely to reach its only proper aim, 'seeing things as they are,' by a careful avoidance of grandiloquence and of all phrases which distract the imagination. Even granting their felicity, do these labels really fit any better than the old? On the contrary, as we read the succeeding chapters, we find that only a very few artists are claimed even by Mr MacColl as exclusively of one type or the other. As he himself admits, the century is marked by a perpetual conflict of ideals; no one type of imagination really stands for the temper of the age. Daumier, Delacroix, Rodin, may be called Titans—though in our opinion it is only the last to whom the word can be applied with any real meaning—and men of this type were perhaps more numerous than those of other predominant types. But it cannot be said that the common life of the age worked for them, that they were with the stream.

Mr MacColl's third category of Mystic is made to include those temperaments which shrank away from the actual into 'the vague of landscape.' In defining this type Mr MacCall falls into a strange confusion. The Olympians, he says, are those that are of or with the Powers; the Titans are those that revolt against them; the Mystics those that retreat and escape from them. What does he mean by 'the Powers'? In the last case they are what we call 'the World.' But surely in the first case they are not merely this. Olympian surely

Digitized by Google

means something more than official. Yet Mr MacColl, having fallen in love with his adopted names, makes a desperate effort to be logical, and does actually identify Olympus with the powers of the world. He sets out to show us that the Olympian is merely the sublime of the Philistine. He names Donatello, Velasquez, and Vandyck (a strangely assorted company) as types of the real Olympians, while Leighton and Albert Moore are held up as would-be Olympians of a degenerate age. And where, it may be asked, are Phidias and Sophocles, names that come naturally to the mind as types of what in ordinary language is accepted as Olympian art? Is it only the powers of the world that these stand for? Are they, too, Philistines raised to the sublime? We cannot help thinking that Mr MacColl intends this meaning; but, if so, what a strange perversion of thought! It is just because these artists, in their noble serenity, acquiesce in the authority of the eternal laws, yet by that very acquiescence raise themselves above the powers of the world, that we associate them with Olympus and the gods. These are the true Olympians, if we are to give to language its normal and not an arbitrary value; and the true Titans are not those merely, as Mr MacColl would have us believe, who rebel against the powers of the world, but those who rebel against all authority whatsoever. Few are Titans in this sense, though a Titanic strain is to be found in certain great artists and poets, in Michelangelo and Rodin, in Milton and in Byron. For most of those whom Mr MacColl classes as Titans we think the old name of romantic (if we are to name them at all) is apter and more true.

But, after all, why force these artists into classes? By all means let us keep a standard, and distinguish the first-rate from the second-rate, and perceive why the one surpasses the other; let us be scrupulous and severe in our language, so that we may not confound in turbid praise fine qualities with finer. But we shall disengage and illuminate better if we classify qualities and tendencies rather than artists. Tendencies and attitudes of mind do exist which correspond to what we call classic and romantic, to Olympian and Titan; but few artists are so determined to one bent that they can be summed up so simply. Goethe is the typical Olympian of modern times;

Digitized by Google

yet his greatest work, 'Faust,' has the character which Mr MacColl would call Titanic, and contains not a little of the mystic and the romantic as well. The greater the artist the less capable he is of being labelled and docketed. The value of Mr MacColl's classification is best illustrated by the fact that it excludes most of the very greatest men, as well as his own favourite Impressionists. We fancy that one of his grudges against Mr Watts is that he will not accommodate himself to any of the labels.

Mr MacColl has much more sympathy with the Titans than with the Olympians. We have seen what an inadequate and degrading interpretation he puts upon the latter term; but he seems also to have an animus against those qualities which belong to what really deserves the name of Olympian. No hint is spared which may cast a slur on Olympian art. This art, he tells us, excludes all sensation and emotion but such as the State can approve. This is skilful depreciation, but must not blind us to the falseness of the issue raised. It is assumed that there is one type of art which aims at expressing personal taste and emotion, opposed to another which aims at representing what the State would approve of. There is an implied preference for the former. But the greatest personality is not that which is marked off most by special characteristics from the generality of men, but that which most vividly and powerfully represents the central emotions of humanity. The greatest art corresponds to such a personality. Rembrandt is most personally Rembrandt when he is most deeply and broadly human. The State may approve of such art; but Rembrandt was expressing himself, not thinking of the State's approval.

Mr MacColl can only describe Olympian art by negatives; but the Titans kindle all his enthusiasm. Exalting the one temper of mind at the expense of the other, he has taken the term 'still-life'—a term which is perfectly fixed and definite—and applies it to all art which prefers 'still statuesque poses.' 'Painting,' he says, 'is naturally an art of still-life.' The Titans * have added 'an equivalent

* Mr MacColl calls Michelangelo the originator of this aim in art. Pollaiuolo, Botticelli, Signorelli are all more vehement and violent than Michelangelo. When Michelangelo and Leonardo produced their great cartoons in rivalry, it was Leonardo who chose the extreme action of battle, Michelangelo the 'statuesque poses' of bathers surprised.

Digitized by Google

of movement, energy, feeling, extreme character, violent and rebellious passion.' We can see no point whatever in using the term 'still-life' out of its ordinary sense, unless to disparage the art which aims at largeness and serenity rather than movement and violence, by associating it with the painting of vegetables and dead fish. And yet Mr MacColl himself tells us that much movement is contrary to the genius of painting, since it is '*naturally* an art of still-life.' The fact is that a certain element of repose, necessitated by unity of design, is essential to all good art; whereas movement is not essential. The energy of suggested action may supply a master with splendid motives; but 'violent and rebellious passion' is most often the result of weakness attempting what it cannot perform. Nor must we overlook the fact that repose, immobility, may, and sometimes does, produce a far greater emotional effect than vehement action. As Chateaubriand suggested, in great scenes of pity and pain it is the beauty not the pathos that causes tears. Beauty! That is the essential thing which Mr MacColl forgets to mention. In a common beauty, differently discovered, the 'stillness' and severity of Piero della Francesca and Velasquez, the passion or exuberance of Botticelli or Rubens, meet. To such strained issues and unreal oppositions will the crudeness of classification, as into Olympian and Titan, lead us, if we lose sight of the common bonds, the underlying foundations of all art.

Let us now leave Mr MacColl for a moment and approach the subject from a somewhat different point of view.

'Currency and supremacy' (says Matthew Arnold) 'are insured to good literature, not by the world's deliberate and conscious choice, but by something far deeper—by the instinct of self-preservation in humanity.'

This is true not only of literature, but of all art. Art in its own way satisfies a profound and permanent human need; the world which it creates, a world where time is done away with and the real value of things prevails, is one satisfaction that the human spirit has found in its thirst for 'eternal life.' The measure by which artists are finally estimated is the degree in which they are found

Digitized by Google

to satisfy this desire. The greater the artist, the more adequately and completely does his work answer to the fullest and deepest conceptions of life that mankind has formed. But all art seeks to create a life which enhances, transfigures, and completes the life that actuality presents to us. Even those who now seem to have followed but dead convention were aiming at what appeared to them most vital. David, as Mr MacColl tells us in a most interesting chapter, proclaimed a 'return to nature.' But only the very greatest and rarest naturally pursue an ideal comprehensive and central enough to satisfy at once all the complex desires of humanity; the lesser men find themselves inevitably deviating a little to one side or the other, contenting themselves with one aspect or even with one corner of life, instead of confronting it full and daring its heights and depths. Hence arise those tendencies which we call 'classic,' 'romantic,' and so forth, and which, in their full deviation or stagnation, are as backwaters to a main stream.

The great periods of art have occurred when the actual conditions of life were more or less adequate to the fullest conceptions formed of it. When life in its actual conditions has become starved and frozen, art is liable to become an external thing, a plaything and amusement. The break-up of the eighteenth century was like the break-up of a frost. The air was stirred, the temperature rose. A thousand springs were set free. The forgotten unity of life was realised in a new kindling and expansion of all human forces, as of a body restored to the circulation of its blood. Art partook of the general reanimation. It became expressive of the general life, sensitive to the movement of thought, in science and in literature, as it had rarely been before. It was no longer the toy of courts or the mirror of complacent *bourgeoisie*.

This liberation was pure gain. But it brought its dangers. A picture tended to become more and more, in Mr MacColl's words, 'the expression of an artist's uncommissioned mind.' The wholesome influence of definite material conditions was weakened as the Church and the State withdrew their patronage. The rise of exhibitions brought in the last stage in that divorce of painting from architecture which roused, toward the end of the century, the indignant ardour and reconstructive zeal of

Digitized by Google

William Morris. The craft of painting had lost, too, its traditions.

One main result of this liberation of art and the uncommissioned character of painting was the signal growth of landscape. It was paralleled by the growth of the lyric in poetry. In each case it was the personal element which determined the form. Landscape becoming thus independent, it was inevitable that its resources should be explored; just as when, in the early Renaissance, the human body in all its naked energy was recovered to art as a theme, anatomy and perspective were scientifically explored. Even had there been no special discoveries of science about light, we think that landscape painters would have aimed at the same goal. But discoveries about light and the invention of photography were certainly controlling influences.

Science, indeed, was the paramount influence over all fields of thought and production in the last century. It was science which achieved the most continuous and prodigious successes; it was science which, as the century progressed, claimed more and more the attention of the public and the services of talent. Here was a force the stream of which set dead against the kindly and genial growth of art. For the scientific temper is by nature opposed to the artist's temper. Francis Bacon well contrasted the two—science seeking to 'subject the mind to things,' art seeking to 'subject things to the mind.' With the former temper tending so strongly to tinge the thought of the century, there was danger that art would lose sight of its proper starting-point and proper goal. And this indeed came to pass. We see its effect in the extreme of what is called realism in literature; and we have seen among painters its effect in the endeavour to portray things through the *siccum lumen* of science. But native instinct is stronger than theory; and both writers and painters achieved successes in despite of their own endeavour.

This was the danger. Yet in the right hands the advances of science were turned to the clear gain of art. Direct influence appeared, especially in landscape, in the treatment of natural illumination. This was not all gain. The interest in problems of light which absorbed Turner's later years made him develope a kind of painting which

Digitized by Google

was new to art; but we must not be blinded by the prestige of science into accepting new additions of fact as in themselves and for their own sake an artistic gain. Turner's earlier pictures remain his masterpieces. The later work is a scientific 'advance'; but to prize it on that account above his grander earlier achievements is to 'substitute an historical for a real estimate' of Turner. We have noted already what we consider Mr MacColl's error of proportion in this matter. Problems of natural illumination, highly interesting in themselves, could only indirectly affect the main themes of art; and science in this respect had no such vital influence as the studies of anatomy and perspective in earlier times.

But anatomy also gave a new material to art in the splendid sculpture and drawings of Barye. That widening of interest which marked the nineteenth century was manifested in an unexampled exploration and study of non-human forms of life. But Barye, a great master, never loses sight of the true aims of art. His close and ardent researches gave a hitherto unknown veracity and strictness to the stuff of his conceptions; but his conceptions were always those of an artist. Delacroix had also a passionate interest in wild animals, but lacked the scientific discipline and knowledge of Barye. We have only to compare the studies of lions by the former with those by the latter, now in the same room of the Louvre (in the Thomé-Thiéry collection), to perceive the difference. Delacroix's lions are fierce, but it is with a self-conscious fierceness; they have not the contained terrible power, the appalling non-humanity, that impresses and fascinates us in Barye's creatures. Here is science nobly mastered and subdued to the use of art. But it was not only scientific study, or the addition of new material—though that was one of the chief gains which science brought; it was a certain tempering of the mind, a change of mental attitude, which worked for good in men like Barye.

This was the indirect influence of science; and this really, more than any direct influence, fostered the strength of art, touching men's spirits at a deeper and less conscious source. A certain humbling of the mind, a profounder sense of the infinity of nature, a realisation of man's relation to nature, of his true place in the world—this is the spirit which we see towards the middle of the century

Digitized by Google

filtering into art. If this spirit, in its unintelligent excess, produced a tendency to accept all facts of science as equally valuable, in noble minds it found fine issues. It inspired them with a reverence for the reality in their subjects which the eighteenth century so lamentably lacked. If we seek the type of art which contains most fully and in justest balance the underlying forces which moved the nineteenth century mind, we may turn to the art of Millet. Mr MacColl's chapter about Millet is, perhaps, the best thing in his book; it is terse and it is illuminating. He writes of Millet's 'feeling that there is a deep congruity in anything that nature presents to us; that we must not be impatient to take off all its wrappings and circumstance, and say, "this is the whole that matters," still less disdainful because it does not present us with some "absolute beauty" we have expected.' How just and how admirable is this! It is enforced by sayings of Millet himself, which are chosen with tact and penetration. How far, in such art as this, have we travelled from the prevalent attitude of the eighteenth century, with its wardrobe of prescribed proprieties and its scholastic corrections for the irregularities of nature!

In Puvis de Chavannes we find the same temper in another aspect. The spaces which play so commanding a part in his grand and simple compositions are significant of the new horizons opened on the human spirit; the serenity they confer (misappreciated, unfortunately, by Mr MacColl) is born of the acquiescence of a noble spirit in the wider knowledge of those conditions to which man grows up—

> 'The world which was ere we were born,
> The world which lasts when we are dead.'

Reviving in no archaistic spirit, but with clear perception of its fitness, the old conventions of wall-decoration, he is still an artist of the nineteenth century, and has submitted profoundly to the discipline of its spirit.

We have spoken chiefly of French artists, and not without reason, for France all through this period has been the centre of European art. Gathering strength and insight now from Spain, in Goya, now from England, in Constable and others—though Mr MacColl rightly points out that Constable's direct influence has been

Digitized by Google

much exaggerated—France has yet remained the central school. Here is a factor which may well be emphasised. France is the nation which above all others is distinguished by the free circulation of ideas. The French national spirit, luminous, alert, and logical, fosters intelligence, reason, and all production which lives chiefly by these qualities. Its weakness, for creative minds, lies in the self-consciousness to which these qualities are naturally allied. Goethe has said that the art of the great periods is produced in a sort of somnambulism. Nowadays the 'sub-conscious' element is perhaps unduly glorified; but certainly great and powerful art is rarely conscious to the extent of being dominated or warped by theory. This is always a danger in France. And in the nineteenth century the external conditions accentuated this tendency to fiercely logical extremes. To other countries the Revolution came as a fever of the spirit, a new birth of ideas; but in France it was acted out to the uttermost in flesh and blood. David carried the Revolution into painting, and broke violently with all the traditions of the past. Even the paint must be put on the canvas in a new way; his pupils pelted the masterpieces of Watteau. Then came Napoleon; and in a few years how frigid and far away seemed the heroics of David's Greeks and Romans beside the turmoil and the glories of the living present! Imagination was paralysed by the extravagant romance of reality.

Suddenly, with Waterloo, this splendour of life collapsed. Dullness, as if in a black shower of chimney-pot hats, descended upon the world. It was like coming out of a theatre where great actors animate magnificent drama, to gas lamps in a rainy street. A new generation, whose childhood had been dazed and dazzled by the thunders and lightnings of Napoleon's glory, grew up into a humdrum present. The imaginative ones were thrown back on themselves; and in that baulked hunger and recoil from the actual to unlimited dreamland was born the Romanticism of 1830. The fever of that movement burns in the art of Delacroix; and, largely reacting from its extravagance, the art of Ingres retreats to the fortress of pure line, and fearfully but resolutely denudes itself of all charm of colour. In each the French temper works, formulating ideals and forcing nature to follow. With

Digitized by Google

Chassériau, a most gifted personality, to whom Mr MacColl has done special justice, the oscillation appears in a single artist; but its violence is spent. Only by the middle of the century have the forces of the age begun to find steadiness and centre in the work of men like Barye, Millet, Puvis, and Rodin. The eighteenth century had lacked the vitalising touch of experience; the new age had brought this in full measure, with tragic violence and bloodshed; and the fruits of it matured in these great artists. Later, the same bent towards formulating theories and inventing battle-cries which clings to the French habit of mind, produced minor oscillations between one extreme and another among those whom science dominated; and the battles of Impressionism were fought with shouting.

When we turn to England we find a quite different order of things. In this country there is no such free circulation of ideas as exists in France. Creative effort has been apt to be sporadic; genius has pursued its chosen tasks alone. In our art there have been no real 'movements.' The Preraphaelites originated one in name; but the members of that group were men of singularly diverse natures, and after a very few years broke away into separate paths. But this lack of solidarity has had the advantage of keeping our artists free from the extremes to which a more self-conscious production is provoked. Nor has England been wanting in men of genius in the last century not unworthy of being matched with the great Frenchmen. It is most remarkable what isolated, or nearly isolated, genius has achieved. Crome, the provincial errand-boy, produced by force of native gift and self-discipline masterpieces whose greatness was probably scarcely realised by himself, certainly not by his patrons. Mr MacColl justly says 'he is a master that the Dutch seventeenth century did not quite produce; there was a peak for him, short of Rembrandt's, at the top of the efforts of Ruysdael and Hobbema and Cuyp.' Constable was perhaps the most conscious innovator in England; but he pursued his ends alone, cried no battle-cry, created no 'movement.'

Other great men have achieved their greatness by turning from the mediocrity and tameness which are too often the normal conditions of English art, and, ignoring

Digitized by Google

rather than defying current fashions and authorities, have grafted their art on the life of an older tradition. Thus Alfred Stevens, refusing the academic training of the time, put himself to school with the early masters of the Italian Renaissance and silently formed the grand style which marks him as our greatest sculptor. Thus, too, Mr Watts fed his genius at similar sources and attained, unhelped by any contemporary example or support, a largeness and richness which recall the greatest periods of art. To Mr Watts, as we have observed, Mr MacColl is singularly cold, and, however much we may concede to personal opinion, seems singularly unjust. Mr Watts has created in his painting an ideal type which is noble and satisfying, and yet warmly human; the 'Childhood of Jupiter,' the 'Ariadne,' the 'Roman Lady,' are witnesses sufficient. Etty had failed in attempting this, as Reynolds had failed before him. Mr MacColl is eloquent in praise of Stevens for just this reason, that he could conceive and carry out heroic figures; and Stevens's ideal type is less racial and more abstract than Mr Watts's. Why is the same meed of praise for so rare a success not accorded to the living painter? Again, our critic finds it a capital weakness that Mr Watts has been attracted by more than one ideal and has tried various styles. Yet with what sympathy Mr MacColl records the shifting attitudes of Delacroix, and his attempt to combine Michelangelo with Velasquez! Conflicting ideals have, as he points out in many places, marked the whole century; and few are the artists who have not known the conflict.

We have been led to combat a good many of Mr MacColl's opinions, and to criticise what we cannot but consider mischievous errors in proportion. Let us end with an example that we can cordially praise—his treatment of the art of Whistler. As we might expect from Mr MacColl's natural likes and interests, this art is one which rouses his spontaneous enthusiasm. We might, indeed, expect that his enthusiasm would lead him to suppress the weak side of the artist and ignore his limitations. But his treatment of Whistler's paradoxes, whose wit has led so very many to think that they are wise, could not be juster or more sane. Whistler claimed that art should appeal to the artistic sense of eye or ear;

Digitized by Google

all else was 'clap-trap.' But, as Mr MacColl points out, we must, on such premises, pronounce Rembrandt a dealer in clap-trap because,

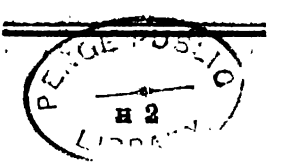
'having taken in hand a scene in which devotion, pity, and other emotions are implicated, he has been so artless as to use all his resources of drawing and tone to reinforce them. In the print of the "Crucifixion" the black and white would give some pleasure to the sense as a pattern in black and white only; but this pattern becomes ingeniously beautiful only when the black and white are seen to be significant, to be the lights and shadows of things and persons; and it becomes sublimely beautiful, sublime to the spirit as well as beautiful to the sense, when the shadows are seen to be the shadows of tragedy.'

Again, Whistler protested that the 'Portrait of his Mother' was 'an arrangement in grey and black,' nothing more. Human interest was irrelevant, nay, alien to art; it was a matter about which, in this case, the public had no right to trouble itself. What can or ought the public (he asked) to care about the identity of the portrait? Mr MacColl replies:—

'The public need not be enlightened on that point; but it will see, because it is presented to its eyes, a great deal more than grey and black, which might have been obtained, uncontaminated by any but the faintest human feeling, from the coal-scuttle.'

This is well and wittily put. But the whole chapter is an admirable statement of the truth, so often confused by discussion, about the relation of subject and treatment, idea and pattern. Would that the whole of Mr MacColl's volume had been informed by the same reasonableness; that the same soundness of judgment, the same sense of measure and fitness had been maintained and developed in a consistent attitude of mind. The book would then have been as valuable for its criticism as it is interesting and important for its history.

LAURENCE BINYON.



Digitized by Google

(100)

Art. V.—MATTER AND ELECTRICITY.

1. *Conduction of Electricity through Gases.* By J. J. Thomson, F.R.S. Cambridge: University Press, 1903.
2. *Les nouvelles substances radioactives, et les rayons qu'elles émettent.* Par P. Curie et Mme Curie. Rapports présentés au Congrès International de Physique. Tome III, p. 79. Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1900.
3. *Recherches sur les substances radioactives.* Thèse présentée à la Faculté des Sciences de Paris. Par Mme Curie. Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1904.
4. *Radioactivity and Radioactive Change.* By E. Rutherford, F.R.S., and F. Soddy. Philosophical Magazine, Series 6, Vol. v. London: Taylor and Francis, 1903.

SCIENTIFIC investigation, which usually proceeds unmarked by most of those not directly engaged in it, is from time to time forced on the attention of the public by some discovery of immediate and striking advantage to mankind, or by the attainment of some theoretical result, which, from its novelty and interest, fires the imagination of every thinking man. To those who follow closely the course of research, these brilliant advances in knowledge rarely come suddenly. The slow and patient work of many observers through long years often leads up to and suggests the particular step from which follows, almost of necessity, the practical application or the far-reaching theory. The mathematical genius of Clerk Maxwell, the experimental skill of Hertz, laid the foundations on which, some years afterwards, was reared the superstructure of wireless telegraphy. The observations of Crookes, Lenard, J. J. Thomson, and many others, on electric discharges through rarefied gases, had given to the physicist an extended insight into the nature of these phenomena, before Röntgen's almost accidental discovery, that photographically active rays thus obtained could traverse certain substances opaque to light, revealed the bones in his hand to the man in the street.

General attention has lately been directed to the subject of radio-activity. M. Curie demonstrated that the stream of energy constantly proceeding from the newly discovered element radium could be detected by a measurable rise of temperature in a small quantity of the substance protected from loss of heat; and the publication

Digitized by Google

of this result was followed by a correspondence in the 'Times,' in which some surprising efforts were made to explain the source of the energy, and to elucidate the 'mystery of radium.' In this case also the phenomena have been under investigation longer than is generally known; and their detection naturally arose from a knowledge of the properties of Röntgen rays. These rays produce fluorescent effects on suitable screens; and it was natural to examine phosphorescent and fluorescent substances, to determine if they were the source of similar radiation. For some time no definite results were obtained; but, in the year 1896, M. Henri Becquerel discovered that compounds of the metal uranium, whether phosphorescent or not, affected a photographic plate through an opaque covering of black paper, and rendered the air in their neighbourhood a conductor of electricity. Such were the first observations on the property of radio-activity; but the rapid development of the subject which has followed could only have taken place with the aid of our previous knowledge of the electrical properties of gases. Although the superficial similarity between Becquerel rays and Röntgen rays has proved for the most part misleading, the relations between the two branches of the subject are so intimate that it is impossible to study satisfactorily the phenomena of radio-activity without a knowledge of the results previously and simultaneously reached by the investigation of electric discharge through gases.

Hitherto, in order to obtain such knowledge, it was necessary to examine the chief papers on the subject, scattered through a dozen English and foreign journals; but Professor J. J. Thomson has now collected the extensive material in the valuable work lately published. Not only has Professor Thomson contributed perhaps more than any other man to the development of this branch of knowledge, but a school of research has grown up under his inspiration at the Cavendish Laboratory which draws students from all civilised countries and forms an organised band of explorers into this region of the unknown. Many of his former students are now carrying on the work of research in other places; and one of them, Professor Rutherford of Montreal, in a series of brilliant investigations undertaken during the

Digitized by Google

last few years, has added largely to our knowledge of the phenomena and causes of radio-activity. To his papers, published chiefly in recent numbers of the 'Philosophical Magazine,' we must turn if we wish to comprehend the later developments of this most interesting and important subject. We are glad to learn that Professor Rutherford intends to embody the results of his experiments in a book; we may expect that, in this work, the subject will receive fuller treatment than is possible in a volume like that written by Professor Thomson, which, covering a much wider field, only contains one chapter devoted to radio-active processes.

Several popular accounts of recent developments in physical theory have appeared. Sir Oliver Lodge discussed ether and matter generally in his Romanes Lecture at Oxford in 1903; and readers of the 'Times' have been able to follow the more important discoveries in radio-activity as they were made. The whole realm of natural knowledge is the theme of a book on 'New Conceptions in Science' written by Mr Carl Snyder (Harper, 1903). This is a bright and entertaining volume, in which even the professed physicist may find statements that are new to him. It appears, to begin with Mr Snyder's 'new conceptions' of the ancients, that 'Archimedes' discovery,' which enabled him to test the purity of the gold in King Hiero's crown, 'was that a body in water displaces a quantity of water of equal weight, and not according to its bulk, as one might believe at first thought.' It might have been well, in this case, to have acted on the assumption that first thoughts may after all be best. But perhaps by 'in water' is meant 'floating on the surface.' If so, the sentence reflects little credit on the author's power of expression, or on his knowledge of the true import of the principle of Archimedes. Passing to modern times, we are told that 'if our eyes were sensitive to these electrical waves' used in wireless telegraphy, 'then we might watch the progress of a play in Buenos Ayres, or have witnessed the struggles in Pekin.' We have yet to learn that even South American acting is the source of electro-magnetic radiation; while the possibility of distinct vision certainly depends on the extreme minuteness of the waves of light compared with the dimensions of the visible object. Mr Snyder is an

Digitized by Google

enthusiast for the methods of physical science. To him there is nothing in heaven or earth undreamt of in its philosophy; it will reduce 'the universe and all it contains to the basis of mechanics—to the working of a machine.' The instruments of physics are more delicate than our unaided senses; hence 'spirits, thought-waves,' and other 'so-called psychic manifestations' are to be ruled out of court, because their investigators never 'thought of materialising on a galvanometer.' Such extracts do not suggest that Mr Snyder is a safe guide in the paths of modern scientific research, or in the deeper philosophical problems which are touched on in his pages. Nevertheless, the book gives a striking, readable, and, for the most part, accurate account of much of the work now going on in the laboratories of the world. The book is one for the general reader, not for the serious student of science, who must turn to the original sources we have enumerated above.

For ordinary practical purposes air is a non-conductor of electricity; telegraph wires are almost perfectly insulated by the air which surrounds them; and, if leakage occurs, it can always be traced to the solid supports to which the wires are attached. Nevertheless, by delicate instruments, a slight leakage of electricity through air can be detected.* This air-leakage is usually very small, but it can be greatly increased in many ways. The passage of Röntgen rays, the incidence of ultra-violet light on a metal plate, the neighbourhood of flames, incandescent metals, or of radio-active bodies, are among the conditions under which the air can rapidly conduct away the charge. In all such cases the phenomena show that the conduction is effected by electrically charged particles, which are produced in some way by the action of the particular agency on the molecules of the gas. These charged particles move when acted on by electric

* An electroscope may be made by attaching a thin strip of gold leaf to a vertical insulated brass plate. Placed in a metal case with glass windows, the gold leaf hangs down in contact with the brass plate. If the gold leaf and brass plate be electrified, the repulsive force between portions of the same charge causes the gold leaf to stand out at an angle, which measures the amount of electrification. By certain arrangements leakage along the insulating supports of the brass plate can be prevented, and the true current through the air determined by the rate at which the gold leaf falls.

Digitized by Google

forces, and thus convey their charges to any metallic surface oppositely electrified. The moving electrified particles are called 'ions'; and the flow of current through a gas is essentially of the same nature as the conduction of electricity through liquid solutions by the process known as 'electrolysis.'

In the absence of any of the ionising agencies we have enumerated, the resistance of air can be overcome only by the application of intense electric forces. Instead of an invisible leakage, a spark is then produced, as seen in a lightning flash, or in the silent glow discharge, which can easily be made to pass through a glass bulb when the air within it is partially exhausted. If an electric machine or an induction coil be connected with metallic terminals fused into such a bulb to act as electrodes, a marked difference is seen between the appearances at the two ends. Near the positive electrode (or anode) is situated a column of light which, when the pressure of the air and the current through it lie within certain limits, shows fluctuating striations. The negative electrode (or cathode) is surrounded by a faint glow; and beyond this glow lies a dark space. If the exhaustion be increased, the dark space extends, and may reach the other side of the bulb. Where it strikes the glass, green phosphorescent effects appear, and the glass or a metallic plate put within the bulb becomes the source of Röntgen rays. Through this dark space, then, pass rays which can be detected by their effects on striking glass or metal. They are known as cathode rays. The phosphorescent patch on the glass can be deflected either by a magnetic or by an electric force at right angles to the direction of the rays. These results are characteristic of moving particles charged with electricity, while the direction of the deflection indicates that the electricity is of the kind to which is conventionally given the negative sign. The magnetic and the electric deflections depend on the velocity with which the particles move, and on the ratio between their mass and the electric charge which they carry; and therefore both these quantities can be determined by measuring the deflections. In other ways the magnitude of the electric charge carried by similar negatively charged particles has been estimated; and thus Thomson was able to calculate their velocities, their charge, and their mass. The

Digitized by Google

velocities of the cathode rays vary with the conditions of their production, and, even in the same discharge, show a considerable range of values, which may extend to about one tenth the velocity of light; the charge on each particle is the same as that on the corresponding ion which carries an electric current through conducting liquids; and the mass comes out as only the thousandth part of the mass of the lightest chemical atom known —that of hydrogen.

The same result has been obtained by other methods for the negative ions produced in gases at low pressures by Röntgen rays, incandescent solids, and ultra-violet light. In some of these cases positive ions also are present; but their mass is always found to be at least of atomic dimensions, at least one thousand times greater than the mass of the negative particles, which sometimes act as negative ions. Except in the phenomena of radio-activity, to which we shall presently pass, these ultra-atomic particles, or corpuscles, as they were named by Thomson, are only found in gases at very high temperatures or at the extremely low pressures which exist in good vacua. As the temperature falls or the pressure rises, the mass of the negative carriers of electricity increases; and at high pressures, such as that of the atmosphere, both positive and negative ions seem to consist of masses many times larger than the molecules of the gas. This is explained if we suppose that the negative corpuscles, which have long free paths in the vast open spaces of a high vacuum, soon become attached to atoms or molecules when more gas is present; and that, as the pressure rises, both these corpuscles and the positive ions act as nuclei, round which collect groups of molecules. The complex systems so formed only move slowly under the action of electric forces against the viscous resistance of the mass of gas, in somewhat the same manner as the ions of dissolved salts, opposed by the viscosity of the liquid, travel through a solution.

The negative ions found in high vacua, whatever be the nature of the residual gas or of the electrodes, always seem to possess a mass of about the thousandth part of the hydrogen atom; and there seems no reason to doubt that particles much smaller than the hitherto indissoluble chemical atoms can be recognised by these

Digitized by Google

means. The far-reaching influence of such a conclusion on our ideas of the constitution of matter will at once be apparent. Chemists have always speculated on the possibility of all the different elements being composed of aggregates of various amounts of some primordial substance, and we have now reached a position whence indications are seen that the negative corpuscles, collected in different numbers, constitute the many elementary atoms which chemistry distinguishes.

Further evidence is not wanting in support of this hypothesis. The absorption of ordinary light by different substances bears no relation to the density of the absorbing medium. Heavy materials like iron or glass, light bodies such as cork or water, may be either opaque or transparent. On the other hand, in the absorption of cathode rays, and of the corresponding rays which, as we shall see, are emitted by radio-active bodies, very different phenomena appear. A given thickness of any material, whether gas, liquid, or solid, absorbs these rays simply in proportion to its mass, entirely independently of any other property. Throughout an enormous range of density various substances, including air, the heavy gas sulphur dioxide, paper, glass, silver, and gold, possess absorption coefficients directly proportional to their densities. This remarkable relation is at once explained by the theory we are considering. If each atom of matter is composed of a number of corpuscles, and these corpuscles are extremely minute compared with the atom as a whole, it is clear that we must regard an atom as an open structure in which the vacant spaces are immense compared with the size of the tiny particles scattered throughout the atomic system under the controlling influence of their mutual forces. A collection of such atoms, forming, say, a thin plate of aluminium, might be quite impervious to other atoms as wholes; it might, in fact, be quite air-tight. The flight of isolated corpuscles in a cathode ray, however, if travelling fast, might be able to penetrate the plate here and there, the corpuscles finding their way between the atoms, or through the inter-corpuscular spaces in the structure of the atoms themselves. The corpuscles being all similar to each other, the relative densities of two substances, such as aluminium and air, must depend simply on the relative numbers of

Digitized by Google

corpuscles which make up the atoms contained in a given volume of each material. The power possessed by different kinds of matter of stopping cathode rays will also simply depend on the number of such corpuscles contained in equal volumes of the different absorbing media; for the particles in the rays will readily pass through the open structure of the atomic systems, but will be stopped by collision with the substance of the individual corpuscles which make up those systems. The absorbing powers must thus, on our theory, as well as in fact, be proportional to the density of the material, and be independent of all its other properties.

The relation between the corpuscles and the electric charges associated with them must next be considered. These ultra-atomic corpuscles have never been observed with positive charges; positive ions are never found to have masses smaller than those of the hydrogen atom. The facts seem best explained by the hypothesis that the corpuscle constitutes the isolated negative unit of electricity, or 'electron,' studied by Larmor and other mathematicians. An atom of ordinary matter, with one corpuscle beyond its proper number, is an atom negatively electrified; an atom with one corpuscle detached from it, is an atom positively electrified; these charged atoms may act as ions, negative and positive respectively, in accordance with the usual convention about signs.

Speculation has gone even farther than this. An electrified body moving rapidly through space can be shown mathematically to behave as though its inertia, that is, its mass, were increased; and, as the velocity of light is approached, this apparent electric mass grows very quickly. It is possible that the whole of the observed mass of the corpuscle is in reality an effect due to the rapid movement of an electric charge. Representing the atoms of ordinary matter as made up of corpuscles, it becomes possible to explain their mass by the supposition that the electrified corpuscles—the electrons—are in rapid orbital or oscillatory movement within the atom, somewhat like the planets within the solar system. Mass, or inertia, is the most constant and permanent characteristic property of matter; and having explained mass as due to electricity in motion, the physicist may well ask the meta-

Digitized by Google

physical question—has matter any objective reality? may not its very essence be but a form of disembodied energy? But then arises the further problem of the nature of electricity; and the mystery remains as great as ever, although driven one step farther back.

Whatever view we take of these speculations, the facts we have described remain, and call for elucidation. An explanation will probably be reached by means of the theory of electrons, but at present, instead of stating matter in terms of electricity, it is simpler, and perhaps less ambitious, to express electricity in terms of matter, as we have done above in saying that electrified atoms contain one or more corpuscles in excess or defect of their normal number. Nevertheless, the electron theory of matter, formerly supported on mathematical grounds, has been greatly strengthened by these recent developments of experimental science. Moreover, from the point of view of radio-activity, that theory is of supreme importance; for, if the atom consists of electrons in rapid orbital motion, it is possible that some electrons may occasionally fly away from their orbits. In a few such cases many electrons may depart from an atom at once, and leave the residue in an unstable state, in which complete rearrangement is necessary for equilibrium. Thus the electron theory suggests the occasional instability of matter. Now the occasional instability of a complex chemical atom, and its breaking up into simpler bodies, as we shall presently see, is the probable, perhaps the certain, explanation of the phenomena of radio-activity.

After Becquerel's discovery of the active properties of uranium, M. and Mme Curie made a systematic search for similar effects in a great number of chemical elements and compounds, and in many natural minerals. They found that several minerals containing uranium were more active than that metal itself. Pitch-blende, for instance—a substance consisting chiefly of an oxide of uranium, but containing also traces of many other metals—when obtained from the Austrian mines, was about three times as active electrically as the same weight of uranium. The presence of some more active constituent was thus suggested. To examine this point, the various components of pitch-blende were separated chemically from

Digitized by Google

each other and their radio-activities determined. In this way three different substances, radium, polonium, and actinium, all previously unknown, appear to have been isolated by different observers. Of these three, the most active is the now well known radium, discovered by M. and Mme Curie, working with M. Bémont.

Radium is obtained from pitch-blende in company with the metal barium; and the two seemed at first to be so intimately connected chemically that the new substance was for a time called 'active barium.' However, a slight difference in the solubilities of some of their salts enables them to be gradually separated by a process of repeated fractionisation, the radium chloride and bromide crystallising out more readily than the corresponding compounds of barium. The quantity of radium present in pitch-blende is extremely small, many tons of the mineral yielding, after long and tedious work, only a small fraction of a gramme of an impure salt of radium. Its extraction is consequently a matter of great labour and high cost. Radium salts of fair purity have now become articles of commerce, at all events in Germany, though the supply is usually insufficient to meet the demand; but the price of about twenty marks a milligramme means 1000*l.* a gramme, and radium is at present worth many thousand times its weight in gold.

An interesting point now appears, namely, the extreme sensitiveness of the property of radio-activity as a test for the presence of those substances which possess it. A delicate electroscope will easily show a leak of electricity with a substance having an activity of about one hundredth of that possessed by uranium. The activity of pure radium has been estimated as about one million times that of uranium; and such radium is a definite, well marked chemical element, like other elements, forming salts and other chemical compounds, and giving strong bright lines when heated and examined in a spectroscope. Spectrum analysis has hitherto been the most delicate means at our disposal for detecting the presence of the chemical elements; but in the preparation of radium from pitch-blende its spectrum only began to appear when, in the prolonged process of fractionisation, the product had reached an activity of about fifty times that of uranium. It appears from these figures

Digitized by Google

that the electroscopic method of detecting radio-active matter is several thousand times more sensitive than the most refined methods of spectrum analysis; and in other cases a still greater sensitiveness seems to have been reached. History has again repeated itself. When the spectroscope was first placed in the hands of chemists, it revealed the existence of several elements which occurred in quantities too small to be detected by any other means then known. In a similar way, additional elements have now been detected and isolated by the help of the newer and more powerful method of research.

In the year 1899 Professor Rutherford discovered that the radiation from uranium consists of two distinct parts. One part was found to be unable to pass through more than about four layers of thin aluminium foil, while the other part would pass through about one hundred layers before its intensity was reduced by one half. The first named, or α rays, produce the most marked electric effects, while the more penetrating, or β rays, are those which affect a photographic plate through opaque screens. Subsequently there was detected a third type of still more penetrating radiation, known as γ rays, which can traverse plates of lead a centimetre thick, and still produce photographs and discharge electroscopes. In proportion to its general activity, radium evolves all three types of radiation much more freely than uranium, and is best employed for their investigation.

The moderately penetrating, or β rays, can easily be deflected by a magnet; and Becquerel, who deflected them by an electric field as well, conclusively proved that they were projected particles, charged with electricity. Further investigation showed that they behave in all respects like cathode rays, although they possess greater velocities than any cathode rays hitherto examined. The β rays, then, are negative corpuscles, or negative electrons.

Magnetic and electric fields strong enough to deflect considerably the β rays, produce no effect on the easily absorbed α rays. Although Strutt, in the year 1900, had suggested that the α rays were positively charged particles, of mass greater than that of the particles which constitute the negative β rays, it was not till some time afterwards that their magnetic and electric deviations were

Digitized by Google

experimentally demonstrated, and shown to be in the direction opposite to that observed with β rays. The mass of the carriers in the α rays appears to be about one thousand times greater than that of the negative corpuscles, and about equal to that of the lightest chemical atoms, such as those of hydrogen or helium. The velocity is about one tenth of that of light. The very penetrating or γ rays have never been deflected; and from this evidence it has been supposed that they are different in kind from the other types, and, like the X rays discovered by Röntgen, consist of wave-pulses travelling through the ether with the velocity of light. On the analogy of the cathode rays, we should expect that such pulses would be started as a secondary effect of the β rays; but, in August 1903, Strutt published results which show that, as with the α and β rays, and also with the cathode rays, different gases absorb the γ rays in direct proportion to the density. Such a conclusion is in favour of the view which regards the γ rays as particles of some kind travelling at speeds exceeding those of the other rays; for the absorption phenomena exhibited by Röntgen rays are of an entirely different kind. Further evidence is needed before we can regard the nature of the γ rays as satisfactorily determined.

All the three types of radiation, when they pass through air or any other gas, render the gas a conductor of electricity, so that the charge of an electroscope leaks away. The charged particles of atomic mass which constitute the α rays, the negative corpuscles or electrons which form the β rays, and the γ rays, whatever they may be, are all able to convert some of the molecules of a gas into electrified ions. The α and β projectiles probably effect this change by the energy of their collisions with the molecules of gas; and it is possible to estimate the number of ions produced by each shot. It has been reckoned that this number is sufficient to give air a measurable conductivity when one positive particle per second is emitted by the radio-active substance. Even if one atom of radium emits only one such particle, this estimate means that the electroscope is able to detect effects which depend on one atom coming into action each second. We may well be astonished at the delicacy of this means of research.

Again, all three kinds of rays produce phosphorescent

Digitized by Google

and photographic effects, though the penetrating power of the β and γ rays makes the phenomena due to them more remarkable. Radium salts are self-luminous, owing to the direct emission of light by their agitated atoms, or to some phosphorescent effect of the internal bombardment produced by their radio-activity. A screen of the phosphorescent substance, zinc sulphide, placed in the neighbourhood of a radium compound, glows brightly; and Sir William Crookes has used this property in a most striking and beautiful experiment. A tiny fragment of a radium salt is fixed at the distance of a fraction of a millimetre in front of a plate covered with zinc sulphide. On looking through a lens or a low power microscope in a dark room, brilliant scintillations are seen, and the splash of each atomic projectile of the α radiation as it strikes the target is thus made visible to the human eye.

In the year 1900 Rutherford made another striking discovery. The radiation from thorium was known to be very capricious, being especially affected by slight currents of air over the surface of the active material. Rutherford traced this effect to the emission of a substance which behaved like a heavy gas having temporary radio-active properties. This emanation, as it was named, is to be clearly distinguished from the straight line radiations previously described. It diffuses slowly through the atmosphere, and suffers a decay of activity with time. Similar emanations are given off by radium and actinium, but not by polonium or uranium. The emanations seem to be very inert chemically, in this resembling gases of the argon group. They pass unchanged through acids or hot tubes, but are condensed at the temperature of liquid air, evaporating again as the tube is warmed. By measuring their rates of diffusion into other gases, their densities have been approximately determined and found to be about one hundred times that of hydrogen. When the emanations come into contact with solid bodies, they cause those bodies themselves to become temporarily radio-active. This excited or induced radio-activity, which is found to be acquired more readily by negatively electrified surfaces, is thought by Rutherford to be due to radio-active positively electrified particles clinging to the surfaces. Whatever the effective substance may be, it, or

Digitized by Google

the matrix in which it is deposited, can be dissolved in some acids and regained as a radio-active residue on evaporation.

All the three types of radiation considered above, and known as α, β, and γ rays, have one remarkable property which, at first sight, is not shared by the emanations just described. The radio-activity of any element, with regard to the emission of these rays, is independent of the compound in which that element is contained. Thus, for a mass possessing the same contents of radium, the activity of radium chloride is the same as that of radium bromide; while uranium, the metal, has the same proportional activity as it has when chemically combined in uranium nitrate. Moreover, an alteration in the physical conditions, such as temperature, which always largely influence the course of ordinary physical and chemical changes, seems, throughout an extended range, to be entirely without effect on the processes involved in radio-activity. Heating to redness, or exposure to the extreme cold of liquid air, equally leave the activities we are considering untouched. Pursuing these investigations to even lower temperatures, M. Curie, during his recent visit to England, took advantage of the resources of the Royal Institution to examine the properties of radium when exposed to the temperature of liquid hydrogen. Professor Dewar's calorimeters then indicated that the heat produced by 0·7 of a gramme of a salt of radium was somewhat greater than at higher temperatures; at any rate, it was not less. In liquid hydrogen most chemical activities are entirely suspended, and the result obtained by M. Curie and Professor Dewar, to whatever cause it may be due, is very remarkable. Whether or not the increase they have noted be confirmed by further experiments, it seems certain that, till we thus approach the absolute zero, all the activities of radium are quite independent of temperature. Such extraordinary results as these point to a deep-seated difference in kind between the radio-active processes and all chemical and physical operations hitherto investigated. We shall presently examine this point more closely.

Unlike the 'straight line' radiations of the types α, β, and γ, the emanations discovered by Professor Rutherford are emitted much more freely from some compounds of

Digitized by Google

the radio-active element than from others, while the rate of emission is largely dependent on physical conditions, such as the temperature of the system. By a striking series of experiments, however, Rutherford has traced these differences to variations in the ease with which the emanation escapes from the substance after it has been formed. For example, the emanation is given off very slowly from dry and solid radium chloride; it is freely emitted from the same salt in solution, and this allows the problem to be submitted to the test of quantitative experiment. The rate of decay of the radium emanation is known; its activity falls to half value in 3·7 days. On the hypotheses that the emanation is formed at the same rate in the solid as in the solution, that it escapes from the solution as fast as it is formed, and that it does not appreciably escape from the solid at all, it is clearly possible to calculate the amount of emanation stored in the solid, as compared with the amount produced and emitted by the solution in a given time. The calculation shows that 463,000 times more should be stored in the solid than is emitted by the solution in one second. Now if, as supposed, the emanation is stored in the solid, this large amount will instantaneously be liberated when that solid is dissolved in water. Rutherford and Soddy measured this rush of emanation by its effect on an electroscope, and found that it was 477,000 times greater than the quantity afterwards developed by the solution in one second. Such a remarkable confirmation shows how far it is already possible to predict theoretically the results of experiments on radio-activity.

The effect of high temperature is similar to that of solution. On raising a solid radium compound to a red heat, a rush of emanation is produced, which makes the initial emanating power some hundred thousand times greater than that of the cold solid. This high rate of emission, however, does not last; it, also, is due to the rapid escape of stored material. By experiments such as these, the emanating power of radio-active elements has been brought into line with their other radio-active properties, and shown to depend only on the mass of the element present, whatever be the state of combination in which that element exists, and whatever be the physical conditions under which the process occurs.

Digitized by Google

Since the phenomena of radio-activity have been well known, and the various types of radiation and emanation which proceed from radio-active materials clearly distinguished, traces of the property have been found to be very widely disseminated. Mr C. T. R. Wilson has detected radio-activity in newly fallen rain and snow; when evaporated they leave a residue which discharges an electroscope. Professor J. J. Thomson has found that when air is bubbled through various samples of water from deep wells, or when the water is boiled and the dissolved air driven off and collected, there is present in the air a radio-active gas, which behaves as though it were the emanation from slight traces of some active substance contained in the water. The air loses its active properties, while the water regains a small part, and after some days will again yield a supply of active gas. The rates of recovery and decay seem to be about the same as for the radium emanation; and this suggests that the active material is radium in minute quantity.

Mr Strutt has shown that air which has passed over hot copper, or bubbled for some days through mercury, acquires radio-active properties. Whether this is due to traces of some radio-active element like radium, or to a slight radio-activity of the actual mercury and copper, remains to be determined.

The air of the atmosphere itself, when tested with a sensitive electroscope, is found to possess a slight conductivity. It now seems likely that this effect is due to traces of some radio-active substance, whence issue the radiations which ionise the air. The rate of leakage of electricity through air has been shown by Elster and Geitel to be greater in a cave or cellar than in the open. McLennan, Rutherford and Cooke, and Strutt have found that the rate of leakage in a closed vessel depends on the nature of the walls of the vessel. Strutt even detected differences with different samples of the same material. He draws the conclusion that slight traces of some active element such as radium are very widely disseminated, and by their presence in the substances which compose the walls, ionise the gas in the neighbourhood. We know that traces of some radio-active substance are present in many places in the earth, and we know that some active bodies emit radiations of extremely pene-

Digitized by Google

trating nature. It thus seems reasonable to believe that the slight conductivity which appears to exist at all times in the atmosphere is caused by stray radiations proceeding from some radio-active material, near or far.

As in all cases, this conductivity is due to the production of gaseous ions by the passage of the radiations through the air. Not only are the ions in the atmosphere probably intimately concerned with its electrical manifestations, but C. T. R. Wilson has shown that they can act as nuclei, on which water vapour may condense before it falls as rain. The negative ions are more effective for this purpose than those with a positive charge. Thus the negative ions will be extracted from the atmosphere as the nuclei of raindrops sooner than the positive ions. This process will leave the air positively electrified, and may be one source of atmospheric electricity.

Radium seems destined to play a useful part in the future curative treatment of certain diseases. Röntgen rays have for some time been occasionally employed as a means of checking the spread of cancer; and the radiations from radium appear to be even more effective, besides being applied far more easily locally, and for considerable periods of time. Mr Soddy has suggested that inhaling the emanations of radium, or, preferably, of thorium, might prove a useful way of treating lung disease. The gentle radio-activity thus obtained is perfectly under control by varying the time of application; and the excited activity on the walls of the lungs would continue the treatment in a milder form for some hours after the inhalation had ceased. For surgical purposes also, radium, if it could be prepared fairly pure in moderate quantities, would be more convenient than Röntgen rays, for the production of which complicated and expensive apparatus is needed—apparatus, too, somewhat capricious in its action. At the same time it is clear that the use of radium is attended with some difficulty and danger. When kept near the skin it causes sores, of a nature not yet fully understood, which only appear some days afterwards, while if caterpillars or other small animals are confined in a box with a small quantity of a radium compound, they die in a few hours.

Digitized by Google

In seeking an explanation of these physiological effects, recent experiments, due to Mr W. B. Hardy, must be noticed. It has long been known that solutions of salts and acids, which are conductors of electricity, possess the power of coagulating clear solutions of colloidal or jelly-like substances such as albumen or sulphide of arsenic. The coagulative power of these electrolytes varies in a remarkable manner with the nature of the ions contained in them, increasing in a geometrical progression with the chemical valency.* This relation is readily explained by referring the coagulative action to the electric charges on the ions. These charges are proportional to the valencies, and it will therefore need the conjunction of three univalent ions to produce the effect of one trivalent ion. Such considerations lead, on the principles of the kinetic theory, to the observed results. The influence of charged ions on colloidal solutions being thus made clear, Hardy tried the effect of exposing a very sensitive solution of globulin, a substance contained in the living tissue of animals, to the charged particles emitted from radium, which so readily produce ions when passing through a gas. The penetrating β rays were without action, but the easily absorbed α rays, which enter a film of the liquid when it is placed near a radium salt with no screen interposed, immediately coagulated the globulin. On the other hand, the β and γ rays were found to induce certain chemical reactions, liberating iodine from iodoform in presence of oxygen. This change is also produced by ordinary light and by Röntgen rays, but not by the α radiation. These results, physical and chemical, may explain some of the curious physiological effects of radio-active substances.

It seems unlikely that radium will ever be cheap enough for us to use its energy as a source of mechanical power; but it is just possible that the phosphorescence of sensitive screens in the neighbourhood of a radio-active body may some day act as a practical source of light. In this way luminous effects would be obtained directly

* The meaning of the term 'chemical valency' is shown most easily by examples. The valency of chlorine is unity, because one of its atoms combines with one atom of the standard substance hydrogen. Oxygen is divalent, for the constitution of its typical compound, water, is represented by the formula H_2O.

Digitized by Google

from a store of energy self-contained and practically inexhaustible, whereas, in all our present arrangements, light is derived from a hot body, and large quantities of energy are necessarily wasted in maintaining the incandescence.

In order to gain some insight into the cause of radio-activity, we must now examine another series of phenomena of fundamental importance, which were discovered, in the case of uranium, by Crookes and by Becquerel, and in the case of thorium by Rutherford and Soddy. By definite processes of chemical fractionisation, somewhat like those by which radium was isolated from pitch-blende, products can be obtained in minute quantities from uranium and thorium many times more active than those substances themselves. The uranium and thorium from which those products have been separated lose much of their activity, and the radiation which they then emit is of the α type only. To the separated products the names of uranium X and thorium X have been given. The important point is this: if these X products be kept for some weeks or months, they will be found to have lost their radio-active properties, while the original samples of uranium or thorium will have become as active as they were before the separation. The rates at which the processes of loss and gain of activity occur have been carefully studied by Rutherford and Soddy, and shown to correspond accurately with each other.

These experiments lead to a definite view as to the source of the radiations. It has been suggested that the energy proceeding from radio-active bodies is obtained by drawing on some unknown radiation constantly streaming through space, a radiation which active bodies alone have the power of absorbing and re-emitting in forms capable of detection by our instruments. But this explanation ignores the results of experiments such as those just described, which show that, whenever radio-activity exists, the active material is always slowly changing into some other chemical substance. Thus, in the case of thorium compounds, the radio-active body producing most of the effects usually observed is not really thorium, but a definite substance we may call thorium X, which is being formed at a con-

Digitized by Google

stant rate from the bulk of the thorium, and, after its formation, gradually loses its activity. The constant activity of a thorium compound is thus due to a balance in the rate of production of the active thorium X and in the rate of its loss of radio-activity.

What view are we to take of the changes in the thorium or uranium which result in the formation of the X products? and what further changes must we suppose to go on when the X products give rise to emanations or radiations? Are these changes of the nature of ordinary chemical action, in which atomic or molecular combinations, or rearrangements of the atoms in a molecule, are involved, or must we look deeper for their causes?

Three essential pieces of evidence should be considered in this connexion. The rate at which radio-active power is gained or lost depends only on, and is always proportional to, the total amount of active material at any instant remaining effective; it does not depend on the concentration of that material. For instance, if the activity of a quantity of thorium X be examined, it will be found to decrease during each unit of time by the same fraction of the value it had at the beginning of that interval. If, in the first four days, the activity falls to half its initial value, during the second four days it will fall to half that half-value, or to one quarter of the initial value; during each successive four days the remaining activity is halved. The rate of decay does not depend on the volume which the material occupies. This mode of change in a geometrical progression, depending only on the total amount of effective material present at the instant, is well known in chemical processes. In such processes it always indicates that the reaction is an alteration going on in the individual molecules, which may either be dissociating into simpler molecules, or be suffering a rearrangement of their constituent atoms. Each molecule undergoes this change alone, and does not react with other molecules. If, on the other hand, a change is going on, in which combination or rearrangement between two reacting systems is involved, whether the systems consist of atoms or molecules, another law holds; and the rate of change is found to increase when the material is concentrated into a smaller space, so that the two systems are more closely within reach of each

Digitized by Google

other. In the phenomena we are considering, then, the change involves one system only, whatever that system may be.

In examining the further question thus raised, we are at once confronted with the remarkable fact that the radio-activity of a series of compounds of any radio-active element is simply proportional to the amount of the element which they contain; the activity of the element is not affected by its state of combination, or by very great changes in the physical conditions, such as temperature, which play a large part in determining ordinary physical or chemical equilibrium. As we have seen, this remarkable result applies not only to the emission of the 'rays,' but also to the evolution of the emanations which proceed from some of the radio-active elements, the differences in emanating power having been traced to differences in the rate at which the emanations can escape from the various compounds under various conditions. The law of decay of activity shows that one reacting system only is involved; these further phenomena show that the system does not alter with the changing conditions which are found to affect all known molecular processes, or with the state of combination which affects the physical and chemical properties that control the behaviour of the elements in all other respects. Moreover, as we shall see later, it is possible to calculate the energy liberated by a given amount of radio-active change. This energy is at least twenty thousand times, and may be a million times, greater than that involved in the most energetic chemical action known.

The conclusion is thus forced on us that, in radio-active processes, we are dealing with changes in the atoms themselves, and are watching the phenomena which accompany a true transmutation of the elements. The continuity of the problems which present themselves to the human intellect is once more strikingly demonstrated, for surely the imagination must be deficient which does not see in these transformations of matter a partial fulfilment of the dreams of the mediæval alchemist.

The strength of any hypothesis lies in its power of adequately co-ordinating observed facts, and of intelligently forecasting the discoveries of the future. If, then, we accept this new revelation, and in its light reconsider

Digitized by Google

the phenomena we have already discussed, we shall be able to marshal our facts in orderly array, while the few privileged pioneers alone can tell how much assistance they have already received from it in their brilliant achievements.

Let us then, in terms of this new theory, restate the results which we have already described. All radio-active elements have very high atomic weights, the atom of radium, for instance, being about 225 times as heavy as that of hydrogen. Radio-active atoms are therefore very complex structures, and, on the theory we are considering, capable of breaking down into simpler and lighter systems. The elements thorium and uranium contain some few atoms which, at any moment, are disintegrating. This disintegration is effected by the ejection of positively charged particles as *a* rays, the residues breaking down into new and simpler atoms, which are themselves in a state of instability, and are known to us as thorium X and uranium X. The further transformation of these bodies is very rapid, their activity disappearing in a time measured in days. It is probable, however, that in radium we possess an analogous substance, also an intermediate product in a state of instability, the life of which is enormously longer. The primary substance, standing to radium as thorium stands to thorium X, is at present uncertain; it may be one of the metals which are found in pitch-blende. As in the formation of the X product, the essential process in the radio-activity which accompanies its disintegration consists in the ejection of the positively charged particle which we recognise as an *a* ray by its power of ionising a gas through which it passes, and thus rendering that gas a conductor. The loss of this positive particle implies a change in the atomic residue, which, in the case of uranium, now seems to lose all radio-active properties, and therefore to pass out of reach of our observation. In compounds of radium and thorium, however, we get the emanations as the next step in the process of atomic dissociation. These bodies also are unstable, that is, radio-active. They emit new *a* rays, and produce the excited activity which generally appears as a solid deposit on the walls of the containing vessels. This again breaks down, with the usual accompaniment of *a* radiation. Some traces of a secondary excited activity have been

Digitized by Google

detected; but, however that may be, we are nearing the final stage, where the residue left by the successive changes ceases to be radio-active, and can no longer be followed by our instruments. The quantities of matter involved in any radio-active change are excessively minute; and no other method at present known enables us to detect the final inactive products as they are formed. It is, however, not improbable that, by the slow accumulation of material which must go on when a radio-active body is kept for a long time, the inactive products will eventually be obtained in amounts sufficient to be distinguished by the spectroscope or even by ordinary chemical analysis. In this connexion we must give due weight to the fact that in all radio-active minerals considerable quantities of the gas helium are found to be contained. Sir William Ramsay and Mr Soddy, by spectroscopic methods, have recently detected the presence of helium in the gases evolved from a sample of radium, originally prepared from pitch-blende and kept as a solid for some months. The spectrum of helium gradually increased in intensity with the lapse of time.

Such results are very suggestive: it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that helium is one of the final products obtained by the disintegration of the radium atom. Only a few years since the inactive elements of the group containing argon and helium were revealed to us. It now seems conceivable that we are about to learn from them a secret as yet undisclosed by other elements, the secret of their origin. The density of helium, about double that of hydrogen, suggests the possibility that the α rays themselves consist of positively electrified helium atoms; but further evidence is needed before we can solve these fascinating problems of the final state of extinct radio-active matter.

So far we have referred to the α type of radiation alone, and this type seems to play the principal part in radio-active change. The β and γ radiations, according to Rutherford, only appear when the series of atomic transformations accompanying radio-activity is nearing its completion. With uranium, β and γ rays are emitted only by the substance uranium X; and this, since no emanation is known, must represent the last radio-active residue. With radium and thorium the excited activity due to

Digitized by Google

the emanations is the last product formed before the radio-active properties vanish; and, with these metals, this excited activity freely gives rise to the β and γ radiation. The emission of these rays by a solid radium compound is probably due to a similar excited activity produced in the solid by the emanation which that solid is always developing and absorbing. This explains the gradual increase in activity of a radium compound for some weeks after its deposition from solution. The increase has been observed both with the electroscope and by measurement of the heat evolved. When first deposited, we get the effect of the solid radium salt, which gives α rays alone; but, as the emanation is gradually produced and stored in the solid, not only does the amount of α radiation grow greater, but the β and γ radiations also appear.

Should these explanations be finally accepted, it would seem that the first process due to the instability of a radio-active atom is the ejection, not, as we might perhaps expect on the electron theory of matter, of a number of isolated negative corpuscles, but of a connected group of corpuscles, which together make up the structure of atomic mass which we recognise in an α ray. This and other points remain for future investigation. Professor Thomson has described to the writer a mechanism by means of which this disintegration may possibly be explained. The sub-atomic corpuscles, when their velocity is changing, must radiate ethereal waves. Their energy is thus gradually diminished; and systems of revolving corpuscles, permanent while moving fast, may become unstable. As a simple example, six bodies at the corners of a plane hexagon under the influence of mutual forces may continue, while their velocity exceeds a certain limit, to revolve about a central point while keeping their relative positions. When there is no motion, however, this arrangement is impossible, and the six bodies must place themselves, five at the corners of a pentagon and one at the centre. Thus, as the velocity falls to a certain value, a sudden and explosive rearrangement occurs, during which, in the complex system constituting an atom, the ejection of parts of the system becomes possible. But whatever be the mechanism by which the disintegration is effected, the main features of the theory of radio-activity which we have outlined,

Digitized by Google

if they cannot yet be said to be as firmly established and as widely accepted as some older physical generalisations, have at all events provided us with a consistent treatment of the subject, and constitute a working hypothesis on the lines of which, it is safe to predict, will be continued in the coming years the researches which have already so notably widened our outlook on the workings of nature.

Such is the theory of radio-activity indicated by the remarkable series of investigations that have followed Becquerel's original discovery. We are led to refer the energy liberated to transformations in the chemical atoms, and to recognise clearly, what has long been suspected, that the store of energy in the atoms themselves enormously transcends the energy involved in ordinary physical or chemical changes, in which the atoms suffer no alteration. This internal atomic energy, then, must be looked on as the source of the heat experimentally detected by Curie in the neighbourhood of a radium compound. Its immediate cause may be partly, at least, the internal bombardment of the *a* particles, which, shot off by the radium and the emanation stored in it, are for the most part absorbed by the substance itself. The greater part of the radiation from a solid radium compound is emitted by the stored emanation. The emanation can be extracted only in such minute quantities that its radio-activity alone reveals to us its existence. As we have seen, the emanation is of the nature of a dense gas, but a bubble which could be evolved from the limited supply of radium possessed by any experimenter would be much too small to be visible. Could a cubic inch of the radium emanation be obtained, the radiation from it would be so powerful that the vessel used to contain the gas would, in all probability, be instantly fused.

By the methods we have already described, it is possible to determine the mass and the velocity of the projected particles, and therefore to calculate their kinetic energy. From the principles of the molecular theory we know that the number of atoms in a gramme of a solid material is about 10^{20}.* Four or five successive stages in the disintegration of radium have been recog-

* That is, ten to the power of twenty; in other words, a number represented by a unit followed by twenty ciphers.

Digitized by Google

nised; and, on the assumption that each of these involves the emission of only one particle, the total energy of radiation which one gramme of radium could furnish if entirely disintegrated seems to be enough to raise the temperature of 10^8 grammes, or about 100 tons of water, through one degree centigrade. This is an underestimate; it is possible that it should be increased ten or a hundred times. As a mean value, we may say that in mechanical units the energy available for radiation in one ounce of radium is sufficient to raise a weight of something like ten thousand tons one mile high.

An interesting problem then rises for solution. From Curie's determination of the heat evolved, or from estimates of the number of ions produced by each α particle as it flies through air till its energy is absorbed, we may calculate approximately the energy radiated in a given time. Hence we deduce the possibility of estimating the rate at which the observed radiations of a piece of radium would decrease—that is, the length of life of radium as its atoms, one after another, undergo disintegration. On the minimum estimate we have given, Rutherford calculates the life of radium as a few thousand years; and, although it is probable that this is less than the truth, it seems that a gramme of the material would so diminish in the course of a few hundred thousand years that the activity of the residue would cease to be a measurable quantity. The activity of uranium and thorium is so much smaller than that of radium that their lives must be perhaps a million times longer, and the amount of matter disintegrated in a year a million times less. We are thus again impressed with the exceeding delicacy of our measurements of radio-activity, by which we can detect in a few seconds the results of changes to be demonstrated by the balance only after the lapse of many thousand years.

It will now be clear that, on the theory which has been put forward, we are, while investigating a radio-active body, in reality watching the process of the evolution of matter. Radio-active substances, themselves unstable, may have been formed by the disintegration of parent atoms, which are unknown to us, and, indeed, may now be non-existent on our globe. Radio-activity denoting an unstable state, it is probable that the total

Digitized by Google

amount of it in the world is constantly diminishing, as the atoms of the active elements gradually pass into inactive forms. Perhaps in former ages nearly all matter was radio-active; and mankind has discovered these phenomena only in the last cosmical moments of a few thousand or million years before they cease for ever to manifest their existence.

When we trace in this way the creation and evolution of new elements, it is impossible to resist wondering whether the process of change, so far observed to an appreciable extent only in a few radio-active bodies, may not in reality be a general property of matter, though in other cases possessed in such an infinitesimal degree that it transcends even the delicate means of detection that are now at our disposal. We must, at any rate, cease to regard matter as essentially eternal and unalterable; the possibility of its undergoing a continual though slow process of evolution is clearly before us.

A striking property of radio-active change is our inability to produce it, or even to modify its course, by any of the powerful means within the resources of modern physical science. We can trace the transmutation of the elements; we can watch the evolution of matter; but we have not yet found the philosopher's stone which brings these processes under our control. It would be rash to predict that our impotence will last for ever, but at present there are no signs of its removal. Still, strange things happen nowadays, and yet stranger things may be seen by future generations. It is conceivable that some means may one day be found for inducing radio-active change in elements which are not normally subject to it. Professor Rutherford has playfully suggested to the writer the disquieting idea that, could a proper detonator be discovered, an explosive wave of atomic disintegration might be started through all matter which would transmute the whole mass of the globe into helium or similar gases, and, in very truth, leave not one stone upon another. Such a speculation is, of course, only a nightmare dream of the scientific imagination, but it serves to show the illimitable avenues of thought opened up by the study of radio-activity.

W. C. D. WHETHAM.

Digitized by Google

(127)

Art. VI.—SOME TENDENCIES OF MODERN SPORT.

1. *Cricket.* Edited by Horace G. Hutchinson. London: Newnes, 1903.
2. *The Cricket of Abel, Hirst, and Shrewsbury.* Edited by E. F. Benson and Eustace Miles. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1903.
3. *Surrey Cricket.* Edited by Lord Alverstone and C. W. Alcock. London: Longmans, 1902.
4. *Men Famous in Football.* London: Bedford Publishing Press, 1903.
5. *Records of Henley Royal Regatta.* By Herbert T. Steward. London: Grant Richards, 1903.
6. *From Gladiateur to Persimmon.* By Sydenham Dixon. London: Grant Richards, 1901.
7. *Modern Polo.* By Captain E. D. Miller, D.S.O. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1902.
8. *The Royal Yacht Squadron.* By Montague Guest and W. B. Boulton. London: Murray, 1903.

And other works.

SPORT is a word of many meanings. In the following pages that important fraction of our modern amusements which may be described as field-sports—hunting, for instance, and the many varieties of shooting—will be almost entirely omitted, not because they are wholly free from blame, but because the vast majority of the inhabitants of the British islands cannot afford them. The national character is more deeply influenced by such popular pastimes as cricket, football, racing, athletic sports, and the large class of amusements which may be generically termed ball games. In all these pastimes successive developments have been accepted as they came; and no one seems to have paid much attention to the trend of national sentiment or to the gradual increase of certain tendencies which are rapidly and regrettably altering our ideas of sport. Yet in every form of sport the friendliest criticism has hitherto been invariably met by the asseveration that the indirect benefits conferred by our manly love of sport upon the nation and the race are so substantial that the more strait-laced of us must put up with a few individual annoyances for the sake of the

Digitized by Google

general good. The present writer does not wish to object to any developments merely because they are modern—a reproach to which he must himself plead guilty. He would but ask careful consideration for a few plain questions: whether, for instance, the national benefits so often talked of still in fact exist; whether the evils that have been admitted are not much larger than they used to be; what tendencies are chiefly responsible for the change, and where we may expect to find a remedy; what indications, bearing on these points, are to be found in our games, our universities, our army, and the masses of our people. The zealous reformer who speaks without knowledge often does more harm than good, for he is without a reply when asked for details. It may therefore be of service if this inquiry be conducted by one who has himself taken an active part in most of the forms of sport which he mentions, and who has been in close touch with all the rest. The subject is a large one, and we can only consider certain varieties of sport, selecting those which appear to throw most light, either for good or for evil, on the problem before us. Naturally, such an examination is far from exhaustive; but it will probably be sufficient to demonstrate that the worst tendencies in the typical sports of modern England are due to the increase of the spirit of professionalism, to over-specialisation, to the wrong use of the power of money, and to the lust for record-making. It may be well to consider whether we should not make some effort to arrest the further development of these tendencies.

Of the universal passion for sport there can be no doubt. 'If I'd had my blooming bat,' said a private of Lord Methuen's Division in a particularly hot corner, 'I'd have hit that one for six.' A shell had ploughed into the loose earth under his feet without bursting; and when the dust had settled the men advanced and took the kopje. About the same time, in Fleet Street, nervous old gentlemen were buying evening papers with the startling poster—'Collapse of England.' They were rather mystified than reassured on discovering that the phrase referred to the miraculous proficiency of some Australian bowlers on the other side of the world. But Fleet Street was completely satisfied. The House of Commons, too, quite caught the spirit of the thing. There were cheers and laughter when

Digitized by Google

Lord Charles Beresford told, from his seat, the anecdote about the German admiral in the China seas. 'You are a most extraordinary people,' was the remark of the serious Teuton; 'the Russians are working hard to fortify their ports; the Germans are actively engaged in levelling parade-grounds; but the English are industriously making cricket pitches.' Lord Charles's audience thoroughly understood. It was just our English way; and they were confident it was all right. But some doubt has intervened since then. Many people are still convinced that 'a good all-round man'—that is, apparently, a man who is a good player at a number of games—is likely to do well in the serious business of life. But we propose to ask whether his games are still all they used to be, and still do all the good they once did.

Sport has a greater influence upon our attitude to life, even upon our language, than is often perceived. 'Bad form' is the true sportsman's criticism: to 'play the game' is the true sportsman's advice. But when we consider the comparative value of 'form' and of success in the minds of modern professionals and specialists, when we realise how many of what once were games have now become mercantile pursuits, we may perhaps wonder whether the spirit implied in those old-fashioned phrases is dying out in life and conduct as it is perishing in sport. Even if it were impossible—which we deny—to dam the torrent of polluted streams which threatens to befoul the fair field of gentle sportsmanship, it may at least fall to the lot of those who care for the traditions once cherished by the best of our race, to support and to keep pure what few forms of sport remain untainted. This will be no selfish and no narrow task. We smile when we hear of interesting aborigines in distant countries playing cricket and football as keenly as they learn soldiering. We have seen our English professional racquet championship won by a Parsee player from India. We learn that a newly arrived Scotsman (with a handicap of two at St Andrews) has succumbed to a young Maori chieftain in the golf championship of New Zealand. We are to be visited next summer by an Indian cricket team containing Hindoos, Parsees, Mohammedans, and others. But do we remember that the spirit in which these

Digitized by Google

games are played is far more important to our pupils than accurate observance of rules or skill in actual performance?

It may be pertinent in this connexion to observe that there is no civilised country in which so small a portion of the population has received a systematic physical training as is the case in the United Kingdom. Without being in favour either of elaborate public gymnasiums, or of the exaggerated calisthenics of the parade-ground and the riding-school, the impartial critic may well ask whether we still retain that predominance of physical fibre and athletic temperament which once was undoubtedly our own. We owed it mainly to the length of time and the amount of money we devoted, as a nation, to our games. Conscription has gone far to produce a similar result in other countries, just at a time when our own populace have discovered the superior attractions of looking on at a few favourite performers.

In these circumstances it is without surprise that we find in the report of the Inspector-General for Recruiting for 1902 that he notices 'a gradual deterioration of the physique of the working classes from which the bulk of the recruits must always be drawn'; and the Royal Commission on Physical Training in Scotland found that one candidate out of every three had to be rejected for these causes. One reason for this is clearly that, as a nation, we are gradually being transformed from a country-bred people into a town-bred population. The housing question has of late rather too much obscured the even greater importance of the inhabitants. Of course, a man is not to be condemned as useless merely because he is not up to a recruiting standard. But it is one indication among many others; and it has certainly remained for the days of scientific hygiene to see a far greater number of men carried off by sickness than are slain in battle by modern weapons of precision. This raises a doubt that is difficult to allay. Have our numerous sports really improved our national fibre since the days when Napier wrote:

'That the British infantry soldier is more robust than the soldier of any other nation can hardly be doubted by those who observed his powerful frame, distinguished among the united armies of Europe.'

Digitized by Google

It is a boast that goes back as far as Froissart, as far as the days when fourteen men were bred in the country for one who lived in towns. It is no longer as true now as it was then; and here is one great reason for the encouragement of all those sports that are possible for townsmen; of the hundred cricket-pitches laid out by the London Playing-fields Committee, for example. What we want is not so many 'first class-cricketers,' but a few more of those private soldiers who would like to hit a shell for six, a few more of those who could 'go anywhere and do anything.' Just before Waterloo the Duke of Wellington, pointing out a British infantryman in the park at Brussels, said to Creevey, 'It all depends upon that article whether we do the business or not. Give me enough of it, and I am sure.'

Our soldiers may have learnt by recent experience that 'an eye for country,' a good seat, and a knowledge of the management of horses, are more directly valuable in a campaign than the amateur tennis championship, or the biggest average of the first-class cricket season. This is a natural result, because the athlete only faces risks which he has carefully calculated beforehand, under conditions with which constant practice has familiarised him; whereas a day across country, or a long morning after grouse, is full of unexpected situations, and of perpetual calls upon a man's resource or hardihood. But the contentions of a man who would thus uphold field-sports against all other forms of amusement only leave a real sting when 'games' have become so serious that they lose all the character of a pastime, and when undue specialisation has produced results more fatal than is the case in any other branch of activity. The professional trainer, just excluded from Henley by the wisest body of sporting legislators we possess, finds, of course, in specialisation his one justification for existence. Mr C. B. Fry writes on the value of a professional trainer for the Sussex eleven, and insists that training hard is now a necessity of first-class cricket—a most ominous pronouncement. For, as it is, the strain of the first-class season is enormous, and is sometimes doubled by a visit to Australia. 'There is something,' writes the Hon. R. H. Lyttelton, 'at once tragic and pathetic in the case of Richardson, the great Surrey fast bowler . . . the finest

Digitized by Google

fast bowler of all cricket history.' In first-class matches alone he bowled something like six thousand overs in four years. The human frame is not yet built that could stand this. On Richardson's return from his second visit to Australia it was obvious that hard grounds, unfinished matches, and night travelling had done their work. The mental strain involved in first-class cricket—we acknowledge the voluminous Mr Fry's remarks again—is also great. His warnings receive a melancholy confirmation in the suicide of Arthur Shrewsbury, the breakdown of Tom Emmett, the death of Briggs in a lunatic asylum. It may be significant that in a death-roll which contains the names of Lohmann, Peate, Bates, Davidson, Barnes, and Shilton, not one of these prominent cricketers had reached the age of fifty.

It is perhaps rarely recognised by those who have not lived much abroad that one of the greatest safeguards of English sport is the existence of those governing bodies which appeal to our national instincts by exercising a voluntarily recognised authority over practically unlimited areas. What the Jockey Club is supposed to do for the English Turf, the M.C.C. is trying to do for English cricket, and the A.R.A. and the Henley stewards are doing for English oarsmanship. The Football Association is equally responsible for one of the two great varieties of the game. With these bodies lies the ultimate direction of the various branches of sport which they exist to foster. With them, too, must lie the responsibility for certain tendencies which are already apparent, and threaten to pervade the whole system.

We are not so very far from that strange Transatlantic novelty known as 'college politics,' a phrase typical of the American athlete. His characteristic ideals have been reached by a process of rapid development in far fewer years than would be imagined possible if English progress were taken as a standard. Still, we are following in our own slow way, and our pace accelerates as the downward slope increases. The American's insistence upon victory at any cost has driven him to exactly the same end to which professionalism is driving us. In fact the very meaning of the word 'amateur,' once used to denote gentlemen who paid their own expenses, is now fast

Digitized by Google

degenerating into the sense in which it is employed in that pathetic phrase, 'amateur theatricals.' However, if we lose the sense of one word we repair the loss quickly enough by coining something new. 'Cricket etiquette' would have sounded strange even a score of years ago, yet nowadays it seems to exercise a strange influence upon candidates for an English team, an influence which is hardly calculated to raise the prestige of the game. It is well known that on one occasion the late Lord Salisbury offered to take office under the Duke of Devonshire. Among politicians this was considered to be a noble instance of 'good cricket.' But it was hardly thought that the excellence of that example had been sufficiently appreciated when Mr Maclaren introduced 'politics' into the game last summer.

What constitutes an 'amateur' in these days might present a pretty problem to the logician, but is too complicated a question for full discussion here. So many more cricket matches take place now, and so much more money is involved in them, that the old distinction suggested in the time-honoured title of 'Gentlemen *v.* Players' seems likely to assume quite a new significance. Soon there will be no 'gentlemen' left good enough to play at all, for every one will be strenuously earning an income by means of what was once a pleasant pastime. The match at the Oval between the champion county and the rest of England is expected to be a four-day meeting next season. But, even for the first-class three-day engagements all through the summer, only a rich man or a paid man can now afford the time. There are many first-rate cricketers who are not rich; and unless our 'national game' is gradually to become the monopoly of the few, it must soon depend wholly on the gate-money of the many. Australian teams have frankly recognised the position. Whether they prefer to be called 'gentlemen' or 'players' is a detail we may neglect; but the gate-money is equally divided between them all after their business-manager has paid the expenses of the trip. When we send a team to Australia it would seem preferable, after the long-winded altercations of last year, to send all our men on precisely the same basis. If those who prefer to be called 'amateurs' in England object to such public methods of finance, they had better stay at home on the perfectly

Digitized by Google

intelligible plea that they cannot afford to go abroad. Nobody has ever breathed a word against the 'amateur status' of any one in either of the University eights. And why? Because all are treated alike, both rich and poor. There has never been, to our knowledge, a case of a man who was wanted to row, and who was prevented from doing so by lack of private means.

There is no reason why cricket should be in worse case. But if it is, why not admit it? If a man cannot go to Australia without asking some compensation for lost work, in addition to his expenses, let him make his own choice between the game and the profession. If his services to the side are so important that such a choice should be eliminated, then why not confess that first-class cricket must now be limited to men whose services must be remunerated? This at least would be straightforward and above-board. It might easily happen that some men, being well able to afford this expensive luxury, would return their fees to the managing organisation, just as the sons of wealthy fathers can retain the honour of winning a scholarship without keeping money that might help a poorer boy. One thing at least is clear, that, whether it is a question of a visit to Australia, or of playing through an English summer, some men now called amateurs are obliged to consider the financial aspect of their cricket. No one would think worse of them if this fact were frankly recognised. Richard Daft had to face just such a problem. He solved it openly and honestly; and his name was just as welcome when it stood unadorned upon the score-sheet as when the magic initial letter, on which so much seems to depend, had been prefixed to it. Popularity in the world of cricket does not depend on the mere addition of a man's Christian name. We should all cheer the magnificent performances of a Grace or a Maclaren just as heartily, whatever were his status. A great deal has been said about the dressing-rooms and entrances which are set apart in pavilions for amateurs and for professionals respectively. It all sounds very paltry when connected with so good a game. If all players in first-class matches were on the same footing, these matters would quickly settle themselves.

We are now concerned rather with tendencies than with details, rather with the spirit than with the letter.

Digitized by Google

But it is in accord with other indications of the direction in which cricket is moving, that long and loud discussions have lately been heard concerning alterations of the rules. Now there are few more fatal symptoms than an unnecessary demand for tampering with a code. But the demand for change made by the advanced party of English cricket reform is only a natural consequence of the present situation of the game.

Matches at Lord's usually begin about midday. A full half-hour is spent on lunch. There is an interval for tea. Stumps are drawn at about half-past six. If it were necessary, it would be possible to give statistics of the number of catches dropped and balls badly fielded in the last few years. The general opinion of the reformers, however, seems to be that so many matches are unfinished, not because of the arrangement of the day's cricket, or because of slack fielding, but because the batsman's science has mastered the bowler's art. When C. B. Fry can compile an average of over 81 in forty innings, during one of the wettest seasons on record, it would at first sight appear that this contention is just. There are some critics who regret the amount of science and training which, Mr Fry tells us, have gone towards the composition of so enormous a total. These critics have indeed marvelled at the skill with which Mr Fry plays all kinds of bowling; yet they prefer to see a Trumper or a Ranjitsinhji playing with it. In order to bring matches within the three days, it is now demanded that the wicket shall be widened. The great objection to such a change is that, if introduced at all, it must be introduced all round. Yet no one maintains its necessity in any but first-class matches; and many of the best authorities deplore its suggestion even to this extent. But the public and the gate-money are in question; and the wider interests of a national pastime are in danger of being deliberately sacrificed to the pecuniary considerations which sway the contest for the county championship.

That these considerations can occasionally become very pressing is clear from the published balance-sheets of the Essex County Cricket Club, which show a loss of 1500*l.* or more on the season's 'working,' because rain has spoilt the attendance of the public at so many matches, and because the public do not attend the 'popular enter-

Digitized by Google

tainments, *voilà tout*'—as Mr Fry calls county cricket—unless the 'entertainers' are sufficiently successful in drawing 'a good gate' by rousing the partisan spirit. Very few county elevens, of course, are really representative inhabitants of the county whose colours they wear; but we must apparently be content with buying our *esprit de corps* if we cannot grow it on its native soil. And the men we buy feel the strain in their turn. How much of the monotonous play we see nowadays is due to responsibility felt by paid cricketers towards their treasurer, or to the very natural feeling that their livelihood depends on their avoidance of defeat? The game is not over in an hour or two. When this spirit enters into it the whole three days of a match long foredoomed to be a draw must be laboriously played out; the only chance of relief for the 'gallery' is reckless hitting, which is no better play than perpetual 'stone-walling.' No wonder that, under such unsound conditions of competition, many clubs are unable to support the expensive establishments now necessary. If the satiated public grows tired of paying to watch their efforts, it is hardly astonishing that the real inhabitants of the county become a little tired of paying for an imported team. The fault is not with the clubs, but with the system; and none but those in control of the organisation which should control the game can cure the disease.

One remedy that has been proposed can only be contemplated with dismay, natural as it may seem that one who considers cricket to be a 'popular entertainment, *voilà tout*,' should have become the chief advocate of the innovation. The jaded palates of the public, already cloyed with the county championship, are to be tickled with still further condiments drawn from the highly-spiced menu of the professional footballer's cup ties. Still more 'fixtures' are to be crammed into an overloaded programme in order to make the decrepit old game a little more attractive to the all-important spectator; still more seasoning is to be added to the stale bill of fare which is ceasing to draw those customers for whom alone, apparently, the first-class cricketer will cater in the coming season. The prospect is not alluring.

The committee of the M.C.C. are surely not of the opinion that it is essential to the best interests of English

Digitized by Google

cricket to quarrel over questions of etiquette, to conceal the payments made to men who dislike being called professionals, to limit the possibility of first-class play either to paid performers or to rich amateurs, to degrade a cricket match to the level of a star turn at a variety music-hall. Still less can the committee believe that alterations of their code will benefit an institution which has suffered all its real change of late from artificial pitches, dilatory time-tables, and unnatural surroundings.

When we pass to football, we find the Football Association superintending interests just as important in their line as those over which the Jockey Club, the Royal Yacht Squadron, the Henley stewards, or the M.C.C. preside. But what is the interpretation of their duties which has been pressed upon the Association by the overwhelming force of modern professionalism? It is that the Association should be formed into a regular limited liability company, with directors, shareholders, and all the machinery familiar to Capel Court; and the Scottish Football Association has now followed suit. The balance-sheet issued on April 30, 1903, showed receipts of 12,218*l.* 15*s.* 1*d.*, and a balance at the bank, after expenditure, of 5963*l.* 8*s.* The principal item in the receipts is 7041*l.* from the cup matches; and the amount paid to the clubs playing in the semi-final and final ties was 4662*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* These are big figures; and it should be at once placed to the credit of the game and its managers that 4316*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* have been contributed in all to the Glasgow relief fund, and 2218*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.* to the South African war relief funds. Mr Bentley is constantly urging the claims of charity in other ways. There are various charity cups, and also competitions like that for the Sheriff of London's shield, which confer undoubted benefit on many deserving causes. Nor need the case be exaggerated by suggesting that the newly formed football company proposes to treat such a balance-sheet as the above as simply contributing a pecuniary emolument for itself; for its directors have limited the capital to 100*l.*, divided into shilling shares, by which means they propose to give all shareholders entitled to represent the football community a definite and statutory voice in the control of the 'sport' or 'business,' whichever is the appropriate word. But it

Digitized by Google

may be observed that votaries of football are apparently unable either to obtain or to understand such control unless it is expressed in pounds, shillings, and shares.

The enormous numbers affected by the company's proceedings may be judged from the authoritative calculation that two million persons—almost a twentieth part of the population of the United Kingdom—are looking on at football matches in that area every Saturday from October to April. The 'accounts' of a few matches in the first month of the present season were published as these lines were being written; they showed that 22,000 persons watched Woolwich Arsenal play Manchester; that 18,000 spectators were present at the match between Fulham and Southampton; that 30,000 saw Manchester City oppose Sheffield United; that 15,000 looked on in two other cases, and 17,000 in a third; 10,000 being the smallest return on our incomplete list. This gives some idea of the gate-money. But the average is, of course, easily beaten on such occasions as the final tie between Tottenham Hotspur and Sheffield United in 1901, when 110,802 persons paid for admission at the Crystal Palace—a gigantic total, which has steadily grown ever since 42,000 were registered in 1895. When trade is supposed to be at its worst, thousands of operatives find money enough to attend a match, even if they are on strike. In the North Staffordshire factories the most drastic measures are necessary to keep men at their work during the mid-week matches, when 40 per cent. of the workmen have left the ovens during important firing-operations to see Stoke play a cup tie. Even so, we have not yet reached either the crowds or the receipts of football matches in America. But we are doing our best.

As a form of national amusement, 'looking on' may have its merits. At all events, it is as old as the Roman Coliseum, and as modern as the Spanish bull-ring. But it should be distinguished from national athletics. Consider the scene at Lord's or the Oval on the day of a big match. To say that 5 per cent. of all present could either place a hit, or bowl a good length ball, is to be guilty of friendly exaggeration. Cricket is much too good nowadays for the average man to dare play it; so he looks on. Again, what of the limited liability company which provides twenty-two paid and skilful

Digitized by Google

performers for the amusement of a hundred thousand spectators? Unless these latter get their exercise in breaking down the turnstiles or battering obnoxious referees, we are driven to wonder how our national physique is to be improved by the national game.

Proficiency and skill, as such, need not be regretted in any game. But it is difficult to believe both sides. If football is conducted on business methods, it is not a game. If its objects are pecuniary, it is not sport. If its value depends merely upon results, its effects cannot be good even for that very small fraction of those immediately interested who kick the ball about.

Among these results *esprit de corps*, at any rate, cannot be reckoned, if the phrase is taken to mean an attachment to one's native soil, which would appear as ludicrous to the modern player as it is unexpected by the looker-on. The clubs bear names that are only labels. The richest organisations win because they buy the best men. At the end of every season such startling announcements may be read in the daily press as, for example, '1314 men are retained, and 1057 are on sale; fifty-five new players have been imported from the North'; and so forth.

The evil of over-elaboration in the rules of a game must not be forgotten. The treatment of the simple English code in the United States is a capital example of this, which could be worked out in very edifying detail; that code was looked upon, not as the clumsy verbal framework of a spirit which shone clear, but as a series of most unbusiness-like suggestions which it was the duty of the football lawyer to evade. The result is that the present American code is longer than our own, though even the players of the United States have not quite reached the depth of those nefarious devices which are the glory of the English professional. They merely use 'upon the gridiron' the methods common among gentlemen in Wall Street. Our own code stands alone in possessing that proud achievement of modern sporting phraseology, the 'intentional foul,' a distortion of the language which is appropriate to the sentiments that have produced it.

Mr C. B. Fry has naturally written on this subject also. He is evidently of Mr A. R. Haig-Brown's opinion

Digitized by Google

that first-class football is only possible in the best professional teams. Nevertheless, it was he who first proposed the 'direct score' free kick, which is the new penalty inflicted for an 'intentional foul.' 'Unscrupulous defenders,' he writes, 'found it paid to trip and hold and otherwise illegally impede their adversaries.' And again: 'The new rule pointedly differentiates between the ordinary technical breaking of a rule and the gross and dishonourable infringement which outrages sportsmanship.' The 'penalty area,' another engaging novelty, directed against the same ingenious proceedings, had evidently proved insufficient. It seems to matter little that the few good amateur teams still left have to play their games under the stigma of the same precautions against dishonourable practice.

Great pressure, which may have succeeded by the time these pages are published, has been put on the London Football Association to admit professionalism, in order to meet the growing metropolitan demand for attractive 'football entertainments.' A natural distaste for the sordid business connected with commercial troupes, with registrations, wages, riotous assaults, and deliberate foul play, has long made the officials of the L.F.A. hesitate. Men who play for recreation's sake will not enjoy settling the wrangles of those who work for an obviously financial motive. The management of such details will soon pass into the hands of those who are familiar with them. It is in a different branch of the game that the only hope of better things can still be found.

With true bulldog tenacity the Rugby Union have stuck to their definition that the modern pure amateur is one who accepts no payment in cash for his services, and is not 'in pocket' by the game. The variety of football that they represent has, therefore, not been discussed in these pages; but it may be pointed out that England's position in the international matches is now at the bottom of the list. Many will prefer that she should remain there if greater skill implies so many unpleasant developments. Our best amateur teams in the Association game—which furnishes the material for the present criticism—are, of course, considerably inferior to the best paid combinations. Many will hope they will remain so until money-grabbing and the lust for records have

Digitized by Google

burnt themselves finally out of the tissue of our perverted sportsmanship. Scottish amateur clubs have faced the situation in a very determined, if a very different, spirit. The famous Queen's Park, the Corinthians of the North, have just bought thirteen acres of ground—a huge oval amphitheatre with natural sloping sides and grass at the bottom—180 yards long and 90 wide, surrounded by a cinder-track. They are prepared for an outlay of over 30,000*l.*, and they are determined to make their football pay. How long they will remain 'amateur' is a question for the sporting casuist. We confess ourselves unable to solve so delicate a problem.

If the professional Englishman is at present alone in his proud possession of the 'intentional foul,' it has also remained for an English team, beaten on the field, to claim a victory on some technical flaw in their opponents' correspondence. Many other results follow from the gradual abolition of any difference between those business proceedings on which a man's livelihood depends and the purely recreative features of a pastime which contributes nothing to a balance-sheet. Again the process can be neatly paralleled across the Atlantic. The winning of a game being the only end that an American player has in view, he subordinates every other consideration to this, and cheerfully relinquishes such old-fashioned ideals as 'style' or 'good form,' or the other shibboleths which have become antiquated in the land of their birth, and are scarcely known at all in newer countries. He feels, for instance, that he cannot win without a full side; and, as the peculiar methods of his game are so dangerous that only the most courageous of young men will face the risks involved, he makes every preparation for the inevitable accident. The doctor's bale of bandages and bucket of antiseptics are common objects of the playing-ground. A line of eager substitutes in long coats stands ready to spring into the fray and take the place of every casualty the moment a player is 'knocked out.' In England we still abide by our accidents, and play short if a man gets hurt. But our players have an even greater incentive to success than the American's thirst for victory. Our professionals' bread and butter—or shall we say their grouse and claret?—depend upon their doing well in the

Digitized by Google

league games and the cup ties. So we deliberately try to maim our opponents as early as possible in the year's contest, and shout for protective legislation if we find that the frank, old-fashioned charge is likely to bring disablement upon ourselves. During the first week in last September no time was lost in the match between Blackburn Rovers and Bury. McClure, a centre half, was ordered off the field at Ewood Park for intentionally damaging an opponent, who had to be assisted to the pavilion. His side were not beaten, though they finished with only nine players, for Birchall had his face split open. It was a pleasant beginning of the season.

All this seems to indicate some new element in English sport, and to deserve notice as one accompaniment of the professional spirit. A perusal of the first report presented last autumn by the Emergency Committee, the police-court of the Association, will show how moderate are the statements which we have made in these pages. A consideration of the amended rules for the League will leave a similar impression. Nothing has been said about betting on the games, because sufficient evidence is not forthcoming. But, on the whole, it will probably be admitted that modern football is not an asset of which we can be justly proud, and that its main faults have arisen through that prominence of pecuniary considerations which its ruling association has of late so strikingly endorsed.

Let us now consider for a moment whether this question of money has not had as great an influence on the institution over which the Jockey Club presides as it has in the case of the M.C.C. or the Football Association. The ruling body of the Turf offers no exception to the principle on which many of our most powerful institutions are based; it can boast no statutory origin, it enjoys little legal power, and it has comparatively small funds at its disposal. Nevertheless, it succeeded admirably in the days of Bernard Howard, of Sir Charles Bunbury, of Lord George Bentinck, of Admiral Rous. A successor to these gentlemen has not yet appeared; and never was he so badly wanted.

Any criticism upon the condition of horse-racing is now met by the two assertions: that without the Turf

Digitized by Google

England would have no breed of horses, and that 'times have changed.' The latter argument is obvious but ineffective. As to the former, the value of our horse-breeding to this country was put to a sudden and extremely searching test in 1900. The results of that test cannot be put aside by racing men, for the inquiry which revealed the truth about our Remount Department was initiated by the late Sir J. Blundell Maple, who won more races than any other owner in 1900, and just before his death was elected a member of the Jockey Club. The facts about the Remount Department are within too recent memory to need recapitulation here. They cannot be considered by the most resolute optimist as providing the slightest grounds for the belief that a useful national breed of horses has been fostered by the Turf.

If, on the other hand, we are asked to consider the contemporary facts of racing itself for an answer to our question, what do we find? That, in the art of producing a staying thoroughbred, France is our superior, the history of French successes at Ascot is a simple and instructive proof. Taking the Ascot cup and the Alexandra plate, we find that the French claim Gladiateur, Trocadero, Henry, Mortemer, Verneuil, Insulaire, Boiard, Elf II, Maximum, and Arizona. Verneuil, who was by Mortemer out of our Oaks winner, Regalia, won the vase, the cup, and the Alexandra plate in one week. La Camargo has won at all distances up to two miles and three-quarters, and, in spite of a little failure at Baden-Baden, she is winning still. She raced only three times as a two-year-old and won twice, but not before August, and for no stake higher than 1500*l*. Compare for a moment what Pretty Polly, one of the best two-year-olds ever seen, not excepting Crucifix, has been asked to do; and then remember what happened to Crucifix in her third year. We now race our two-year-olds—mere babies whose gristle has scarcely hardened into bone—from March until November, and give them many of our richest prizes. By the end of her first season, Pretty Polly, still unbeaten, had won nine races worth 13,502*l*.

It is a sad fact that many a horse on this side of the Channel has never had a chance of proving himself possessed of stamina for the few real tests of endurance we have left, because, if he discovers any capacity for a

Digitized by Google

burst of speed, he is trained only to scramble off from the starting-gate on his toes and scurry over a few furlongs in which the advantage of the start is everything. The old system of running heats, cruel as it undoubtedly was, is explained by the fact that in 1750 (for instance) only one horse in ten raced a second time. When we had begun to breed, and still kept, our stayers, we find a stout horse like Fisherman running thirty-five times in one year, and winning twenty-one races, of which the Ascot cup (two miles and a half) and the Queen's plate (three miles) were run on the same day. Now we never see a horse out so often unless he is a miserable 'second-rater' earning his corn bill. To compile 57,453*l.* in winnings, Isinglass was only asked to carry silk twelve times during the four years he was in training. Persimmon's 34,706*l.* were the result of only nine races. Flying Fox's record was 40,096*l.* for eleven victories. What differentiates modern methods from those of the eighteenth century, and leaves the balance of humanity against us, is the hard work ruthlessly put upon our moderate thoroughbreds; the worry inflicted on them by railway travelling, as though they were first-class cricketers or professional football players; the frequent races they have to run to win stakes and bets all over the country, until they are fit for nothing but a four-wheeler or the kennels. In 1813 there were barely 800 horses running on the flat. The Turf apologist points with triumph to the fact that in 1901 we began the twentieth century with over 4000, for whom more frequent meetings had been arranged than had ever been the case before, with six or eight races on the card each day. But the Remount Department does not seem to have benefited by this proportionately. The Turf itself does not seem much richer; for out of the enormous number of English thoroughbreds foaled in 1900 only seven were good enough to go to the post and oppose a French horse in the last Derby; and six of them were beaten by him.

It is only now and then that we find among our numerous yearlings one that developes into the real 'smasher,' which never failed to make an appearance when sires and dams were far fewer in number than they are now. Our huge totals are attained through the enormous increase in the number of moderate animals who can give

Digitized by Google

their backers a chance of keeping up their stable with an occasional win. The need of a good one is emphasised by the fabulous prices paid for a fashionable yearling that may, after all, turn out as worthless as the worst-bred of them all. Even if the animal is proved to have merit, the stern necessity for recouping so large an outlay as soon as possible results either in racing him off his legs as a two-year-old, or in spoiling him before he reaches the four-year-old career, which was once supposed to put the seal on every good animal's endeavours. From 1883 to 1902 inclusive, 524 yearlings were bought at the cost of 949,756*l.*, the two largest totals being 104,706*l.* for the 58 of 1890, and 92,400*l.* for the 37 (including Sceptre) in 1900. In the twenty years these expensive youngsters did not win as much as 350,000*l.* in prizes. Apart, therefore, from the cost of stabling, training, or racing, they represent the loss of a cool half-million in ready money. The natural accompaniment of such operations is a restriction in sires and the narrowing of stud possibilities to a few famous stallions. Yet no more haphazard method of breeding than a continual resort to 'fashionable sires' could well be imagined. However, those who do so have found a speedy penalty, for there are not enough 'fashionable sires' to go round; so a five or six hundred guinea fee can be got without advertisement; fifty is considered beneath consideration; a hundred is the average. Yet in the year when Flying Dutchman was foaled, his sire's fee was ten guineas. Birdcatcher's services could be had for twenty-five, at Newmarket; Melbourne, sire of West Australian and Blink Bonny, charged but twelve. Even when we get a good one we do not seem to care to keep him; and the list of stout English thoroughbreds which have left this country is indeed as sad as it is long, even if we only begin with Priam; for after him went Lanercost, Cossack, Van Tromp, the Emperor, West Australian, Buckthorn, Weathergauge, Fisherman, Musket, St Gatien, Melton, and many another —all stayers. If the past season was remarkable for anything it was so for the race between Ard Patrick and Sceptre. Ard Patrick is now the property of the German Government, who charge a fee of fifteen guineas for his services. There may come a time when we shall be as glad to get him back as we were to buy back Melton.

Digitized by Google

One of the greatest services done for breeding by the Duke of Portland—a service appropriate to the Master of the Horse—was his reimportation of the Musket blood in Carbine.

If our sires' fees are enormous it cannot be said that our prize-list is less. The total amount run for in 1902 was 487,000*l.*; yet even the addition of our 'ten thousand pounders' has not enabled us to beat Blacklock's record as a sire of winners. The real reason for the poor results obtainable by so gigantic a total is that 450,000*l.* were subscribed by owners themselves. The Jockey Club can spend very little. Not one penny is contributed by the State or by the public purse to the Derby, St Leger, Two Thousand, One Thousand, Oaks, Eclipse stakes, or Jockey Club stakes. In the corresponding prizes in France, on the other hand, the total of 43,700*l.* is almost entirely solid cash which the winning owners can put into their pockets without having previously disbursed it. Continental nations, in fact, consider racing as the secondary question and breeding for remounts as the first. They therefore encourage the production of stayers by state aid; and the large sums at the disposal of the authorities make it positively a paying thing for a man to win a race with his own horse. It is this that encouraged M. Blanc to pay as much as 37,500 guineas to get Flying Fox out of this country; it is this that is slowly draining so much of our best blood into French studs. And meanwhile the Jockey Club seem powerless to stem the tide of inevitable centralisation which has resulted from our modern system. The most indefatigable Londoner could hardly 'do his round' if meetings were scattered all over the country as they used to be. Bendigo's Eclipse stakes at Sandown proved that enclosed meetings near London would be successful. It may be doubted whether their promoters quite realised what would be the result; but it is clear that they are not likely to discourage a state of things which ensures so excellent an interest on their capital, and produces the quantity of horses that the public and the bookmakers demand, whatever the quality of the animals may be.

Difficult as it may be for the Jockey Club to combat vested interests of such strength, or even to restore to the Turf some small modicum of the beneficial influence on

Digitized by Google

horse-breeding it once possessed, we must confess to some feelings of surprise at their apathy before a far greater evil. The days of heavy betting at Newmarket, Epsom, or Doncaster, are past with Lord George Bentinck, with Gully, with Lord Glasgow, and with Mr Merry. People who could afford to bet do not bet high now because they are among the few who can afford the large expenses of a racing stable. But betting, as a means of running a small stud, by men who could not otherwise enjoy that luxury, and betting among labourers, clerks, and working men who cannot afford to risk a penny of their wages, has become little short of an abominable curse in all parts of this country. The philanthropist who knows little of his subject has done more harm than good by proposing impracticable remedies for a very real ill. It is time for those who know, and those who have the power, to act. Theirs is the authority and theirs the knowledge. The Jockey Club is a picked body of men of influence and wealth who could initiate any legislation they please and carry any motion they supported; but at present they do not even insist that all bookmakers of whose presence they are cognisant shall be properly licensed. It is idle to shirk any longer a responsibility that must be faced. The system of the modern Turf is only what might be expected in days of preposterous fees for sires, ridiculous sums for yearlings, and inflated prices all round. This is not what used to be thought good sport. It looks more like hysterical money-juggling. But my lords and gentlemen at Newmarket may regulate their own sport as best it pleases them, provided they do not tell us that it benefits horse-breeding, or that 'times have changed.' They have changed indeed since the foundation of the Jockey Club. It was not to ruin the homes of artisans that that honourable institution was rightly brought into being. The greater the names of those who stand highest in the racing world, the deeper is the scandal that they should leave untouched the plague-spot which contaminates the whole.

While we are on the subject of horses, it may be well to refer to a game which, in some degree, combines the attractions of racing and football with a charm of its own—the oriental game of polo. Polo has done so much good that the recent efforts of the Commander-

Digitized by Google

in-Chief to prevent the game from being spoilt by money are worthy of the widest support, and offer a brilliant example of what firmness and knowledge might effect in other branches of sport. Polo is the soldier's game; a trained polo pony is a charger ready for active service; and his rider will know enough about the management of horses to take any animal safely through the hardships of a campaign. But the authorities intervened only just in time; for the public know little about polo, and care less for the possibilities of the game; so that only those who knew its influence on the army, and who could give effect to their wishes, were able to save it from the disease that has already spoilt so much of English sport.

It may well be that the love of sprint-racing on the Turf is connected in some mysterious way with that thirst for rapidity and records which is our great bane of modern life. The fascination of sheer speed is a thing apart from sport; and the attempt to combine excessive speed with sportsmanlike ideals is bound to fail. The Paris-Madrid motor-car race was perhaps needed as a warning of the lengths to which a sensible and logical nation can be carried before it has time to think. It had at any rate the effect of frightening those responsible for the Gordon-Bennett race into precautions which destroyed the value of the competition as a test for machines of locomotion under ordinary conditions. Properly considered, the motor-car is one of the most valuable additions to the apparatus of our complex civilisation. As a mere instrument for speed in competition it would be better at the bottom of the Channel. The human animal is not designed to travel at eighty miles an hour and preserve the necessary faculties for delicate steering and control. When he tries to do so once too often he only provides a gruesome problem for the coroner, who has to decide whether it was the motor-millionaire or his wife whose brains were first dashed out against a tree. Such incidents do not decrease the suspicion against which an admirable invention has naturally and necessarily to contend, nor do they assist the cause of modern sport.

The craze for mere speed has grievously affected yacht-

Digitized by Google

ing also. Though both the horse and the sailing vessel seem destined by degrees to be beaten in the race for survival by various forms of engine, the importance of yachting to any nation that cares for its navy has just received a somewhat striking confirmation in the highest quarters. 'Deeply touched' by a message from Sir Thomas Lipton, the German Emperor telegraphed to the owner of the three 'Shamrocks' as follows:—

'By your generous withdrawal you have magnanimously tendered your support to make the race for the Atlantic Cup a success, thereby serving the great cause of yacht-racing, the finest sport in the world, the development of which I have so much at heart.'

This is pardonably enthusiastic language about the sport of emperors. The rest of us look on respectfully and learn that the syndicate which financed 'Reliance' awarded Barr, their winning captain, an annuity of $2000 at about the same time as 'Shamrock II' was sold in Erie Basin to a scrap-iron dealer; and her sisters are offered for sale to American yachtsmen at the close of a contest which has cost their owner 100,000*l.* in a single year. The history of former cup races is not the most attractive in the world; and the benefits they have conferred on sport in general are difficult to see, unless we are to include the thrill of popular relief aroused by the intelligence that the sovereign of these realms had just escaped destruction from a buckled mast. The roll of the Royal Yacht Squadron, whose story is excellently told by Messrs Guest and Boulton, contains names that are prominent among the pick of England's sportsmen from the 'Quorn Quadrilateral' to the latest elected member of the O.U.B.C. It may be hoped, therefore, that a catholicity of interests above the average may preserve it from giving in to those subtle yet constantly increasing influences which have placed too great a strain upon institutions of a similar kind.

But the evils we are considering are not limited to the decay of the active power for good which the great sporting clubs once wielded; they extend to all parts of the country, and all classes of the population. Football caters for its spectators during the whole year except June, July, and August. In those three months the

Digitized by Google

rustic now much prefers looking on at a county match to playing cricket for himself. If country-house cricket is already on the wane, those delightful games we used to see upon the village green have almost completely disappeared. The backswording that Tom Brown knew has vanished into limbo. Even boxing has become either a matter of journalistic epistles at a distance, or an immediate attempt for the 'knock-out blow' on the point of the jaw at close quarters. The light boxing-glove, when it is used in earnest, is a far more dangerous weapon than the naked fist it has replaced. This might be excusable if it produced better sport; but modern pugilism is a sorry substitute for the old P.R.

It is gratifying to be able to find any departments of sport of which nothing but good can at present be said; and, luckily for the trend of modern life, those few pastimes which still preserve their character of recreation may all be enjoyed by our increasing London, or city, population. The first is rowing, the cleanest form of sport now visible. What the A.R.A. and the Henley stewards do to keep English oarsmanship above reproach may be taken as a model for other committees who guard interests no less important. When the American professional trainer was found to have introduced the wrong spirit into boat-racing, he was warned off the course. It was a pleasant thing, for one who finds so many disappointments elsewhere, to contemplate Henley Regatta last July. The third Trinity men were beset by a series of misfortunes which finally proved too much even for their strength and skill; so they talked over the position with Leander —their most formidable opponents—and Leander gave it their most careful attention, and offered the most conscientious advice they could. An American athlete can never understand why Oxford men 'throw away their chances' by practising either football or rowing where Cambridge can see what is going on. His stupefaction may be imagined at seeing one university, that happens to have lost ground for the moment, as pleased to be coached by a rival oarsman as the other university is delighted to lend any assistance that may improve the sport. It is a state of things which very few other nations have as yet quite grasped. But the German

Digitized by Google

pair who won the Goblets last July will, it may be hoped, have got some notion of it. Their visit will have done more good than half a dozen more advertised and more belauded expeditions. They will understand that we have at least one sport in England which is practised, for the fun of the thing, by amateurs who make no money out of it.

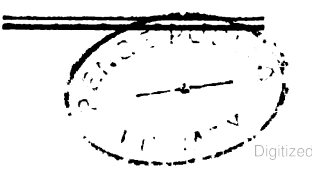
In days when style and form are rarities, any exercise which depends wholly for its value on the perfection of both must have a very strong, if isolated, position. This is the case with fencing, another of those sports which the town-bred man may enjoy at any time of the year, and at all hours of the day; and it is therefore with particular satisfaction that we may note the successes of the first English team of swordsmen who ever crossed the Channel to face the fencers of the Continent. They paid their own expenses, and they represented England, though some of England's best swordsmen were not among that little band of six. They won the second place for the International cup, and they beat the Belgians by as many points as the winning French team registered against the same opponents. There is no doubt also that, though gymnastic exercise alone cannot be considered as an alternative to any healthy game, such institutions as the German Gymnasium, the Orion Gymnasium, or the St James's Athletic Club, are of real service to the city clerk who can afford neither time nor money in excess for the exercise essential to his health. The recent craze for walking, if it has done nothing else, has shown that we still possess a certain percentage of the old excellent material; and the numerous Hare and Hound clubs, which are almost entirely recruited from the City, are an unalloyed benefit to all who participate in their cross-country meetings.

It is to the universities that we should naturally look for the maintenance of the spirit which formerly pervaded all branches of English sport. Will they be able to withstand the workings of that new and dangerous spirit which we have noted in so many other quarters? A subtle influence from abroad will shortly be felt in one of these ancient strongholds of fair-play; and it is mentioned here because it may be an important though perhaps an unrecognised factor in the future development of our

Digitized by Google

already over-specialised sports. Mr Eugene L. Lehmann of New York City, who graduated from Yale in 1902, was chosen as a Rhodes scholar for Oxford at the age of twenty-two. His name is the first upon a lengthy roll which may be the starting-point of many different kinds of history. In the tale of Oxford's scholars its novelty needs no further emphasis; in the matter of Oxford's athletics its significance may be great and unexpected. Already American athletes have proved their value as Oxford undergraduates at the Queen's Club meeting. It is not unlikely that several of the Rhodes scholars will be first-rate athletes too. At the age of twenty-two or twenty-three they will come among freshmen of eighteen or nineteen, just at a time of life when a very few years can give a very great advantage in athletic prowess. Their character will not only be more formed than that of their comrades, it will be instinct with national peculiarities, for the high ideals of such men as Caspar Whitney have scarcely yet had time to penetrate the minds of his hasty countrymen. Shall we see future Oxonian teams taking up the methods which American universities consider essential to success? Shall we have to congratulate an English Cambridge on standing unaided in the encounter, or to discount her rival's victories by the fact of alien assistance? It may be hoped not.

The danger is perchance slight; it was certainly not contemplated either by testator or by legatees; but it is worth a warning at a time when the good offices of the universities are more than ever needed. Outside them we have observed traces, in well-nigh every kind of game, of a strange, malignant, overpowering influence, which seems to be blunting the edge of English sportsmanship, at the very time when we most need all the good that sport has promised us. This evil influence runs counter to every characteristic which we are accustomed to admire in the national type. It is wholly unworthy the fair fame of a country which once taught the world the true principles and the educational value of sport.



Digitized by Google

PUBLIC LIBRARY

Art. VII.—'QUE SÇAIS-JE?'

1. *The Essays of Montaigne.* Translated by Charles Cotton. Edited by W. C. Hazlitt. Four volumes. London: Reeves and Turner, 1902.
2. *The Journal of Montaigne's Travels.* Translated and edited, with an introduction and notes, by W. G. Waters. Three volumes. London: Murray, 1903.
3. *Seizième Siècle: Études littéraires.* By Émile Faguet. Paris: Société française d'imprimerie et de librairie, 1902.
4. *Du Sentiment Artistique dans la Morale de Montaigne.* Œuvre posthume d'Édouard Ruel. Préface de M. Émile Faguet. Paris: Hachette, 1901.
5. *Michel de Montaigne: a Biographical Study.* By M. E. Lowndes. Cambridge: University Press, 1898.
6. *Agnosticism. The Croall Lecture for* 1887–8. By Robert Flint, D.D. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1903.
7. *The Unknown God: an Essay.* By Sir Henry Thompson, Bart., F.R.C.S. London and New York: Warne, 1902.

When Emerson visited Paris in 1833 he observed a monument in the cemetery of Père-la-Chaise erected in memory of one Auguste Collignon, bearing the inscription: 'He lived to do right, and had formed himself to virtue on the Essays of Montaigne.' It would not be too bold an assertion to say that a not inconsiderable number of his countrymen have, during the last three centuries, taken Montaigne, whom Mézeray calls the 'Christian Seneca,' for their model in manners and morals. Montaigne is to the French what Shakespeare is to the English. What Mark Pattison said of him in this Review nearly fifty years ago is still true, that Montaigne's Essays form a perpetual topic in France, as the plays of Shakespeare do here, and for the same reason—'on y trouve ce qu'on a jamais pensé.' With Shakespeare, Montaigne shares the characteristic of universality. He belongs not only to his own country, but to the world; not only to his own age, but to all time. 'Érasme fait la critique morale d'une époque,' says M.

Digitized by Google

Ruel; 'Montaigne observe et peint l'homme de tous les temps.'

His continued popularity in this country is proved by the appearance in recent years of several new editions of the two translations by Florio and Cotton. A library edition of Cotton's translation, claiming to be the most accurate revised authorised version now extant, stands at the head of our list. A reprint of Florio's racy version, reproducing the quaintness and peculiar flavour of the original, appeared a few years ago in six pocket volumes of the 'Temple Classics,' with marginal indices of contents, notes, and glossaries, by Mr Israel Gollancz, of considerable value. It would appear, then, that the declaration of Lord Halifax, in his vindication of Cotton's translation (1685), that the Essays should be 'the Manuale of all gentlemen,' is meeting with general approval. Nor are the students of Montaigne left without guides in their perusal of the Essays. Mr Lowndes's excellent study, issued five years ago by the Cambridge University Press; the monograph of Paul Stapfer in the series of 'Les Grands Écrivains Français'; the fine appreciation of Montaigne in M. Faguet's sixteenth century studies; and the invaluable work of Bonnefon on 'Montaigne, l'homme et l'œuvre,' contain all that is required to keep readers of Montaigne acquainted with recent additions to our knowledge.

Besides these works we have now a much needed, faithful, and fluent translation by Mr Waters of Montaigne's 'Journal,' giving a full description of his travels during the seventeen months following the first publication of the Essays in 1580. This translation, preceded by a spirited introduction giving a flavour of the intellectual repast in store for the reader, and accompanied by notes in which the editor makes a judicious use of Professor Ancona's Italian edition will be welcomed by all those who can appreciate the biographical value of the Journal. For, even more than the Essays, it bears 'the impress of personal quality,' as it constitutes the record of first impressions, is a kind of 'bulletin de santé'—for Montaigne travelled for his health—and thus exhibits him both in his weakness and his strength, giving us a perfect picture of his real character. What adds to the interest of the Journal is the fact that its observations on men and

Digitized by Google

things throw much light on the Essays. Indeed, the third book of the Essays, and many additions and corrections in later editions, bear undoubted traces of its influence.

The journey was accomplished mostly on horseback, not so much because Montaigne preferred this to a more luxurious way of travelling, as he tells us, but mainly because it afforded greater opportunities for observation and for following those reveries which he delighted in and which were the chief cause of digression in the Essays.

'Montaigne continue ainsi les flâneries qu'il faisait auparavant,—et de la même sorte,—au travers des livres; d'une et d'autre part, il se laisse guider par sa fantaisie, par son humeur buissonnière, et, ici comme là, il retrouve cette succession rapide de mœurs si variées, si contraires, qui viennent confirmer si fortement ce qu'il pense de l'homme, "sujet merveilleusement vain, divers et ondoyant."' (Bonnefon, p. 273.)

Here, as there, it is the insatiable curiosity of his inquiring mind, the love of the unknown, which forms the main force dragging him into strange by-paths and untrodden regions, so that he forgets his ailment in this pursuit, 'plein de désir et d'allégresse, haïssant voisinage du lieu où il se devait reposer.' He visited some of the most interesting towns of Switzerland and Germany—Basel, Baden, Augsburg, Munich, and Innsbruck — passing through Tyrol into Italy, giving us in his diary an unvarnished account of his impressions, but, unlike the modern impressionist, such as Mr A. Symons, in his recent book on 'Cities,' or M. Bourget in 'Outre Mer,' without recondite or sentimental reflections. Montaigne writes with the freedom of a philosopher and the enjoyment of satisfied curiosity. He has no eye for effects, but an eye for all that interests himself.

The 'Journal of Montaigne's Travels' is a 'journal de bonne foi.' It displays a good deal of the 'egoism of travel,' giving, with tedious minuteness, the particulars of his dietary at the baths of Plombières, and lengthy descriptions of artificial waterworks and other mechanical contrivances. Even the peculiar turning of a spit and methods of foreign cookery are not considered beneath his notice. The material prosperity of Italy engages his attention as much as her classical treasures. The 'Eternal

Digitized by Google

City' has little charm for him. Nothing remains of Rome, he complains, 'but its sepulchre.' He falls into no raptures over the works of the great painters of his century, though he mentions the statues and paintings then being collected in the Vatican. He is attracted by a bust of Bembo at Padua, and that of 'Livy, a thin, wan, studious, melancholy face, but so admirably sculptured that it seems to want nothing but a voice to make it living.' He mentions the portrait galleries in the Farnese Palace, and speaks of 'several excellent pictures, and some statues by Michael Angelo' in the church of San Lorenzo at Florence; but neither here nor in Rome does he display any marked affection for art or the antique. A woman of the people reciting some lines from Ariosto, a country-dance, the execution of a noted brigand, are recorded with particular interest. He looks on the world with a fresh, clear eye, and records what he sees with simplicity. Here, as in the Essays, at home as abroad, we are permitted to see him exactly as he is, himself the central figure, the most interesting person.

'These various amusements,' he says, 'sufficed to keep me in occupation; and neither indoors, nor out, was I ever troubled with melancholy, which is death to me, or with any feelings of annoyance.'

Montaigne speaks throughout as a citizen of the world, not despising the manners and customs of the people whose land he visits, but endeavouring to adapt himself to their ways, studying their institutions with an open mind, and trying, by conversation with celebrated men of diverse views, to increase his stock of knowledge. He is equally at home with Maldonatus the Jesuit, and Hottmann the Protestant; he visits the Jewish synagogue at Verona and watches the rite of circumcision in Rome—all this on the principle laid down in one of the essays.

'Travelling seems to me an improving exercise. The mind finds constant employment in observing strange and novel sights; and I know no better school to fashion one's life than to place continually before us so great a variety of other lives, humours, and customs, and to make acquaintance with such a constant diversity of the forms of human nature.'

Here, as in the Essays, he permits us to see some of his weaknesses. His vanity is gratified when, in kissing

Digitized by Google

the Pope's slipper, he sees or imagines that his Holiness 'slightly raised his foot.' With characteristic vanity he tells us how he set all his wits to work in order to obtain the title of Roman citizen—an empty title, as he acknowledged, but one the possession of which gave him 'much pleasure.' Here, too, we have instances of that stoical firmness and strength of character on which he so frequently descants in the Essays. In the Travels we see him maintaining a constant cheerfulness, which helps him to delight in natural scenery at the very time when he is suffering exquisite pain on the way from Terni to Spoleto and near the baths of Lucca. Here it is where, amid great bodily suffering, he gives expression to those noble words:—

'It would be too great cowardice and *ischifiltá* on my part if, knowing that I am every day in danger of death from these ailments, and drawing nearer thereto every hour in the course of nature, I did not do my best to bring myself into a fitting mood to meet my end whenever it may come; and in this respect it is wise to take joyfully all the good fortune God may send. Moreover, there is no remedy, nor rule, nor knowledge whereby to keep clear of these evils which, from every side and at every minute, gather round man's footsteps, save in the resolve to endure them with dignity or boldly and promptly make an end of them' (vol. iii, p. 140).

But perhaps the most touching interest of all attaches to the brief allusion to the friend commemorated in the Essays. 'While I was writing that same morning to M. Ossat, I fell thinking of M. de la Boëtie, and I remained in this mood so long that I sank into the saddest humour.' The friend of his youth had been dead seventeen years.

Thus the 'inward converse of the Essays' reappears in the Journal throughout: the man reveals himself in the author. 'Quel charmant, quel commode, et quel joli voyageur c'était que cet homme!' exclaims Sainte-Beuve at the close of the *causerie* on the Travels—'que de vigueur de pensée! quel sentiment de la grandeur, quand il y a lieu! que de hardiesse et aussi d'adresse en lui! J'appelle Montaigne "le plus sage qui ait jamais existé."'

It is, however, as the inventor of the 'essay,' the creator of modern criticism, but still more as the father

Digitized by Google

of modern scepticism—or, to speak more correctly, of modern agnosticism—and as the forerunner of 'the movement of free modern culture,' that Montaigne attracts special attention at this moment, when, in the words of Maeterlinck, 'we are steeped in the unknown.' But, quite apart from this, Montaigne will always prove an interesting writer, owing to the quality of his style, its originality, its freshness, its seductive quaintness, its opulence; to his good sense and his lightness of touch in the treatment of many of life's problems; to his gentle though penetrating exposure of human foibles; and the tenderness which has its origin in a reverential regard for humanity. 'Nature humaine vaut beaucoup.' Montaigne's love of truth, his hatred of falsehood and intolerant severity, his scorn of pedantry and pretence, his ready confession of ignorance, which, he says, 'is one of the fairest and surest testimonies of judgment I know,' will appeal to candid minds at all times, but should appeal in a special manner to the sympathies of our own age.

In the Essays we have the confessions of a sixteenth century agnostic, a complete exhibition of Montaigne himself in undress, self-revelations without reserve. As Mr Lang says, he does not so much confess as blab. Montaigne is his own Boswell, a model of self-portraiture, an 'admirable gossip,' an engaging personality, a life-study for an age like ours, which delights in biographies, autobiographies, reminiscences, and 'collections and recollections' of all kinds. Montaigne, this 'prince of egoists,' furnishes in his Essays and Travels ample materials to satisfy the most industrious of modern interviewers, or to satiate the curiosity of the most exacting of readers, who are either bent on catching a view of the great human forces of the age, or on extracting amusement from the records of faults and foibles in its leading spirits. Montaigne takes the reader into his confidence; he always represents himself in the Essays, as he says to Madame Duras in his dedication of the second book, 'au naturel'; the man and his book march in step; his book is himself, as he tells the king of France: 'If you love me you love my book, for it contains nothing but myself and my notions.' Even in his 'bavardage indiscret,' at times very droll and amusing, at other times exceeding the limits of propriety, he proves to be a 'génie de bavardage'; and in giving us a picture

Digitized by Google

of himself, with all his virtues and his faults, he at the same time furnishes us with a picture of humanity in its real colours. Therefore he affirms, 'Je suis affamé de me faire connaître; je m'ouvre au mieux tant que je puis'; for in so doing he holds up the mirror to human life. This is what Pater calls the 'Montaignesque element' introduced into modern literature. It closely resembles, if it has not served in evolving, that 'subjectivity' in style which, in Pater's own case, was not only harmless but charming, and is not to be confounded with the unhealthy self-anatomy of some modern writers.

What brings Montaigne nearest to ourselves, however, is, on the one hand, the spirit of 'lofty audacious inquiry,' and, on the other, that of doubt and oscillation between rival opinions. This is the 'maîtresse forme' of all his speculations.

'What do I know?' 'All is uncertainty.' 'There is nothing certain but that nothing is certain.' 'Peut-être oui, peut-être non.' 'Ni comme ceci, ni comme cela, ni comme autrement.'

Such are some of the sayings which were inscribed on the rafters of his library, partly legible when John Sterling visited Montaigne's tower in 1836. Such were the favourite sayings of a thinker interested, like our modern man, in religious, moral, philosophical, and political questions, rarely arriving at conclusions, and throughout maintaining the standpoint of impartial critical aloofness, the attitude of an imperturbable onlooker on human affairs. This imperturbability is all the more remarkable in an age distracted by religious dissensions and political unrest, in a state of transition from the old to the new order of things, from faith through unfaith to higher forms of faith—a state by no means unlike our own, but with this important difference, that Montaigne's equanimity and hopefulness never desert him. Dean Stanley, though naturally of a sunny and cheerful disposition, but, like Montaigne, ever hesitating in forming any decision, complains not long before his death, 'This generation is lost; it is plunged either in dogmatism or agnosticism. I look forward to the generation which is to come.' Montaigne never yields to a feeling of despondency. This 'prodigy of mental equability' maintains the attitude of placid indifference and genial *insouciance* to which our

Digitized by Google

modern agnostics cannot attain, because scientific habits of mind and training in methodical ratiocination will not let them rest till they have discovered a working theory of life and duty.

Montaigne is the child of the Renaissance; his aim is not so much to become the arbiter in the conflict between rival creeds, as to bring about the 'rehabilitation of human nature,' the recovery of 'the happy light of the antique.' He himself, like Goethe, was a 'religious-minded pagan'; he had, as M. Faguet says, 'l'âme chrétienne et un art païen'; therefore he naturally combined a broad conception of human life and duty with a large toleration for the diversities of religious beliefs and opinions. It is, in fact, only now that we begin to understand Montaigne's religious standpoint, which combined a ready submission to the Church with a theory of life founded on classical ideals. It is to Seneca rather than St Paul, to Socrates rather than to Christ, that he goes for counsels of perfection. His maxims for the conduct of life are not taken from the Gospels, but from Plutarch, from whom he derives his stoical optimism and that fearlessness of fatalism which seeks for refuge in 'the shroud of calmness.' 'God or fate—who knows?'—an expression in a modern novel—forms the ground-tone of many of his utterances: he uses interchangeably the terms 'Providence' and 'Fortune,' which, as he tells us in the Travels, brought down on him the rather indulgent censors of the Curia. But, spite of this uncertainty, he seldom doubts that life is worth living. Much as he has in common with the Hebrew preacher, he rarely dwells on the vanity of life, nor does he show that disdain for it which characterises some Christian writers.

In strict keeping with this are his pagan views of death, 'the last act of the comedy,' the 'extreme boundary of life.' Cato is his model in trying to cheat death by fortitude. He tries to regard its approach, if not as that of a friend, at least as that of a familiar acquaintance, with whom he will keep on speaking terms through life in order to avoid any disagreeable feeling of hostility when he pays the closing visit. 'The deadliest death is the best.' Death is 'the remedy against all evils.' So, too, to Margaret, the sister of Francis I, death is 'le vrai dormir, le très doux sommeiller.' And after that? There is

Digitized by Google

no sign of belief in an awakening. True, Montaigne says somewhere, 'La mort est l'origine d'une autre vie.' But by this he probably understands what Coleridge calls the wonderful synthesis of life and death, the general metamorphosis whereby dead matter ultimately becomes the origin of new life. Here we note another point of contact with modern agnosticism, as when Mr Herbert Spencer, in his essay entitled 'The Closing Hours,' says, 'The dread of dying which most people feel is unwarranted,' and believes that 'in its last stages consciousness is occupied by a not displeasurable sense of rest.'

Thus there are many points of contact between Montaigne and modern agnostics. His 'provisional agnosticism' and 'wistful tolerance,' his love of 'cheerful daylight,' his studied tranquillity and rational contentment, his 'jugement réglé,' his habit of balancing probabilities, his avoidance of the extremes of innovation and reaction, but most of all, his attempts at self-discovery, bring him often very near to our own times. On the other hand, there are very important contrasts, indicating the march of thought during the last three centuries, partly attributable to personal peculiarities and partly to the social and other influences which even so independent a mind as that of Montaigne could not entirely resist. First and foremost among these is the contrast between the ironical sinuosity of Montaigne's leisurely speculations compared with the serious concentration of modern thinkers. The severity of modern scientific habits of thought and methods of inquiry accounts for this. Montaigne's acquaintance with science was 'vague and imperfect.' Archæology and classical philology were almost the only sciences, such as they were then, which interested him; the physical sciences were still in their infancy; and these he treats with comparative indifference.

For this reason it has been said that Montaigne had no zeal for truth. It is more correct to say that, like Lessing, he preferred the search after truth to its possession. Following the bent of his constitutional indolence—'the slowest march is the surest,' he says—and subject to incurable indecision, he constantly halts in a suspended judgment. A fear of judging prematurely and arriving too hastily at conclusions unwarranted by rational proof often prevents him from pronouncing a ver-

Digitized by Google

dict. Yet he speaks of his 'greedy humor,' or unquenchable desire of unknown things; it was this insatiable curiosity which, apart from reasons of health, sent him forth on his travels. It is the same curiosity which urges Montaigne on in the pursuit of truth, though he lingers on the road, 'noting faithfully,' as Mr Pater says, 'those random lights that meet it by the way,' but which 'must needs content itself with suspension of judgment at the end of the intellectual journey, to the very last asking "Que sçais-je?" who knows?' i.e. in a doubting frame of mind as to its ultimate discovery. What provokes the modern man in Montaigne is his easy-going indifference on this head. The modern intolerance of error, and its strenuous endeavour to defend the truth, would have immensely amused the Gascon philosopher. Where he is indulgent to a fault, his modern followers are severely critical. He fondly clings to the established order, though fully cognisant of its faults and abuses; they, in their reforming ardour, grow impatient at his reiterated warnings against dangerous innovations. He lives avowedly for the sole purpose of living; they live for the sake of rendering the lives of others more tolerable. He is a conforming churchman, not overburdened by spiritual concerns; they, with a fine contempt for such accommodation, are, in their 'catholic profession of agnosticism,' ever haunted by a mystical reverence for the 'unknown.' His reasonings, or rather his intellectual rambles, generally end in desultory inconclusiveness; they in their cogitations are determined at all hazards to arrive at a final verdict, even though it be the positive assertion that we know nothing. Montaigne is more reticent, partly from natural disposition, partly from prudential motives—there were stakes in those days, and Bruno paid a heavy price for his intellectual intrepidity; but three centuries of intellectual freedom have produced a great change in the fearless expression of philosophic doubt. Perhaps there is more courage; there is certainly less reason to be afraid.

We have also become more serious. The Renaissance was a revolt against morbid and mediæval views of life. The men and women of that day, with their newly acquired zest for life, were apt to overrate its value. We, sobered by reflection, are inclined to enquire whether life

Digitized by Google

is worth living. Ours is a reaction against the enemies of individualism and emancipation of the human will. Hence we take life more seriously; and, as we cannot be cheated by its false promises to ourselves individually, we take refuge in the hope of effecting the welfare of the species. We live to labour; and, weary as we may be, we still believe in 'the gospel of work.' The people of the sixteenth century made it their aim to enjoy life, and were satisfied to leave toil to the drudges of society. We seek to relieve the necessities of the poor, and to raise the standard of living among the workers. They endeavoured to live up to the ideals of a past civilisation, and their aim was personal happiness.

'There is no infallible guide,' says Sir Leslie Stephen, in 'An Agnostic's Apology,' 'and no complete and definitive system of universal truth.' So far Montaigne and the modern agnostic agree—

'but by such means' (the independent exercise of reason) 'we can attain enough truth to secure the welfare and progress of the race and a continual approximation towards a fuller and more definite body of definitive truth.' ('Apology,' pp. 240, 241.)

It may be well to note these contrasts in their intellectual, moral, and practical bearings, and to trace the steps which brought about the change, before proceeding to consider modern agnosticism in its scientific, ethical, and philosophical or religious aspects, so as to see what we have gained or lost in the process of what we may call the evolution of agnosticism.

Owing to Montaigne's profound distrust of human judgment he is lacking in the intellectual audacity of modern thinkers. 'Falsehood and truth are close neighbours,' he says. Unlike our modern intellectual athletes, he is no worshipper of the intellect. He cites, perhaps irrelevantly, the case of Tasso, whom he had seen in a private asylum in Italy—curiously enough this is not mentioned in the Travels, though referred to in the Essays—to show how the most brilliant wits may be ruined by their own suppleness; and he almost envies the happy condition of self-satisfied ignorance. Since falsehood and truth are such close neighbours, he seems to say, it would be a pity to disturb them ruthlessly in their congenial propinquity. This differentiates him from the

Digitized by Google

modern agnostic who, whilst readily admitting the limits of knowledge, yet, spurred on by the past triumphs of science, proceeds courageously to sift truth from error. Montaigne is not a worshipper of nature in the modern sense. He speaks, indeed, of nature as the universal mother. But it is her variations which attract him most, because of their resemblance to man's 'ondoyante' nature; and it is for this reason that he recommends nature's book to the student. The constancy of nature does not attract his attention. Some of his descriptions of natural scenery in the Travels are vivid, and his enjoyment of them greater than what we expect to find in a writer of that day. But the modern 'cult of nature' is not to be found there. The torrents or rugged peaks of the Apennines do not fill him with what Professor Clifford called 'cosmic emotion.' As 'the uniform order and regularity' of the cosmos fail to inspire him with awe, so neither does he enter into the feelings of modern agnosticism in the act of contemplating the 'infinite and eternal energy,' the 'unknown source,' or 'unknown power' behind the phenomenal world.

Again, we find in the Essays the beginnings of historical science and even of historical criticism; de Thou speaks respectfully of Montaigne's erudition. There are passages in the essay on cannibalism where we discover the rudiments of a comparative science of religion and a philosophical view on the subject equally distant from superstition and irreligion. There are, too, adumbrations of ethnology and the science of jurisprudence, and the nucleus of a complete theory of education, containing a rationale of literary culture far in advance of the age. But these beginnings are embryonic only. Like the moderns, he possesses the historical conscience, but, unlike them, he makes no attempt to apply the 'historical method,' with a view to arriving at approximately certain conclusions, or at least at provisional results, which may form the starting-point for a positive advance.

In his essay on pedants, Montaigne says, 'Toute autre science est dommageable à celui qui n'a la science de la bonté.' This suggests the question how far his desultory modes of thought affect his intellectual integrity, to what extent his love of 'la vie glissante' tends to relax the rigour of his moral rectitude, and how far his wavering

Digitized by Google

uncertainty or meditative indolence in the pursuit of truth vitiates the force of his ethical conceptions. In short, does Montaigne's disposition to look on life with 'a kind of ironical enjoyment' produce in him laxity in private virtue and lassitude in the performance of public duty? A brief answer to this question will display Montaigne's ethical standpoint.

Though he despaired of attaining to absolute truth in matters of speculation, he was scrupulously faithful to his word, and entertained a most wholesome hatefulness of all dissimulation and fraud. 'He who is disloyal to truth is likewise false against lying'; and 'he who falsifies speech is a traitor to society.' Though an easy-going gentleman, without the least pretension to pose as a moral purist, he rarely loses an opportunity for promoting honour and honesty in public affairs, as when he reminds the princes of his day that 'nothing is so popular as goodness.' Since, in his opinion, it is impossible to find a secure basis of ethics because of the wavering inconstancy, pliancy, and instability of human nature, 'notre devoir n'a autre règle que fortuité.' He therefore builds up a system of morals on custom and the public conscience; he takes for his guide the conventions of society rather than principles derived from abstract reason; or, as M. Ruel puts it,

'il ne s'adresse pas à la conscience ni au sentiment du devoir, mais à la bonne foi et au sentiment de la vie; il ne nous demande pas d'être vertueux, mais d'être sincères.'

Such is the man's natural disposition that with him the love of truth and the love of life are inseparable. He is an enemy of all false appearances. L'homme qui 's'enfarine le visage' is his abomination. With him, as with F. W. Robertson, 'the love of truth is the love of realities; the determination to rest upon facts and not upon semblances.'

In his ironical levity Montaigne compares less favourably with the austere ethical preceptors of the modern agnostic school. His mild cynicism is free from all malicious intent; and in his incisive shrewdness, as he discusses human frailty, there may be a too ready acceptance of moral imperfection as an ultimate fact, and a laxity of insistence on the duty of self-improvement. Any attempt

Digitized by Google

in this direction he seems to consider futile; 'we abandon not vices so much as we change them.' Again, he says, 'La vertu est qualité plaisante et gaye,' which Florio translates, 'Virtue is of a pleasant and buxom quality.' Even Goethe in his Olympian cheerfulness, or the most light-hearted of modern hedonists, would take a more serious view of the stern voice of duty and the thorny path of virtue. Montaigne's mind, being cast in the 'antique mould,' is naturally attracted by stoicism. But then, he tells us, 'what they did by virtue I inure myself to do by nature.' He also admires the stoical impassiveness of those children of nature, the peasants in his own neighbourhood, and their rustic virtue. If, in his efforts to attain to the fortitude of either, he fails, he admits his failure ruefully, but is by no means cast down by it. Ethical fervour was not the characteristic of the age or of the man.

A yet wider gulf still separates Montaigne from the modern agnostic in relation to philanthropy and social politics. Montaigne, in search of secluded tranquillity, tries to escape the excitement of public concerns; the bustling energy of the modern world-reformer is 'aucunement de son gibier.' 'I meddle not with them,' he says, 'except duty constrain me thereunto.' Better fitted for the study than the government of men, as one of his admirers puts it, he would, if he could, escape from the turbulent humours of his age and glide into 'an obscure and reposed life'; though, if he must perforce attend to public duties, he will do his part with a becoming sense of responsibility.

In short, in his ethics, both personal and social, his aim is simply to maintain the rational mean between extremes, and this at the least expenditure of energy and trouble. 'I love as much to be happy as to be wise.' The modern agnostic rises above this. Faithfulness to duty, not felicity, is his aim.

'L'homme qui prend la vie au sérieux et emploie son activité à la poursuite d'une fin généreuse'—says M. Renan, resembling Montaigne in his 'heroic gaiety,' but vastly differing from him in other respects—'voilà l'homme religieux; l'homme frivole, superficiel, sans haute moralité, voilà l'impie.'

And Sainte-Beuve, quoting these words, shows how

Digitized by Google

Renan, representing the modern agnostic armed with modern science, stands

'en présence du grand inconnu, ce qu'il appelle un doute inébranlable, mais un doute qui est tout en faveur des plus nobles suppositions et des hypothèses les plus conformes à la dignité du genre humain.'

The moral atmosphere of the Essays is less bracing. The keen sagacity of Montaigne's cultivated mind emits a dry clearness, enlightening rather than vivifying; it has none of the exhilarating quality of moral ozone which stimulates and invigorates high effort. In the practical application of Montaigne's ethics we note the same characteristics. His 'bon sens égayé,' his imperturbable good humour, never forsake him; but his counsels of perfection are on a level with the speech of Polonius, or the letters of Lord Chesterfield to his son. He has no 'map of life' ready for others to steer their course by; he does not even take himself too seriously, though so much occupied by his own experiences. The general outcome of his philosophy is 'vivons et rions avec les autres.' For him there exist no serious stakes in the game of life. He plays the game with 'the grace of light-heartedness' in an age of stress and storm.

In his private life he presents us with a picture of filial piety full of simple affection for an indulgent father —his mother he lost early. In his domestic life he does not rise above, or fall below, the standard of his class and age. In his views on love and marriage he expresses himself in the manner of Roman poetry rather than in that of Christian Romanticism. His friendship follows classical models. Of the friend whom he loved more than any other human being, but lost early, he speaks with an ardour and depth of feeling which show that he was capable of being moved more deeply than the general tone of his writings would suggest. In his public life he shows himself indifferent to fame, preferring to be second or third in Périgord rather than to be first in Paris. Popularity has no charm for him; he expresses little respect for public opinion, and in public affairs is utterly incapable of taking sides. In a state of political turmoil he mantains perfect equipoise of mind; and, unlike others in that age of startling discoveries, he is never carried off his feet,

Digitized by Google

but remains undisturbed in the waiting attitude of philosophical doubt, ever bent on the possession of 'the sweet content of a pure and undepending liberty.' He is neither a political enthusiast nor a utopian dreamer. He is no supporter of particular dynasties in the France of that day—described as a 'kingdom in litigation'—standing on equally good terms with the royal rivals, and barely escaping the imputation of being a political trimmer. He can imagine, indeed, a perfect commonwealth; but the picture does not inspire him with confidence. Nor, on the other hand, is he an alarmist; though he talks of 'the corruption of the times' he does not despair of the republic: 'rien ne tombe là où tout tombe.' In all this we see the man of letters rather than the man of affairs, the lover of intellectual repose musing in solitude on men and things, self-centred and undisturbed. 'All my hope,' he says, 'is in myself.'

In this preference for learned leisure and this lack of public spirit the author of the Essays is least in sympathy with modern agnostics, as may be seen from the following passage taken from the second volume of Sir Leslie Stephen's essays on 'Social Rights and Duties' (p. 179).

'The genuine aim of a great author must be directly or indirectly to affect the world in which he lives, whether by changing its beliefs or stimulating its emotions.'

Montaigne would have contemplated with abhorrence any attempt to change the beliefs of his age. If he had any aim beyond amusing, or at best studying, himself in writing the essays, as a kind of 'journal intime,' it was the wish to show to his friends—he does not mention posterity—what manner of man he was. He would have railed at the 'cult of emotion' and modern attempts to produce moral intensity; the calm of self-possession and the art of self-repression within is what he principally aims at; and in externals the principle, 'quieta non movere,' is his invariable rule of life.

'Some one directs himself well,' he says, 'that cannot so well direct others; and composeth essays, that could not work effects.'

Yet there are few writers who have ever exercised in the past, or are exercising in the present, an in-

Digitized by Google

fluence equal to that of Montaigne. For it is not by conscious and direct effort or by immediate effect that the utterances of leading spirits produce their most important results. It is rather by the latent force stored up in their writings or sayings, which, in the course of time and with the help of other agencies, makes itself felt in shaping and slowly transforming human thought and feeling. Thus it was that Montaigne's innate love of truth, his deep insight into human nature, his originality of thought and expression, rather than any intentional effort to influence his contemporaries, secured for the Essays the high place they occupy in the literature of the world, and the vast influence they have exercised on some of the master-minds of Europe, on Shakespeare, Pascal, and the intellectual giants of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, down to the latest representatives of French and English thought in the present day.

Shakespeare's indebtedness to Montaigne's Essays has recently been the subject of considerable discussion; and numerous coincidences of thought and expression have been discovered and collated by the critics, notably by Dr Georg Brandes in his recent work on Shakespeare. A summary of these is to be found in an article by Elizabeth Robbins Hooker contained in volume xvii of 'Publications of the Modern Language Association of America,' which is deserving of the most careful attention. The conclusion arrived at (p. 347) is

'that Shakespeare used the "Essays" as a mere storehouse of material. Whether or not he knew how many suggestions he derived from it must of course remain uncertain. In either case, the manifold nature of its subjects, the fresh, interesting, and popular quality of its ideas, and especially the ever-varying character of its author, all made it well adapted to the needs of the dramatist; and whether or not he was conscious of the fact, he put it to good service. . . . What Shakespeare took, however, he transformed. He found expressions of opinion that were keen, indeed, and new, but vague, diffuse, and formless; he transformed them into poetry.'

This appears to us to be a fair conclusion; and it is free from the exaggeration of other critics, who, like some of his contemporaries, accuse Shakespeare of plagiarism in unqualified terms.

Digitized by Google

In the case of Pascal the influence of Montaigne is undisputed, though the moral and religious temperaments of the two men were utterly at variance. Montaigne was easy, cheerful, and indulgent to a fault; Pascal serious, solemn, and severe. Under Pascal's playful placidity there is a strong undercurrent of religious passion; behind Montaigne's perfunctory acceptance of current beliefs there lurks a dispassionate religious unconcern. By his own confession Pascal never opened the Essays without seeing there his own mutations and inconsistencies reflected, and from the arguments used by Montaigne to prove the futility of human reason Pascal deduces the necessity of implicit faith and the need of a divine revelation. The Essays have been called 'le bréviaire des honnêtes gens'; the 'Pensées' are the *vade mecum* of the spiritually minded. Pascal is too profoundly impressed by the 'misery of man' to be satisfied with Montaigne's tranquil observations on human nature without an attempt to alleviate man's misery. Montaigne's habit of travelling from point to point with a tantalising illusiveness of thought, and without attempting to find a resting place, does not satisfy Pascal's 'esprit de netteté' or his mathematical mind.

'Tout paraît donc incertain, et le vrai bien l'est aussi: ce qui semble nous réduire à n'avoir ni règle fixe pour les mœurs, ni certitude dans les sciences.' ('Pensées,' Part I, Art. xi.)

Yet—though to what extent is uncertain—Pascal is certainly indebted to Montaigne for that larger, if not deeper, comprehension of human nature on which his own system rests.

A curious instance of Montaigne's indirect influence on English thought in the seventeenth century is to be found in Joseph Glanvill, the author of 'Scepsis Scientifica,' a theologian of some repute and a member of the Royal Society. In the closing words of this work Glanvill speaks approvingly of 'the wise Monsieur Charron,' the pupil of Montaigne.

'I cannot quarrel with his motto,' he says. 'In a sense "je ne sçay" is a justifiable scepticism, and not misbecoming a candidate of wisdom.'

Here we notice the further development of agnosti-

Digitized by Google

cism from Montaigne's 'Que sçais-je?' which is only an expression of dubiety, to the more dogmatic assertion of the agnostic creed in 'Je ne sçais pas.'

Even the 'Discours' of Descartes owes its *doute provisoire* to Montaigne's influence, though the 'methodic doubt' of Descartes, unlike Montaigne's unmitigated Pyrrhonism, becomes, as Mr Lowndes points out, the starting-point of scientific research founded on the one fact of self-consciousness.

In a similar manner the optimistic scepticism of Bayle and Bolingbroke, and, through them, of Pope, draws its inspiration from Montaigne. There are two passages, at least, in the 'Essay on Man' which may be traced to this source. The lines on the deformity of vice which,

'To be hated, needs but to be seen,'

and the natural-theology argument of the pampered goose,

'"See all things for my use!"
"See man for mine!" replies a pampered goose,'

are almost literal excerpts from the third and second books of the Essays respectively. Rousseau, again, in the self-revelations of his 'Confessions,' takes Montaigne for his model, though he adds a strong infusion of his own incurable self-consciousness. He is, moreover, indebted to Montaigne in formulating his educational theory. The inauguration of subjectivity in modern poetry by Byron—who, we are told, found in Montaigne the only author he could read with satisfaction—may be, to some extent, attributed to his admiration of the great French egotist. Burton, Sterne, even Lamb, in the charm and the occasional tedium of their diffuseness and digressive irrelevancy may be considered his imitators.

The true sons of Montaigne, however, in recent times and in his own country, his 'héritiers spirituels,' are Renan and Sainte-Beuve. The serenity of doubt in Renan is part of that 'gaîté gauloise' which he shares with Montaigne. But Renan's serious idealism serves, as Sainte-Beuve points out, as a 'contre-poids à l'esprit malin, moqueur, sceptique, incrédule au fond, de la race.' Sainte-Beuve himself, in the delicate art of his own inimitable criticism, in his power of frigid analysis and

Digitized by Google

ironical finesse, comes nearer to Montaigne than Renan. Both, however, differ from their master in one important respect. Neither finds in doubt that repose of mind which Montaigne found in it; on the contrary, they are both tormented by the haunting spirit of inquiry which will not let them rest. In the eagerness of their critical investigation and in the pursuit of truth they find it impossible to attain to Montaigne's tranquillity on the pillow of ignorance and doubt.

This brings us to the last stage of our inquiry, the consideration of the scientific, ethical, philosophical, and religious agnosticism of the present day in its relation to Montaigne's agnosticism. Rabelais, rather than Montaigne, is the true ancestor of our scientific agnostics. His dying words, 'Je vais chercher le grand Peut-être,' indicate a determination to pursue his inquiries in this last voyage of discovery. Montaigne, as a good Catholic, devoutly accepting, with whatever reserves, the last offices of the Church, remains true to his principle with the grave opening before him: 'J'ouvre les choses plus que je ne les découvre.'

Modern agnosticism, as Professor Flint in his recently published treatise on the subject puts it, is critical and scientific mainly in 'the elaboration and application of the physical, experimental, positive, inductive sciences,' whilst 'theology has ceased to be the favourite and dominant science' (pp. 382–3). In this field Professor Huxley, 'the great agnostic,' the inventor of the term agnosticism, may be taken as the type. What he means by it is given in the following passage:—

'Positively the principle may be expressed: in matters of the intellect follow your reason as far as it will take you, without regard to any other consideration. And negatively: in matters of the intellect do not pretend that conclusions are certain which are not demonstrated or demonstrable. That I take to be the agnostic faith, which, if a man keep whole and undefiled, he shall not be ashamed to look the universe in the face whatever the future may have in store for him.' *

Here no room is left for 'supra-sensible knowledge.' Huxley regards as heresy any unwarranted assumption

* 'Collected Works,' vol. v, p. 246.

Digitized by Google

of unscientific gnostics in the region of the supernatural which he regards as beyond cognition by the senses or the intellect.

Professor Flint, with considerable force of reasoning, points out the fragmentary nature of this form of agnosticism, its narrow exclusiveness. He shows how, on one side, 'the possibility or legitimacy of agnostically treating the deliverances of sense and the processes and conclusions of science is not contemplated,' whilst, on the other, 'the limitation of the word to the sphere of religion is quite unjustifiable.' He argues that

'whatever claims to be knowledge should have its claims fairly examined, and should not be set aside as pseudo-science in misplaced confidence on any superficial generalisation or dogmatic assumption as to what is and what is not knowledge.'

He accepts the theory of the relativity of knowledge, and quotes Hume approvingly in admitting the usefulness of scepticism, or agnosticism, as the tutor of intellectual modesty. But he inquires, 'How can a sense of the universal perplexity and confusion inherent in human nature produce merely care and caution and modesty in reasoning?' He acknowledges that 'agnosticism has been often employed honestly and zealously for the defence of theistic and Christian faith,' whilst, on the other hand,

'genuine agnostics, even when they relegate religious truth to the region of the unknowable, are never men devoid of curiosity as to religious truth, and seldom men devoid of susceptibility to religious influences.'

His chief merit consists in drawing a distinction between absolute and mitigated, complete and incomplete, agnosticism. He shows that the former position is untenable and the latter inconsistent; that to declare the absolute incompetency of human reason is to put an end to all judgments; whereas rigidly to confine it to any particular branch of knowledge is to assume a mastery over the whole of it. He arrives at the conclusion that what is required is not only vigilance and caution in one particular direction, but 'that the search for truth is a serious affair, one which requires exertion,

Digitized by Google

circumspection, and method' in every department of inquiry; that 'belief is a primordial fact of consciousness'; that knowledge and belief cannot be separated; and that belief must have a rational basis, resting on knowledge, and supported by evidence; in short, that 'belief should be coextensive with knowledge, coincident with truth.' When Professor Flint, however, affirms that 'to say that the world, the soul, or God is, yet cannot be known, is a statement both presumptuous and nonsensical,' he uses 'question-begging appellatives,' thereby weakening his own position. The avowal of defective knowledge respecting anything may be compatible with a belief in its existence; for, as he says himself,

'our knowledge of the existence of an Infinite and Absolute Being is quite compatible with our inability to form clear and adequate conceptions of Infinity, Absoluteness, and Being.'

It would be interesting to hear Montaigne's own opinion on this controversy between the agnostic scientist and his opponent. We may imagine him for this purpose resuscitated and cited to appear as umpire between them. With characteristic quickness of apprehension he would take in the situation brought about by the revolution of thought and the advancement of science since his day. He would doubtless be startled by the great alteration in the relative position of the two antagonists; the scientist adopting the tone of 'raillerie moqueuse,' and indulging in those 'plaisanteries mordantes' which Calvin and other reformers of his day employed in their attacks on the dominant faith, while their spiritual descendants stand, as a rule, on the defensive, and are moderate, almost meek, in their protests. Quickly recovering, however, from his surprise, and adjusting his mind to the change of rôle between the combatants, Montaigne, addressing himself first to Professor Huxley, his fellow-traveller from the land of shades, would speak somewhat in this fashion: 'I agree with you on the importance of honesty in all investigations, and the paramount claim of facts. I grant that "it is wrong," as Sir Leslie Stephen remarks, "for a man to say that he is certain of the objective truth of any proposition unless he can produce evidence which logically justifies that certainty." But, at the same time, I would draw your attention to the

Digitized by Google

difficulty of ascertaining the facts, immediately through the senses, which prove fallacious, and mediately from conflicting reports, which may be still less trustworthy. Then remember the impotence of reasoning in judging of comparative credibility in either, and the incertitude of conclusions; geometric proof itself largely depending on postulates which some of your own philosophers have shown to be open to discussion. Let everything by all means be subjected to experiment, but beware of empiricism pure and simple, against which I warned the physicists of my own day. As to your work and that of other specialists, I admire your diligence and patience, but I find that the result justifies my former reluctance to enter upon these tiresome details which fatigue the mind and weaken its power for grasping general principles; and so I feel inclined still to repeat what I once said: "O science, full of molestation; that wasteth for us the sweetest hours of the day!"

'As to the deeper questions on which you somewhat vehemently profess your ignorance, I advise you to "cleave ever to the sunnier side of doubt," and to leave such incomprehensible and unanswerable difficulties for the present unsolved, without hastily rejecting them as unproven, remembering the saying of that experimentalist Bacon, who borrowed so many good things from me, that "whatever deserveth to exist deserveth to be known."

'What you say of "man's place in nature," and the analogues of man and beast, is quite in accordance with what I have stated in my essays. Like you, I was a lover and admirer of nature, reverentially calling her my mother, my mistress, and my monitress. But I cannot help reminding you that she can be very capricious, in spite of what you say of the constancy of natural law. As to the course of the natural history of religion, we do not differ very much; but I do not find that its study, even when enriched by recent psychological, physiological, and ethnological discoveries, enables you to define clearly and mark out distinctly the boundaries between rational conviction and faith, so as to keep strictly on your own side of the road; for your theory of evolution is a hypothesis, and, as such, rests on faith until it is completely verified; and one of your foremost physicians, whom I might have respected, though I

Digitized by Google

despised the profession, expresses, in his little book on "The Unknown God," his unshakeable confidence in the power, the wisdom, and the beneficence which pervade and rule the universe.

'As to the bulk of knowable truth, by your own confession you are no further than we were when I said that we only 'touch the skirts of knowledge'; and 'the truest *vates* of his age,' as you call the great poet who was most in harmony with modern scientific thought, dwells with elegiac sadness on the futility of the attempt to peer 'behind the veil.' From which it would appear after all that, as I said long ago, 'ignorance is our highest science'; and that the 'lamp of obedience' can best light the way through the labyrinth of existence.'

Then, turning round upon Professor Flint, he would probably, with a certain deference in his tone, speak thus: 'Permit me to say that, in attacking Professor Huxley and others of his way of thinking, you have scarcely a right to insist upon "self-evident" principles as incapable of disproof. These may appear so to you, but to doubters like Huxley and myself they may be anything but self-evident. Your own admission of the defective nature of knowledge should make you less exacting in dealing with your adversary, since it is only a question of degree as to agnostic doubt which divides you. Your own dubious affirmations and his dogmatic negations both have for their basis the incompetency of the human mind to unravel the mystery which surrounds us on every side. Is it not Emerson, a representative of your modern renaissance, who bids you "humanise science" and the science of sciences? If I may offer counsel, it would be to follow his advice, so that instead of quarrelling over the rival claims of natural liberty, which I, too, held up as the most desirable boon, and the law of authority, to which I still attach considerable importance, you may pursue your researches without despising the wisdom of the past or despairing of attaining to a higher wisdom in the future.'

Such, we may fairly assume, would have been Montaigne's attitude in the old dispute respecting the limits of intellectual doubt. Let us in the next place consider the ethical standpoint of modern agnosticism. Its most distinguished representative in this country is

Digitized by Google

Sir Leslie Stephen, who, sharing with Montaigne the eminent gift of clear-headed sagacity, differs from him altogether in his incisive directness, and who, moreover—and this is an important difference—founds his system of ethics on a scientific or physical basis, not, like Montaigne, on authority or custom.

'Morality must be represented as dependent, not upon the authority of a particular person, invisible or otherwise, nor relegated to the region where we are hopelessly suspended in the inane, but based upon a knowledge of the concrete constitution of human nature and society.' ('Apology,' p. 78.)

Here the laws of conduct are identified with 'the laws of growth of the social organism.' 'The truly virtuous man,' we read in the 'Science of Ethics,' 'is the typical man whose character conforms to the conditions of social vitality.' In this system of ethics the demands made on social sympathy are severe, and the standard of social duty is raised to a high pitch. The individual, as the 'product of society,' derives all his rights from the social order; and therefore, we are told in the second volume of Sir Leslie's 'Essays on Social Rights and Duties,' 'the only considerations which are relevant are those which affect the welfare of the social organism taken as a whole'; or, in the words contained in the first volume of the same essays, 'the progress of civilisation depends on the extension of the sense of duty which each man owes to society at large.'

Here, whether we share or reject the position so defined, we cannot help noticing a decided advance on Montaigne's ethics. The modern conception of altruistic duty marks an important stage in the progress of moral philosophy, for Montaigne's standpoint is still that of pure egotism. 'Il faut se prêter à autrui and ne se donner qu'à soi-même.' For this and similar reasons M. Bonnefon says bluntly, 'il manque de noblesse morale'; in other words Montaigne's ethical system, viewed from the modern standpoint, lacks distinction. His 'Essais de Morale' (such is the original title of the Essays) contain, indeed, some fine passages on the thorny path of virtue, and the importance of severing virtue from utility; but, for the sanction of right in social law and devotion to great moral ends, for the true conception of the grandeur of

Digitized by Google

the moral order, we must turn to the agnostics of the nineteenth century. Montaigne lived in the sixteenth, and shares the ethical conceptions of the Renaissance, on which Lady Dilke, in her work on 'The Renaissance of Art in France,' pronounces judgment with sententious brevity: 'The Renaissance failed on account of its moral indifference.' Moral indifference may be too harsh a phrase in describing Montaigne's indecision in moral as well as mental problems; but his bent as a moralist is to follow the stream of life as an observer, and to describe the motives of human conduct, rather than to direct its course. 'Les autres forment l'homme,' he says, 'je le récite'; and again, 'Je n'enseigne point, je raconte.'

In the region of philosophy and religion, and in dealing with the ultimate questions about God, the soul, and immortality, there is much less difference between modern agnosticism and that of 'the Thales of France,' as Lipsius called Montaigne. This is mainly because, in the absence of new data throwing fresh light on these subjects, there has been little, if any, shifting of the boundary lines between the known and unknown. When Lord Kelvin, in a recent speech at University College, said that 'they were all agnostics: they only knew God in his works; but they were absolutely forced by science to admit and to believe with absolute confidence in a directive power'; and that, inasmuch as science affirmed 'creative power,' it was not antagonistic to, but a help for, religion (making allowance for difference in the use of terms), he was in perfect agreement with Montaigne. So, again, when Mr Herbert Spencer, in his 'First Principles,' says 'that the power which the universe manifests to us is utterly inscrutable,' and 'that it is alike our highest wisdom and our highest duty to regard that through which all things exist as The Unknowable,' he reminds us of a passage in the Essays where Montaigne, after quoting St Augustine's phrase, 'Melius scitur Deus nesciendo,' adds words of a similar import: 'It only belongs to God to know himself, and interpret his own works.' As to the discussion of modern problems about the 'Unknown Absolute' or 'Unconditioned,' and similar subjects of transcendental philosophy, discussed by members of the Metaphysical Society, where the term agnosticism took its rise, Montaigne, if alive now, would

Digitized by Google

brush these aside as 'tintamarres de cervelles,' alike useless and unsatisfying, falling back upon the thought expressed somewhere in the Essays, that the divine, being above reason, can be only apprehended by faith.

This suggests a curious coincidence of reasoning between the author of a 'Defence of Philosophic Doubt' and the author of the 'Apologie de Raymond de Sebonde,' for in Mr Balfour's work, 'The Foundations of Belief,' occurs the remarkable passage—which might have been written by Montaigne—'Certitude is found to be the child, not of reason, but of custom.' Not unlike the 'politique' Montaigne, our modern philosophical statesman argues on the basis that 'if the certitudes of science lose themselves in depths of unfathomable mystery, it may well be that out of the same depths should emerge the certitudes of religion.' This reasoning—*mutatis mutandis*—runs parallel with the argument in the 'Apologie' of Montaigne. Both writers deduce from the same premises the duty of a provisional acceptance of authoritative religion to satisfy the spiritual needs of man.

There is one section, however, of modern agnostics whose 'fanaticism of veracity' in their anti-theistic and anti-Christian attitude bears little resemblance to the wide toleration of Montaigne. For a typical representative of this class of mind we turn to the Squire of Murewell, in Mrs Humphrey Ward's novel 'Robert Elsmere.' Happily the militant agnostic of our own day is generally a more amiable personage. Still, in his controversial asperity he often forgets that, although 'the world is upheld by veracity,' a precipitate renunciation of long-cherished beliefs is not necessarily a proof of intellectual integrity, nor a deliberate suspense before taking the fatal step tantamount to a mendacious concealment of opinions. Montaigne is no such contentious agnostic; he is no scoffer, determined at all hazards to 'get rid of mere survivals' and 'to destroy formulas.' In his religious conceptions he was equidistant from omniscient dogmatism and dogmatic nescience, a philosophical Christian, like Mallet du Pan, 'religieux sans superstition, et tolérant sans impiété.'

In forming a final estimate of Montaigne as the inaugurator of modern agnosticism, and of his continued influence on contemporary thought, we may ask, What

Digitized by Google

help does he still give us in the study of man and the art of human conduct? what insight does he afford us into human life and its ultimate issues? Can we at this date endorse the eulogy pronounced on him by one of his contemporaries, a magistrate like himself, Claude d'Expilly?

> 'Les siècles à venir chanteront à bon droit,
> Montaigne par lui-même enseigna comme on doit
> Et bien dire, et bien vivre, et bien mourir encore.'

It must be acknowledged that in a great measure Montaigne's 'audacious desultoriness' stands in the way of his influence on modern thought, which strives to solve the great problems of existence with an intensity and earnestness of purpose to which he was a complete stranger; though in the thoroughness and completeness of his study of mankind by means of 'self-discovery' and moral analysis he is still unsurpassed. We are also less inclined to accept his depreciatory judgment of human nature, 'la nihilité de l'humaine condition,' as an ultimate fact. This view can no longer satisfy man's aspirations. No exception is taken to his attempt 'à peindre l'homme en général'—his description of the average man, 'l'homme moyen'; but further study and experiment have taught us to believe in the improvement of this superior animal by natural selection and the survival of the fittest, and we are inclined to put faith in moral evolution. It has been said by a careful student of Montaigne that he is a favourite with those who have failed in life's arena and retire dissatisfied to give themselves over to reflections on the vanity of success. If this be so, he is but an imperfect guide in a progressive age. For in himself, as a human document, and in his maxims on the conduct of life, we notice the same flaw, i.e. an 'easy self-acceptance' and a readiness to take man as he finds him—'certes, c'est un sujet merveilleusement vain, divers, et ondoyant que l'homme!' His only recipe for a well-ordered life is 'Fais ton fait et te connais'; there is here no hint of the importance of constant moral advancement.

In public life Montaigne is practically a political fatalist, and displays little understanding of the workings of social forces or the influence of leading minds on the course of social progress. The sense of human solidarity and social duty is a peculiar trait of our own age and of

Digitized by Google

modern agnosticism in particular. Here the passion of philanthropy is gradually taking the place formerly occupied by the passion of religion, though it may be questioned whether endeavours for social improvement without the support of religious faith will not, in the end, prove disappointing. There are moments of despondency when, amid discouragements and drawbacks arising out of the imperfection and irrationality of mankind, the most ardent of agnostic reformers will be tempted to say with Sir Leslie Stephen :—

'Meanwhile let us cultivate our little area of garden, knowing well that, long before a brighter day dawns, we too shall have been swept off into the great darkness, and our little crochets and nostrums have become as ludicrous as those of our forefathers. Let us possess our souls in peace, and acknowledge that Swift has pretty well summed up the fittest epilogue for Jove to pronounce upon the farce of the world, "I damn such fools."' ('Agnostic's Apology,' p. 340.)

It may be well, therefore, in an age such as ours, proud of its achievements in the past, and in danger of overrating its power of realising its lofty ideals in the future, to learn from Montaigne how to become 'sobrement sages,' and not to expect too much from human nature.

It may be useful, moreover, in the present day, when we are most of us too strenuously absorbed in sounding the depths of unsolved, perhaps insoluble, problems, to turn to Montaigne's bright pages, illumined as they are by wit and gentle laughter, good for the relief of overburdened minds. It is true that, while there is no subject which Montaigne's genius does not enliven and enrich—'qu'il n'égaie et qu'il ne féconde'—there are few things which he has sounded to their deepest depths. But we should not forget that behind 'the hint of illusive irony' in so many of his sayings there often lurks a more serious thought; and that, as J. R. Green says in one of his charming letters,

'It is sorrow that gives the capacity of laughter, I think; it is the darkness and the brokenness and the disappointment of life that enable one to look on coolly and with a smile even when one is most in earnest.'

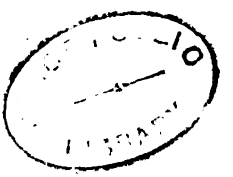
There was much in the social and political environment

Digitized by Google

of Montaigne which was apt to produce this state of mind, in the collision of religious factions and the clash of social theories—not altogether dissimilar to present-day conflicts in the Church and in the world—which give a special meaning to his words of 'autumnal wisdom.' Since Montaigne's day, as Hallam, defending him against the charge of extravagant and unreasonable scepticism, says, 'Truth, in retiring from her outposts, has become more unassailable in her citadel.' 'But,' he adds, 'it may be deemed a symptom of wanting a thorough love of truth when a man overrates, as much as when he overlooks, the difficulties he deals with.'

The danger in the present day is that we may overrate our scientific attainments in matters appertaining to the visible universe and overlook some of the difficulties in this field of speculation; also, that we may underrate our powers in approaching problems in the region of the supra-natural and thus 'limit the mind by negation' in matters of spiritual import. Those who are inclined to excess, either in limiting or in extending the boundaries of the knowable and unknowable, may equally profit by the advice of Montaigne, the representative of 'sapient ignorance,' contained in numberless passages of his writings, but condensed in a single sentence by one of the ablest of his admirers in his own country, 'Il ne faut pas se croire le seul et l'infaillible défenseur de la vérité.'

M. KAUFMANN.



Digitized by Google

PUBLIC

Art. VIII.—POOLS, TRUSTS, AND INDUSTRIAL COMBINATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

1. *The Trusts.* By W. M. Collier. New York: Baker and Taylor Company, 1900.
2. *The Other Side.* By Lyman Horace Weeks. New York: National Publishing Company, 1900.
3. *Monopolies and Trusts.* By R. T. Ely. New York: Macmillan Company, 1900.
4. *The Trust: its Book.* Edited by James H. Bridge. New York: Doubleday, 1902.
5. *Commercial Trusts.* By J. R. Dos Passos. ('Questions of the Day' Series.) New York: Putnam, 1901.
6. *The Trust Problem.* By Jeremiah W. Jenks. New York: McClure and Company. New edition. 1901.
7. *Plain Facts as to the Trusts.* By G. L. Bolen. New York: Macmillan Company, 1902.
8. *Reports of the Industrial Commission.* Volumes 1, 13. Washington, 1901.
9. *Trust Finance.* By E. S. Meade. New York: Appleton and Company, 1903.

THE industrial life of the United States is young. The factory system obtained a foothold during the war of 1812, but the industrial revolution was not an accomplished fact until about 1850. Industry supplied, in the main, a local demand, and was almost wholly dependent upon local capital. The New England States, whose activity in the carrying trade had brought capital, were the only exception. So early as 1845, the Bay State Cotton Mills were organised in Lawrence, Massachusetts, with a capital of $1,000,000; the Pacific Mills, with a capital of $2,000,000, were established in the same city in 1853. But such was the general backwardness in the organisation of business on a large scale, that it was not until 1848 that the first general corporation act, the 'Manufactory Act' of New York, was passed. The beginning of corporate organisation in iron and steel and in the other leading industries dates almost wholly from the period immediately preceding the Civil War.

Since the war, another industrial revolution has taken place. Between the industry of 1860 and that of 1870

Digitized by Google

there was an economic gulf; but the succeeding period shows a still greater change. Since 1873 the railway network has increased threefold, the banking power fivefold. The clearances have tripled in amount. The business expansion faintly outlined by these facts has been accompanied by regular concentration. In 1900 there were half a million industrial establishments, whose product was valued at $13,000,000,000; of these establishments only 8 per cent. were corporations; but they accounted for 60 per cent. of the value of products.

The Civil War brought about a wider acquaintance with the resources of the country, and engendered a tendency towards large enterprises. The westward expansion of the railway system, while making a larger extent of territory subordinate to the eastern manufacturers, at the same time increased the area of competitive territory; with the increase of the area of demand came increased creation of capital and an appreciation of the advantages of more highly capitalised production.

The railways were the first to feel the effect of the increased competition to which the obtaining of western terminals subjected them. An unduly rapid railway expansion had been encouraged both by the companies themselves and by the lavish assistance given. The roads soon saw themselves engaged in ruinous competition for through-freight, and they found a temporary solution of their difficulties in 'pooling' agreements, whereby percentage divisions either of tonnage or of earnings were made among the constituent members of the 'pool.' To the public, which had relied upon competition, the attempt to regulate by such agreements the rates of railway traffic came as a disagreeable shock, soon to be reinforced by similar experiences in connexion with industry.

The speculative spirit which came into existence during the Civil War dominated industrial expansion until 1873; and productive power in many cases outstripped demand. The producers now endeavoured by concerted action to protect their profits. In the manufacture of spirits over-production and price-cutting were manifest. To avoid this, the manufacturers agreed to limit the annual output to a percentage of the producing capacity of the various establishments. This percentage varied from 28 to 40 per cent. Assessments were also

Digitized by Google

levied to permit the export of surplus product at a loss in order to stiffen the market.

The salt industry also soon discovered the advantages of agreements among the producers. So early as 1865, the Michigan salt-producers were subject to great competition. Various controlling organisations of short duration were formed in the succeeding ten years; but it was not until 1876 that the Michigan Salt Association, which controlled 85 per cent. of the product, was organised. This association, which was a distinct advance upon that of the whiskey distillers, was concerned primarily with selling. The stockholders were all salt-producers, and were allowed shares in proportion to their production. The capitalisation was nominal. The directorate was composed of representatives of the constituent companies. The organisation was formed for a five-year period, prolonged from time to time. The association took cognisance of market conditions, and estimated the amount of product required to supply the trade; it then allowed each establishment the output fixed as its share, took all orders for goods, determined prices, and managed the selling business. It is now dissolved.

Other industries organised pooling arrangements and selling associations differing but little from those already mentioned. The cordage industry in its earlier condition had a pooling arrangement whose form was manifestly suggested by the railway 'money pools.' Agreements were entered into, so early as 1860, whereby each manufacturer was guaranteed a certain percentage of the sales. A manufacturer who received more than his percentage paid into the pool a sufficient amount per pound to balance the excess; while a manufacturer who had received less than his percentage received from the pool a sum sufficient to make up the deficiency. Returns were made monthly to a supervisor who acted as a clearing-house. The pool was an outcome of excessive competition; it was, at best, an association of suspicious rivals facing a temporarily imminent danger. In the period 1894–1896 various pooling arrangements were made by the barbed-wire manufacturers; but, generally speaking, this method of organisation ceased to be important by the early eighties.

The pools called into existence by price-cutting made

Digitized by Google

themselves felt not only in endeavours to render prices stable, but also in efforts to raise prices. The barbed-wire pool, which went to pieces in 1896, pushed up the price of wire nails from 80 cents per keg at the beginning of 1895 to $1·20 in May of the same year. The increase of price usually meant the attracting of new competition. Then again, since the industrial pools, like the railway pools, were outside the law, their mutual agreements could not be enforced in the courts. Reliance had therefore to be placed upon voluntary co-operation, strengthened to some extent by money payments which were themselves voluntary. The constituent members of the pools could not be relied on. When prices had been forced up, some member of the pool would find that by secretly cutting prices he could for a time increase his sales and make a greater profit than the pooling arrangement allowed him. Presently his defection would become known to other members; and further defections would take place. The history of industrial pools is rather one of patched-up truces than of permanent organisation. All the pools were of short duration. The most enduring was one in the cordage industry, which lasted three years; in the whiskey industry the average duration was under a year.

The pool was a recognition of the fact that it was possible by over-production seriously to trench upon profits. But the radical defect in its supervisory mechanism was that it left the individual establishments subject to their own management. In order that the policy of concentration in regard to management might work out satisfactorily, it was necessary to obtain control over production as well. It was in the endeavour to obtain this necessary control that the great industrial combinations known as 'trusts' came into existence during the eighties. The Standard Oil Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Cotton-seed Oil Trust, the Whiskey Trust, were all examples of the new type. The method of organisation employed is of interest because the name is popularly applied to all concentrated industries. The 'trust' derived its name from the fact that the controlling interests in the constituent companies were centralised in the hands of trustees, who were thus enabled to direct the general

Digitized by Google

policy of the integrated business. The original stockholders received trust certificates, and at the same time retained their equities in the stock. It was decided in a New York case in January, 1889, that the Sugar Trust was invalid, since the directors of the constituent corporations, having transferred the control of their stock to the trustees, were acting without the necessary stock qualifications. This position was upheld by the Supreme Court of the State in June, 1890. The result of this and of succeeding adverse decisions was the termination of the different trusts.

The period of trust organisation extended over ten years. But while it is recognised that there is to-day a tendency toward business concentration which is spoken of as the 'trust movement,' there is great diversity of opinion as to what are the marks of a trust. The census of 1900, in its enumeration of industrial combinations, limited the investigation to combinations composed of formerly independent establishments which had been brought together by a charter obtained for that purpose. This definition, while it provides the only practicable statistical method, is incomplete, for it excludes all establishments that have grown up, not by accretion, but by expansion. It also omits the 'holding company' type. Some persons would define an industrial combination as any corporation possessing large capital; and this position is taken in some of the proposed remedial measures, which limit their application to companies whose capitalisations exceed sums varying from $100,000 to $500,000. The industrial combination which concerns the American public is a largely capitalised organisation which is engaged in inter-state trade, and because of its capitalisation is presumed to be able to manipulate the price-level.

The trust organisation has been superseded by other forms within the law. The trusts either reorganised themselves as single corporations, or broke up into their constituent companies. In 1892 the Standard Oil Trust reorganised itself into twenty constituent companies. Nevertheless, the trustees under the former agreement continued to hold a majority of the stock in the new companies, thus ensuring a centralised control. The Whiskey Trust was displaced in 1890 by the Distilling and Cattle-feeding Company, a corporation which exchanged

Digitized by Google

its stocks for the trust certificates which had been issued under its former trust management.

The most recent development of organisation is the 'holding company,' which is common to industrial undertakings and railways. The holding company is a central company, whose entire assets are composed of controlling interests in the capital stocks of the subordinate companies. The separate corporations retain their corporate identities; but a majority of the stock being held by the central corporation, its officers are able to elect the directors of the constituent companies and thus control the entire business. When, for example, the Federal Steel Company was organised in 1898, with a capital of $200,000,000, equally divided between common (i.e. ordinary) and preferred stock, the purpose of its organisation was to acquire the majority holdings of stock in two steel companies and a railway. The holding company type of corporation may be found in all classes of business. It is in reality the trust organisation in a slightly modified form. It is a corporation of corporations, the central corporation performing the trustee function. It differs from the trust in that it is organised regularly under the laws of some state, and is a more responsible organisation, since it is subject to whatever regulations that state may place upon it.

Those interested in business consolidations allege that these are the outcome of certain existing business conditions. It is seldom that one finds such an outspoken statement as that of Mr Dos Passos, a prominent corporation lawyer, when examined before the Industrial Commission. He said that the real object of the consolidation was to control the particular business involved by concentrating it under one management. Mr Dodd, of the Standard Oil Company, in common with many others, considers excessive competition to be the main cause. The American Steel and Wire Company has obtained a monopoly of barbed-wire and of woven-wire production by means of the patents it holds. Mr Havemeyer says 'the tariff is the mother of trusts.' In the whiskey industry the tendency to over-production is obviously important. A plant can be erected for $150,000 which, with a capacity of 4000 bushels daily, produces an amount of liquor equal

Digitized by Google

to one tenth of the total consumption of the United States. There is no doubt that in some of the concentrated businesses, and more especially in the case of the Standard Oil Company, rebates and discriminations from the railways have materially enhanced the advantages accruing from the economies of consolidation.

The only official enumeration of integrated industries is that of the census of 1900. As has been indicated, this census is incomplete. 'Popular opinion, looking only to capitalisation, dubs any organisation of large capital a 'trust'; but what constitutes large capital depends upon the estimate of the individual. The census estimate includes 185 corporations controlling 2216 establishments, or less than ·5 per cent. of the total number of industrial establishments in the country. Even if we exclude from the list of industrial establishments those not using machinery, we find that the integrated establishments constitute less than ·8 per cent. of the corrected list; nevertheless, these corporations controlled approximately 40 per cent. of the capital invested in manufacturing enterprises. The industrial groups found to be most characterised by integration, are, in order of prominence, iron and steel, food preparations, chemicals, metals and metal products other than iron and steel, and liquors and beverages. The specially significant fact in connexion with this statement is that one half of the combinations were effected in the eighteen months preceding June 1900.

Though the capitalisation of industrial combinations has, as a rule, been effected with great economy of capital expenditure, the organisations would be doomed were it necessary actually to utilise in cash the enormous sums represented in the capitalisations. As a consequence of this, various ingenious methods of financing have been developed. The general plan has been that a new corporation is organised to purchase and own the various plants. The plants are paid for in cash or in securities—wherever possible, in the latter. Where the plants to be consolidated have been owned by corporations, it has been usual to effect an exchange of stock of the new corporation for the stock of the old companies at an agreed rate. If it is desired to form a completely integrated corpora-

Digitized by Google

tion, the separate corporations may then be dissolved and the plants remain in the ownership of the new corporation. Such was the plan followed in the reorganisation of the American Sugar-refining Company, as well as in the reorganisation whereby the Whiskey Trust was replaced by the Distilling and Cattle-feeding Company. A more complicated method of procedure is displayed in the steps leading up to the organisation of the National Starch Company, which consolidated the companies outside of the National Starch Manufacturing Company. In the first place the United Starch Company, which consolidated the companies outside the National Starch Manufacturing Company, was formed. Then a reorganisation committee was appointed for the latter company; the holders of shares were asked to deposit their shares with a trust company subject to the order of the reorganisation committee; and a majority was so deposited. The reorganisation committee negotiated successfully with the United Starch Company for a controlling interest in its stock. Then the National Starch Company was formed, which acquired a controlling interest in the National Starch Manufacturing Company, the United Starch Company, and the United States Glucose Company, the holders of stock being given the option of receiving cash or shares of the new company.

The giant size of a 'billion dollar' capitalisation has concentrated attention on the United States Steel Corporation, and has attracted further attention to the apparently sudden development of the combinations within the last few years. Yet it must be remembered that in the case of the Steel Corporation itself the industry had been constantly becoming more concentrated. The steel industry is distinctly capitalistic in its methods of production. A modern steel plant requires a capital of at least $30,000,000. In the last decade, while the capital increased 45 per cent., the output increased 76 per cent. Since 1880 there has been a steady falling-off in the number of establishments.

The development of combinations has been dependent upon the banking system, and has also influenced some of the recent developments in that system itself. The numerous consolidations in railways and in industrials

Digitized by Google

during 1901, footing up to an aggregate capital of four billions of dollars, strained the credit of some of the principal banks and banking houses of the country; and the consequence was a falling-off in the formation of combinations in 1902 and 1903. Not only has there been in recent years an expansion in the demands made on the banks by projected combinations for financial services, but there has also been a great expansion of general business and a consequent increase in the calls upon banking credit. The result is that during the past two years more conservative banking has led to retrenchment. The excessive tying-up of capital in the securities of industrial combinations gave, during the latter part of 1902 and the greater part of 1903, a 'bearish' tone to the market. One example of this may be found in connexion with the Malleable Iron Combination, which it was attempted to finance in the latter part of 1902. This, which was to have included seventeen corporations in the Middle West, and to have been capitalised at $20,000,000, was supported by a prominent member of the United States Steel Corporation. It collapsed, however, because the financial conditions were unfavourable.

The large increase in capitalisation attributable to the combinations brings up the question of the stability of the system. In capitalising the combinations there was a question as to what should be the base—tangible assets or earning power. The Pittsburg Plate Glass Company has limited its capitalisation to the tangible assets and working capital. On the other hand it has been urged that it is fair to capitalise the economies created by combination. The advantages thus accruing from the economies of consolidation have been somewhat vaguely spoken of as 'good-will.' Under this term two entirely different things are included: (1) the value derived from patents, trade-marks, and business connexions; (2) the value of the earning capacity of the establishments, and the hopes of the promoters as to savings and profits which may be realised by means of the combination. The second of these is extremely indefinite, and is limited only by the constructive imagination of the speculative promoter. The new combinations have almost exclusively followed the practice of capitalising good-will. In the

Digitized by Google

census enumeration of 1900 it was found that the 185 industrial combinations covered by the report had tangible assets and working capital valued at $1,461,000,000. For convenience' sake this is usually spoken of as the tangible capital. At the same time the total capital of these combinations amounted to $3,000,000,000. If we exclude from this amount the total charged against patents, trade-marks, franchises, good-will, etc., it will be found that the tangible capital amounted to only 50 per cent. of the total capital. Usually the value of the tangible assets is represented by preferred stock. The common stock, as, for example, in the case of the United States Rubber Company, represents the patents, good-will, and increased earning power attributable to combination. In the case of the Chewing-gum Combination, known as the American Chicle Company, which is dependent on a trade-mark, the capitalisation exceeds the tangible assets by 800 per cent.

Many of those who attack the industrial combination because of its alleged over-capitalisation, take the ground that the total stock issue should be determined by the amount actually paid to acquire the combined plants; and further, that the question whether the amount so paid was reasonable should be determined by the cost of reconstruction of plants of equal efficiency under present conditions. It has been assumed that any issue in excess of the figure so set is 'watered' stock. But this position is untenable. If consolidation does, through its economies, increase the net profits of the combined businesses, it is certainly justifiable to capitalise the increased profits in the form of additional stock. But, when the combination is being formed, the calculation of the increase in profits depends on rough estimates. The estimate of an optimistic promoter opens the way for abuses. Even when all due allowance is made for capitalising the economies of management, it is impossible in many cases for such true capitalisation to counterbalance the large increase in actual capitalisation. In the Royal Baking-powder Company, where the trade-marks were the valuable assets, while the companies entering into the combination had a total capital of $940,000, the combination was capitalised at $20,000,000, equally divided between common and preferred stock. The National

Digitized by Google

Shear Company, organised in 1898 with a capital of $3,000,000, took over plants whose net value was $900,000. The American Sugar-refining Company is capitalised at about twice the cost of reconstruction of the plants. Mr Havemeyer claims that the brands controlled and the good-will are sufficient to counterbalance this. In the case of the Whiskey Combination, there is an even greater disproportion between the capital and the cash valuation. Various witnesses before the Industrial Commission testified that the stock offers made for their plants were from four to six times their value. The one great industrial combination whose capital is much below the cost of reconstruction is the Standard Oil Company.

The capital of the United States Steel Corporation in 1901 exceeded by $300,000,000 the total amount of the capitals of the constituent companies. In the acquisition of the constituent companies the same methods were followed which had been used by these companies in obtaining control of the companies subordinate to them. This corporation is really a compound of combinations which, in their formation, had already largely capitalised their economies of management. So this factor enters twice into the capital of the Steel Corporation. It is contended that this apparently excessive capitalisation is justified by the coal and iron-ore supplies possessed by the company, which, on account of the limitation of supply, are continually advancing in value. Mr Schwab claims that these alone are worth $700,000,000; but it must be remembered that allowance had been made for these properties in acquiring the companies to which they belonged.

The preferred stock, it should be remembered, represents what is paid for the plants and tangible assets. This will normally include some amount of profits. Where the acquisition of a particular plant is essential to the successful floating of a combination, the proprietors of the former virtually fix the price. But, allowing for any element of profit, it may be said that the value of the preferred stock rests on something demonstrable—on present possession The common stock represents the promoter's capitalisation of the advantages expected to arise from the combination. The value of the common stock is therefore dependent on future expectation. It is the office of the

Digitized by Google

promoter to persuade the investing public that the enterprise will be profitable; and during the hey-day of industrial combination promotion the investor has been offered roseate estimates as facts. When the United States Shipbuilding Company—the shipbuilding combination—was formed in 1902, it was stated in a circular issued in June of that year that the plants included in the combination were earning $2,225,000 a year. In a circular issued in May 1903 it was stated that the earnings would be one third of this amount.

The experiences of this combination show how large a part the promoter's estimate may play in the determination of the total capitalisation. In the circular issued in June 1902 it was stated that the companies entering the combination were worth, as going concerns, $20,000,000, and that in addition they would have a working capital of $5,000,000. On this basis there were issued approximately $82,000,000 of stocks and bonds. The stocks and bonds of this enterprise fall, to use Mr J. J. Hill's expressive phrase, into the class of 'indigestible securities.' In June 1903 an attempt was made to have a reorganisation committee appointed, part of whose duty it should be to reduce the total security issue by $43,000,000. Owing to the opposition of the minority bondholders, who considered that their interests were not properly protected, this was not carried through. The bankrupt condition of the company is shown by the fact that it is now in the hands of a receiver.

The preferred stock of a combination is an investment security. In most of the combinations an endeavour has been made to maintain the investment feature by making it cumulative. Under this arrangement the passing of a dividend makes the dividend a charge against the funds later available for the paying of dividends. If, for example, the 7 per cent. cumulative dividend of the preferred 'steel' stock should be passed for five years, then the company would have incurred an obligation to pay its preferred shareholders 35 per cent. The varying fortunes of the common stock are explained by the fact that it looks entirely to the future. To quote the words of Mr W. H. Moore, a promoter of many combinations, who is now prominent in the affairs of the Rock Island Railway 'everybody knows what they are getting when

Digitized by Google

they get common stock; they know that they are not getting anything that represents assets.'

The common stock is essentially a speculative security. Normally it has sold at a low figure, and has been subject to fluctuations. This very fact makes it a speculative favourite. It appeals to the speculators; and the combination is in this way assisted in placing its securities. Those who have transferred their plants to the combinations have received their full equivalent in preferred stock, and at the same time have the prospect of whatever gain comes from the fortunes of the common stock, which is now a speculative counter. Notwithstanding the fact that the common stock of the Steel Corporation has paid dividends from the outset, it is a speculative security. It is out of this arrangement of capital that the profits to the promoters and to the members of the combinations have come. In the Tin-plate Combination the promoter received $10,000,000. The promoter of the Baking-powder Combination received a similar sum. It must, of course, be remembered that, owing to the fluctuating values of the stocks, the sums received by the beneficiaries are not necessarily identical with the nominal valuations of the stocks. The promoters of the Distilling Company were to furnish $3,500,000 in cash; in return there was placed in their hands a sum of $24,000,000 in common and preferred stock. Whatever residue remained was to be theirs. These stocks, which were then worth $8,856,000, declined in six months to $4,000,000.

Large amounts of stock have also been paid to the underwriting syndicates which practically ensure the success of the undertakings. Their work is important: their remuneration is often very large. The Trust Company of the Republic received for its services in promoting the shipbuilding combination $2,000,000 in bonds. But the best example is that furnished by the financing of the United States Steel Corporation. The Steel Corporation agreed to hand over to the underwriting syndicate formed by J. P. Morgan and Co. its preferred and common stock and bonds, to be exchanged for the capital stock of the different companies to be brought into the combination. In order that a transaction of such magnitude should be carried through satisfactorily, it was necessary that the majority of the stockholders of each subsidiary company

Digitized by Google

should be willing to accept the securities of the Steel Corporation. If all had demanded cash it would have swamped the undertaking; but, in order to meet such cash demands as might arise, the syndicate agreed to furnish a sum in cash not exceeding $200,000,000. In return for these services the syndicate received a bonus of 1,259,975 shares of the stock of the corporation, divided with approximate equality between the common and the preferred. The syndicate was called upon for only $25,000,000 in cash. The market being favourable, the syndicate was able, at an early date, to dispose of a sufficient amount of its stock bonus to recoup this expenditure to its subscribers. Since then further distributions have been made from the stock bonus, with the result that profits amounting to $50,000,000 have been divided among the members of the syndicate.

Combinations with top-heavy capitalisation have already had to face grave difficulties. The Asphalt Combination lasted barely two years; and the receivers find that its assets fall far short of its liabilities. The American Bicycle Company, which started with a capital of $27,000,000, saw its common stock quoted at ¼ and its preferred at 1½, and has now gone into the bankruptcy court. Early in 1903 the Canned Salmon Trust failed under a heavy capitalisation. Its common and its preferred stock, which shortly after the organisation of the company sold at 20 and at 53 respectively, dropped to 1 and 6 at the end of February 1903. It is instructive to note that this combination, with a capital of $13,250,000, although organised so late as 1901, found it necessary shortly afterwards to go through a reorganisation, whereby its interest charges were reduced. Now it is in the hands of the receiver.

The finances of the United States Steel Corporation enable one to study the combination problem on a large scale. Its capital is great; its resources are also great. If pending negotiations are successful, it will control 85 per cent. of the ore deposits near the head of Lake Superior. It started with great advantages, and it has since been steadily enhancing these by the acquisition of independent properties. Its annual gross earnings are $560,000,000; its net earnings have increased from $84,000,000 during the last nine months of 1901 to

Digitized by Google

$133,000,000 during 1902. In two years and a half it has paid out $146,000,000 in dividends. Constant attention has been paid to the economies of management. When the corporation began to operate, it adopted the plan of the Carnegie Steel Company, whereby all responsibility for manufacturing and output rested upon the subsidiary companies. Comparative data with reference to costs of production and improvements in processes of manufacture in the different plants were accessible to all subsidiary companies. The benefits of competition were thus secured to the company while the waste of competition was obviated. In March 1903 there was a partial change of policy. Three of the constituent companies, the American Steel Hoop Company, the National Steel Company, and the Carnegie Company, were merged with a largely reduced capital—a process which permitted a more economical administration. This foreshadows an organisation in groups, and possibly later a rearrangement whereby the central corporation will become an operating as well as a stockholding company.

Iron and steel manufacture was in an exceedingly prosperous condition in 1902; at the end of that year the Corporation had on its books unfulfilled orders for 5,200,000 tons of steel. Another fact which has contributed to its prosperity is the great activity in railroad construction and improvement. It is estimated that some 16,000 miles of railway, or three times the amount constructed in 1902, were in process of construction during 1903. Approximately one half of the company's output is concerned with railroad supplies.

The supporters of the Steel Corporation claim that its commanding position will enable it through prevision to escape the effects of depression; but there is no reason to believe that it will be exempt from ordinary business conditions. In its capitalisation a large allowance was made for the prospective increase in earning power. The true earning power of the company cannot be determined until it has passed through the lean years as well as the fat. The iron industry is peculiarly susceptible to industrial change. The following table, presenting details with reference to the capitalisation and the stock quotations of sixteen prominent companies during 1902, will show how fluctuating have been their fortunes.

Digitized by Google

Name.	Capital.		Common.		Preferred.	
	Common.	Preferred.	High.	Low.	High.	Low.
	$	$				
American Agr. Chem. . .	16,555,100	16,964,100	32½	21	91	78½
,, Bicycle . . .	17,701,500	9,294,900	8½	½	26½	1½
,, Beet Sugar . .	15,000,000	4,000,000	30	30	..	..
,, Car and Foundry	30,000,000	30,000,000	37⅝	28½	93⅜	85½
,, Cotton Oil . .	20,337,100	10,198,600	57½	30½	99½	86
,, Hide and Leather	11,274,100	12,548,300	13¾	8¾	43½	34½
,, Linseed . . .	16,750,000	16,750,000	28	14	58	39½
,, Smelting and Refining . . .	50,000,000	50,000,000	49⅝	36⅞	100½	87½
,, Sugar	45,000,000	45,000,000	135½	113	122	115
,, Tobacco . . .	54,000,500	14,000,000	..	..	151½	140
,, Woollen . . .	29,501,100	20,000,000	17½	12	80½	73
Distilling Co. of America .	44,620,003	29,563,988	10	4	45	31¾
International Paper. . .	17,442,800	22,539,700	23⅝	16½	77½	70
National Biscuit. . . .	29,286,000	23,835,100	58½	40	109½	101¾
U.S. Steel.	508,495,200	510,314,100	46¾	29¾	97½	79
U.S. Rubber	23,666,000	23,525,500	19⅜	14	64	49½
	929,579,403	838,534,288				

These stocks all range much lower than railway stocks. This is due partly to the fact that the railway securities, having had a longer term of existence, are better established; and partly to the fact that the reorganisations through which the roads have passed have brought their capitals more nearly into harmony with their earning powers. 'The Wall Street Journal Index,' which compares the average prices of twelve active industrials with those of twenty-five railway stocks, shows that during 1902 the industrials ranged from 59 to 68, while the railway stocks varied from 111 to 129. From January to mid-November 1903, the industrials varied from 42 to 67, while the railways varied from 88 to 121. It follows that, during the period covered by this comparison, railway stocks ranged at least fifty points higher than their rivals.

Any consideration of quotations involves the matter of dividends. The following table gives details for the past seven years concerning the dividends paid by the industrial combinations already referred to.*

* Where the dotted line appears in the table it indicates that in the year in question the combination was not in existence. The dash indicates that no dividend was paid in the year in question. The same order is not followed as in the preceding table, as it is desired to give somewhat of the chronology of trust development.

Digitized by Google

Name.	Date of Organisation.	Kind of Stock.	Dividend paid.						
			1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.
U.S. Rubber	1892	com.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		pfd.	8	6	8	8	8	1	—
American Tobacco	1896	com.	6	9	8	7	6	6	9
		pfd.	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
,, Sugar	1896	com.	12	12	12	12	7¾	7	7
		pfd.	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
,, Cotton Oil	1896	com.	—	—	3	4	3½	2	4
		pfd.	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
International Paper	1898	com.	..	..	1	2	—	—	—
		pfd.	..	..	3	6	6	6	6
National Biscuit	1898	com.	..	..	—	1	4	4	4
		pfd.	..	..	5¼	7	7	7	7
American Linseed	1898	com.	..	..	—	—	—	—	—
		pfd.	..	..	—	5¼	5¼	—	—
,, Agr. Chemical	1899	com.	..	..	..	—	—	—	—
		pfd.	..	..	..	—	—	—	—
,, Beet Sugar	1899	com.	..	..	..	—	—	—	—
		pfd.	..	..	..	1½	6	6	6
,, Bicycle	1899	com.	..	..	..	—	—	—	—
		pfd.	..	..	..	—	—	—	—
,, Car and Foundry	1899	com.	..	..	..	—	1	2	2
		pfd.	..	..	..	3½	7	7	7
,, Hide and Leather	1899	com.	..	..	..	—	—	—	—
		pfd.	..	..	..	—	—	—	—
,, Woollen	1899	com.	..	..	..	—	—	—	—
		pfd.	..	..	..	3½	7	7	7
Distilling Co. of America	1899	com.	..	..	..	—	—	—	—
		pfd.	..	..	..	—	—	—	—
U.S. Steel	1901	com.	..	..	..	..	..	2	4
		pfd.	..	..	..	..	..	3½	7

When the details with regard to the capitals and dividends of these companies are studied, it will be found that in 1902 no dividends were paid on $280,000,000 of common and on $80,000,000 of preferred stock. If the capital of the United States Steel Corporation is deducted, on the ground that it has not been long enough in operation for its figures to afford a sound basis of calculation, it will appear that on two thirds of the residue of the common stock no dividend was paid, and that 24 per cent. of the residual preferred paid no dividend. Of the companies quoted, nine paid no dividends on common stock during 1902, and six paid no dividends on preferred. Four companies have paid no dividends on common or preferred stock since the date of their organisation. It would appear, then, that not only in the case of the common stock, which is admittedly speculative, but also in that of the preferred, which represents tangible assets,

Digitized by Google

there has been great difficulty in earning dividends on the capital involved. If the analyses were given in greater detail the results would be still more striking. The census investigation in 1900 shows that 34 of the 185 combinations reporting paid no dividends on their preferred, while 114 paid no dividends on common. This ill-fortune has not, however, befallen the combinations without exception; for American Chicle, the chewing-gum combination, whose capitalisation is based on the possession of a trade-mark, has steadily earned from 5 to 8 per cent. on its common stock, and 6 on its preferred; while Standard Oil, a company of very conservative capitalisation, has made 45 per cent. on its ordinary stock.

Though the dividends paid by the Steel Corporation have exceeded those paid by any similar body, its securities have lately been in an increasingly unsatisfactory condition. The common stock, which went below 30 in 1902 (a fall of almost 50 per cent. from its original quotation), has, during the year 1903, ranged from 39 on February 5 to 10 on November 10. The fortunes of the preferred stock have been equally unsatisfactory. This stock, which ranged from 97⅞ in January 1902 to 79 in December of that year, has, during 1903, gone from 89⅞ on January 7 to 49⅞ on November 10. On the basis of the present market quotations (November 28, 1903) the common stock of the Corporation could be purchased for $55,934,222, or at a discount of 89 per cent., while the preferred could be obtained for $265,363,332, or at a discount of 48 per cent.; in other words, stocks whose par value is in round numbers one billion dollars have a market value of $321,000,000. The prices of steel common are at present lower than those which, during the panic days of 1893, ruled in the case of the common stocks of a number of companies which are now merged in the Steel Corporation. The evil fortunes of the steel securities show also in the quotations of its bonds. While its 5 per cent. bonds were quoted, during the week ending November 10, 1903, at from 62½ to 65, the 4 per cent. bonds of the Denver and Rio Grande, a western railway whose gross income is only about $12,000,000, were selling at 95–96.

The depression in its securities by no means presages the impending bankruptcy of the company. While its

Digitized by Google

net earnings fell off by $7,000,000 in the nine months ending September 1903 as compared with the similar period of the preceding year, and while 1903 will certainly show a further decrease in net as compared with 1902, there is no doubt that these earnings will be considerably in excess of the sum of $100,000,000 which in 1901 Mr J. P. Morgan stated the company would earn—a sum which in 1902 was exceeded by 33 per cent. But, in spite of the facts that the management of the company has been astute, that great diligence and success have been shown in searching out economies of management and manufacture, and that the managerial staff has drawn upon the most expert steel men of the country, there has been an increasing feeling of distrust upon the part of the investing public. The quantity of stock outstanding is so great that it is apt to feel, in greater degree than other stocks, the full effect of any general decline in prices. The stock is lacking in buoyancy. During the strike of its employés in 1901, the Corporation, owing to the fact that the flotation was not completed, supported the market by judicious buying orders. Since the early part of 1902 the firm of J. P. Morgan and Co., which stands for the financial management of the Steel Corporation, has received its profits; consequently this policy has not been repeated. While there has been considerable investment buying, and a considerable amount of the preferred stock has been taken out of the market by the bond conversion plan, this has not, as yet, exerted any appreciable effect. The extent to which the securities are speculative counters may be judged from the fact that in the five weeks ending November 10, 1903, over 4,000,000 steel shares were traded in on the exchanges.

The Steel Corporation has not only been an industrial enterprise manufacturing steel products under very favourable natural conditions and highly skilled management; it has also been a financial enterprise characterised by equally skilled management, earning, through the handling of its securities, profits for an inner circle. While at the outset of the enterprise the investing public either was ignorant of, or paid but little attention to, the extremely large profits being made by an inner circle of financiers, there is now a keen interest in the subject. The profits of the underwriting syndicate have already

Digitized by Google

been indicated (p. 195). In 1902 a further agreement was entered into with a syndicate headed by J. P. Morgan and Co., whereby $200,000,000 of the 7 per cent. preference stock of the company were to be exchanged for the same amount of the company's 5 per cent. bonds, while further $50,000,000 of the bonds were to be sold for cash. Mr J. P. Morgan and some others, who were members of the board of directors which approved this arrangement, were also members of the syndicate. For carrying through this transaction the syndicate was to receive a commission of 4 per cent. The preferential right of the stockholders to turn in preferred stock in exchange for bonds ceased in May 1903; and since that date the conversion has been entirely in the hands of the Morgan syndicate. It was obviously to the interest of the syndicate to 'bear' the stock.

This arrangement has not been profitable to the Steel Corporation. It was intended that $50,000,000 of bonds should be disposed of at par for cash. But, owing to the fact that the bonds were selling for less than par in the market, the stockholders did not purchase the bonds. The syndicate was under obligation to purchase $20,000,000 of bonds at par for cash. When the syndicate was terminated in November, $170,000,000 of bonds, including the $20,000,000 paid for by the syndicate, had been disposed of. On this total amount the syndicate received 4 per cent.; that is to say, the net amount of cash received from the Steel Corporation was $13,200,000. Of course there must be considered the saving in interest accruing from converting a 7 per cent. stock into a 5 per cent. bond.

As soon as the transaction was terminated there was a slight upward movement in the stocks. From the beginning of the company's life down to June 1903, 4 per cent. was paid on the common stock. When in September 1903 the dividend was cut to 2 per cent., it was found that the effect of this had been largely discounted; and at the present quotation the stock continues to pay approximately 20 per cent. on every $100 invested. Even if the dividend is passed in December 1903, it is improbable that the quotation will go any lower. Had the company paid no dividend from the outset, the quotation would probably have been higher than at present. The common stock of the American Locomotive Company, which has paid no dividend from

Digitized by Google

the outset, stands higher than steel common. The reason for the payment of the 4 per cent. dividend on steel common is to be found in a desire to create a speculative demand for this stock at the time when the combination was financed. The American Locomotive Company, while it last year earned 12 per cent. on its common, after paying 7 per cent. on the preferred, applied those earnings to surplus. The dividends paid on steel common have to a considerable extent been paid out of legitimate surplus. Part of the expenditures, which were intended to be met from the cash capital to be created by the sale of the bonds under the syndicate conversion agreement, should more properly have been met out of surplus.

The credit of the steel securities has been affected by general business conditions. When the Corporation was formed, there was much idle boasting with regard to the immunity from the laws of supply and demand which the enterprise would possess; and it was alleged that because of its commanding position it would be able to hold prices steady. But hardly had a cessation of demand manifested itself when a cut in prices became necessary. Early in November 1903, the prices of the leading steel products, with the exception of steel rails, were fixed on a lower basis by the steel pools. The price of steel billets was reduced by $4 per ton in the week ending November 13. As soon as this was known there was a general decline in steel securities. It has been shown that in the face of a curtailed demand reductions in prices are necessary. The plans of the Corporation show that a still greater curtailment in demand is anticipated. So far 25 per cent. of the plants have been closed; and the general output has been reduced by 15 per cent. Five per cent. of the employés have been 'laid off,' and 4 per cent. have been dismissed. The Illinois Steel Company has 'laid off' 3200 men in two weeks. It is expected that, when all the retrenchments are carried through, there will be a reduction in wages of 20 per cent., reductions in salaries of 30 per cent., and economies in plants of 20 per cent. Such a shortening of sail might well be expected to disturb the minds of already anxious stockholders.

The most fundamental of the difficulties of the Steel Corporation is its largely inflated capitalisation. It is this which makes the stocks, under present conditions, slow

Digitized by Google

to rise, quick to fall. Part of the present difficulty is, however, psychological. At first the investing public, accepting promoters' estimates as facts, believed all things; now it is veering to the other extreme, in its scepticism with reference to the values of the securities. Moreover, the company which gained from the prestige of Mr Morgan's name has begun to suffer from the cloud which just now rests on his reputation for financial success. The evil fortunes of the International Mercantile Marine, as well as the thimble-rigging in the United States Shipbuilding Company, in which the audacity of the promoters well-nigh transcends belief, and with which, in spite of his denial, the public has associated Mr. Morgan's name, has depressed the securities of the companies that he has underwritten. Mr Morgan on one occasion expressed the opinion that in the present industrial age statistical deductions from past experience did not count. The promoters of the Steel Corporation prided themselves on the discovery that a skilled centralised management would be able to avoid industrial disturbances and thereby make Mr Carnegie's picturesque phrase, 'steel is either a prince or a pauper,' a relic of the past. It is now entering upon a period of industrial readjustment with an investing public unduly sceptical of its credit.

Industrial combinations offer many opportunities for economy. Production may be regulated; smaller stocks of goods may be carried, which effects a saving in capital charges; standardisation in manufacture and specialisation in machinery are more easily effected; the cost of selling the product is lessened; better control of credit conditions may be obtained; freight charges are reduced. Industrial combinations have been able to effect economies in selling their goods as well as in the cost of operation. The Harvester Combination saves $500,000 a year in its sales department. The United States Shipbuilding Company expected to save largely in its operating expenses. This company also intends to provide its own insurance. The specialisation of machinery has led to great economies in the Steel Corporation, certain plants being set aside for special functions. In the rubber industry 25 per cent. of the cost has been saved by such specialisa-

Digitized by Google

tion. The Whiskey Combination saves over $40,000,000 a year in advertising and pushing trade. The Standard Oil Company has been able to obtain additional profit from the use of its by-products. From these it manufactures products of both commercial and medicinal value. Of medicinal products alone fully two hundred are produced. It is estimated that the by-products are now equal in value to the illuminating oil itself. Great savings are obtained by the elimination of cross freights. The Standard Oil Company supplies the Central West from its refineries near Chicago, and the eastern territory from Bayonne, New Jersey. In this way all reduplication of service is eliminated, as well as the expense consequent upon different plants competing in common territory.

It is a remarkable feature of the industrial combinations that they have obtained control over a large proportion of the total output in their respective lines. To mention but a few examples—the American Can Company controls 85 per cent.; American Sewer-pipe Company, 85 per cent.; American Writing-paper, 76 per cent.; United States Envelope Company, 90 per cent.; United States Steel Corporation, 75 per cent. Mr Rockefeller claims that, while the industrial combination makes profits for its stockholders, it can at the same time furnish lower-priced commodities. But when the consumer sees such a large percentage of the product of the industry under the control of a combination, he questions the likelihood of a reduction in price. The different combinations, whether formal or informal, have fixed prices. The packers of Missouri have fixed beef prices weekly. Meat dealers who endeavoured to buy elsewhere at lower prices have been boycotted. The Sash and Door Combination and the National Mirror Manufacturers' Association fix prices in their respective industries. In the matter of insurance, the fire and factory rates in the west and south are fixed by two combinations, embracing eighty-two companies with a capital of $70,000,000; while in New York City fire insurance rates are fixed by the Fire Insurance Exchange. Since 1895 the price of crude oil has been fixed by the Standard Oil Company. The company claims that the price of oil on the oil exchanges, being subject to manipulation, is a price fixed by speculative

Digitized by Google

conditions, and therefore not a true measure of the general level of prices; accordingly it offers, to quote its own words, a price 'as high as the markets of the world will justify.' The prices of iron ores on the great lakes are fixed by the Bessemer and Non-Bessemer Associations. The Wholesale Druggists' Association maintains the prices on proprietary medicines by refusing to handle goods sold by wholesale traders who cut prices. The various bicycle repair stores are controlled by state bicycle boards which fix prices. A first offence in the way of cutting prices is punishable by fine; the second by dismissal from the association, which means that the offenders will find practically all the bicycle jobbing houses shut against them. Ephemeral combinations for the purpose of fixing prices, such as the recent peppermint corner in Michigan, are innumerable.

The control of 85 per cent. of the iron ore available for the eastern field gives the United States Steel Corporation a commanding position. It is also endeavouring to kill off some of the smaller 'independents.' The Tube companies which would not accept the price offered them when the Shelby Tube Company was purchased, had to face in November 1902 a sharp cut in prices intended to drive them from the field. Of the larger companies, one independent after another has been acquired. The Jones and Laughlin Company and the Lackawanna Company are now the only important independents remaining that control their own ore supplies; and negotiations for the purchase of the former are under way, the only obstacle being apparently the price demanded.

The combinations have subsidised plants to be idle, or have placed them on part time, thereby controlling production. Such is part of the policy of the Sugar Combination. In 1900, 120 plants of those covered by the census investigation were idle. To meet threatened competition, the prices of oil, salt, sugar, and baking-powder have been made to vary from place to place, regardless of the question of cost of carriage. Competition in these as well as in the packing industry in Missouri has been stifled by cut-throat warfare.

The power to fix prices gives the power to raise them. The fire insurance rates in New York, allowing for risks, have been raised between 200 and 300 per cent. In

Digitized by Google

California the price of salt has been increased 400 per cent. by the Salt Combination. The informal organisation which fixes the price of 'Paris Green' has sometimes doubled the price at the beginning of the potato-bug season. The American Steel and Wire Company raised the price of its products. A combination of the orange-growers of California, with a view to raising prices, the upper limit being fixed by foreign competition, is now being arranged. Those actively engaged in the combinations admit that prices are manipulated to meet competition. Mr Havemeyer, of the Cane-sugar Combination, claims that the consumer benefits by the reduction in price during the competitive fight. If competitors are driven out, the losses are compensated by higher prices. Normally it is the policy to keep the price of sugar as high as possible without attracting extra competition.

Apologists for the combinations lay great stress on potential competition as an effective regulator of prices. Undoubtedly it is true that, within certain limits, potential competition determines the maximum of price. The Arbuckle Brothers, who are engaged in the coffee business, found that the style of package used by them in the sale of coffee could be profitably used in retailing sugar. This, coupled with the profits obtained in sugar, has led them to enter on a competition which, notwithstanding an attempt by the Cane-sugar Combination to retaliate by selling coffee below cost, has continued. Again, the success of the National Biscuit Company has called a new competitor into the field. Still, the greater the amount of capital in the business, the less power has potential competition to regulate prices, except in cases where the advantages of combination are not commensurate with the capitalisation.

On the whole, it is safe to say that the combinations whose commanding position depends simply upon capitalistic organisation, as distinct from the control of raw material, are subject to potential competition. But when the combination is based on a natural monopoly—a condition substantially presented by the Standard Oil Company and the United States Steel Corporation—or where the process is protected by a patent; or where the combination has succeeded in developing some trade-mark—as, for example, in the case of the Chewing-gum Combina-

Digitized by Google

tion—potential competition is ruled out. The determination of price will then depend on two factors. The first of these—to quote a phrase from railway-rate making—may be called charging what the traffic will bear, i.e. the price will be fixed at a point which will give the maximum return; the second factor, substitution, will be effective in so far as some other article, which may be used in place of the monopolised article, and, because of higher cost, does not ordinarily compete with it, may become an effective competitor when the price-level is raised.

Industrial combinations have power to fix prices and to raise them. The Iron and Steel Combinations formed in the period 1898–1900 were able, through combination, to keep prices higher than cost of production warranted. Similar conditions apply in sugar, although sugar prices have been subject to fluctuations. The Standard Oil Company has controlled the price of crude oil, and has been able to retain for itself the greater part of the economies of production, thus increasing the margin of profits, and not allowing the price to follow automatically the reduced cost. From the outset the United States Steel Corporation has kept steel rails at $28 per ton. It is true that at this figure a large profit has been obtained; but at the same time it has not been the policy of the Corporation to push prices to the top notch, though the demand has been largely in excess of the supply. The ability of the Corporation to maintain prices in the face of a falling demand is now to be tested.

Attorney-General Knox, whose speech at Pittsburg in October 1902 represents the position of the Federal Administration, sums up the noxious features of combinations as lack of publicity of operation, discrimination in prices to destroy competition, and insufficient personal responsibility of officers and directors. The serious features of the situation are, (1) the rate-cutting campaigns whereby the combinations destroy local competition, at the same time maintaining prices unchanged in other parts of the country; (2) the possibility of manipulation of capital. As has been seen, the only limit to about one half the capital stock of the industrial combinations is the judgment of the promoter. Mr Rockefeller, in his plea for combinations, makes a qualified admission that a combination might be used for speculative purposes.

Digitized by Google

The stigma of the practice, which he admits as a possibility, attaches, as a fact, to one of the high officials of a steel company which has since entered the Steel Combination. In an application made to Vice-Chancellor Pitney, of New Jersey, in the early part of August 1903, for a receiver for the Universal Tobacco Company, it was alleged that the shares of the company had been trafficked in, by direction of the president of the company, with a view to impairing its financial standing. The desire for centralised management gives the directors a great control over the minority stockholders. The charter of the Federal Steel Company provided that the directors were to have power to elect additional directors in the intervals between stockholders' meetings. The amended charter of the Steel Corporation gives the board of directors discretionary power to determine and vary the amount of working capital of the company, and to determine whether, and to what extent, the books are to be open to stockholders. In some combinations—for example, in the Standard Oil Company—the management is really in the hands of a blind pool, there being scarcely a pretence of opening the books to the scrutiny of the stockholders.

The introduction of the newer forms of combination with their enormous capitals, which began about 1898, has drawn attention to the regulation of capitalisation. Of the numerous proposals brought forward in Congress during the last two years with a view to the regulation of combinations, it may, in a broad way, be said that the Republican measures have concerned themselves with capitalisation, while the Democratic measures have looked to price-regulation. In the discussions which have taken place, the tendency in favour of placing the large business corporations under a national corporation law, and subjecting them to franchise taxes, has become more concrete. The Industrial Commission has recommended that there should be, to use the phrase of Mr J. B. Dill, 'public publicity'; that is, that the promoters should clearly inform the investing public, when securities are placed on the market, as to the organisation, property, or services for which the securities are used; and that, further, the certificate of incorporation should specify what powers of control are placed in the hands of the directors.

Digitized by Google

Notwithstanding the many radical measures, in respect of trust regulation, brought forward during 1902, the outcome of the session of Congress 1902–3 was a conservatively practical programme. The difficulty of regulation has been increased by the fact that the combinations have operated under state charters; New Jersey charters have been preferred, on account of the lax supervision and excessively liberal treatment provided by the laws of that state. There has been doubt as to the control existing in regard to such charters. Then again, while it has been judicially determined that the power of Congress extends to inter-state commerce, it has also been reaffirmed that the power with regard to manufacture rests with the state. Some of the proposed remedial measures introduced in Congress made intention to engage in inter-state commerce the criterion—a manifestly futile device.

The earlier decision in the Federal Salt case, as well as the more recent and more important decision in the Northern Securities Merger case, reaffirms that all powers conferred by state charters are subordinate to the provisions of the Federal laws regulating inter-state commerce. These decisions are the outcome of the more vigorous enforcement of anti-trust legislation, which the activity of Attorney-General Knox has freed from its former atmosphere of cynical indifference. The next phase of the regulative policy of the Administration is concerned with the provision constituting the Bureau of Corporations as one of the divisions of the new Department of Commerce. This bureau has received supervisory power over corporations; and its chief is authorised to investigate the details of inter-state corporation management; to report to the President information which may be used as a basis for further regulation by statute; and, at the direction of the Secretary of Commerce, to publish information concerning the corporations. What limitations are to be set on the powers so conferred, the Act does not say. It places an extremely wide discretion in the hands of the President and the head of the new department. The limits of these powers may yet depend upon judicial construction. The last effort of legislation to regulate trusts is to be seen in the Elkins Law, whereby rebating and the granting of special privileges is forbidden under more drastic penalties than before.

Digitized by Google

Notwithstanding the fact that Mr Havemeyer alleged that the tariff was the mother of trusts, the Republican party has insisted upon regarding the evils of combinations as dependent upon domestic conditions. President Roosevelt, when speaking on the trust question in Milwaukee on April 3, 1903, said that tariff revision as a cure for trusts was to be placed among the projects

'so obviously futile that it is somewhat difficult to treat it seriously. Put an end, if you will, to the prosperity of the trusts by putting an end to the prosperity of the nation.'

While the tariff has helped in developing diversified production, it has become, in its present form, well-nigh a fetish to the Republican party. The President, relying upon the opinion of Professor Jenks of Cornell University, who is his leading adviser on the trust question, contends that a revision of the tariff with a view to regulating the trusts would be prejudicial to the smaller business interests; but the pertinency of such a position in regard to the steel industry, in its present condition, is hard to see. At the same time the argument is popular. Those who feel that their interests are bound up with the retention of the present tariff schedules are afraid that any tariff revision will endanger their advantages. For example, the fruit-growers of California find their market in the eastern states. The disadvantage which the Californian producer suffers, on account of the long distance by rail to the market, in competition with the European producer, causes the former to rely upon a protective tariff. The proposal, therefore, to regulate the trusts through a reduction of the tariff, finds little acceptance in California, because of the further consequences which are feared. At present the revision of the tariff, with a view to regulating the trusts, is pushed into the background by the fact that the prosperity of the country does not permit domestic industry to supply entirely some departments of the home demand. About two years ago there was a proposal in the Central West that the duties on trust-produced goods should be lowered. The schism in the Republican party which led to this proposal, known, from the state in which it was most ardently advocated, as the 'Iowa idea,' has temporarily disappeared. A time of depression will bring

Digitized by Google

it again to the front. But even this will not, on account of the disintegrated condition of the Democrats, work as much harm to the Republicans as might be anticipated.

The Republican party insists on regarding the industrial combination as a phenomenon of domestic origin; and, consequently, it devotes its attention to anti-trust legislation, and to the prohibition of illicit favours by the railways—favours which, for example, have admittedly been largely responsible for the rapid growth of the Standard Oil Company. It has further to be recognised that the Republicans, as a party, except in the farming states of the Central West, have not been thoroughly in earnest in regard to trust regulation. This is due partly to the fear of anything affecting the stability of the present tariff schedules, and partly to the conservatism which comes with continued power. When President Roosevelt, in his annual message for 1901, said,

'In the interest of the whole people the nation should, without interfering with the powers of the States in the matter, itself also assume powers of supervision and regulation over corporations doing an inter-state business,'

he forced upon the leaders of the Republican party the necessity of giving the matter a more than perfunctory attention. The outcome of this has been the legislation whose main features have already been summarised. It is due to the spirit which the President has brought into the Republican councils that a perpetual injunction has been obtained from the Supreme Court against six of the principal packing companies, restraining them from combining to raise prices in inter-state trade; that the action in the Northern Securities case was instituted, and that the cotton pool in the southern states was terminated. The energetic enforcement of the anti-trust law, which Attorney-General Knox, under direction from the President, has carried on, may be relied upon to improve conditions in regard to price manipulation. The decisions he has obtained have shown that the law possesses much more virtue than was supposed. The decision in the Northern Securities case—which, though it has not yet been confirmed by the Supreme Court, may be taken as substantially final since it was a unanimous decision of Circuit Court of Appeals—has stated that a corpora-

Digitized by Google

tion or corporations may not accomplish, by subterfuge of law, through a holding company, an elimination of competition which is forbidden by the anti-trust law.

It might seem that this presaged the termination of the holding-company type of industrial combination. But the industrial combination is much less vulnerable than the railway, since it is both an organisation engaged in manufacture, and as such subject to the laws of the state in which it may be situated, and an organisation engaged in inter-state commerce, under which form alone it is subject to the regulation of the Federal government. One great service performed by the enforcement of anti-trust legislation has been that it has drawn attention to its existing imperfections. The older and more thoroughly competitive organisation is giving way in some departments of industry to a monopolistic, or, perhaps, with more exactness, quasi-monopolistic, organisation of business. The law will have to recognise this. Anti-trust legislation requires amendment. Instead of following the more rational policy of the common law in exempting such combinations as are not unreasonable, it prohibits all combinations in restraint of trade. It is in the interest of the public that such combinations as are beneficial should continue. The mere fact of combination is not the final matter.

One further feature of the probable future movement for the regulation of industrial combinations demands attention. The constitution confers explicit authority on Congress to regulate inter-state commerce; but there has arisen the anomalous condition that charters to corporations organised for inter-state trade, even when, as in the case of New Jersey, they only nominally carry on business in the state in which they are chartered, are granted by the individual states and territories. If there is to be any symmetry in the policy of regulation, there must be a further expansion of the powers of the Federal government at the expense of those of the states; and a national corporation law, under which all industrial enterprises engaged in inter-state commerce will be chartered, and to whose provisions they will be subject, will be the result.

There was a time when it was feared that the com-

Digitized by Google

bination movement would come to embrace all industry. It is now recognised that it is industries concerned with products capable of standardisation, large capitals, or popular trade-marks, that are fitted for combination; that the possession of a patent confers too ephemeral an advantage to create a combination of long continuance; and that, outside these, there still remains a wide field of industrial activity. As a further corrective, it must be recognised that capital is increasing much more rapidly than the highest types of managing ability. The single plants can more readily obtain the requisite type of executive ability than the large massed industry.

On the financial side the industrial combination is still on trial. So recently as two years ago no promoter's estimate was too roseate to be unacceptable to the investing public. A reaction has now set in; and the greater discrimination exercised by the investor is seen in the changing values of many of the industrial stocks.

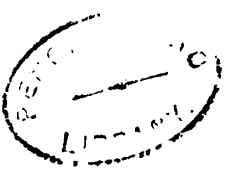
The combination system will continue, but it will have to adjust itself to less prosperous times. Notwithstanding its manifest economies, it has not, in the majority of cases, shown that the great expectations of the economies of operation, as capitalised in its common stock, have been justified. It is safe to say that within the next five years 25 per cent. of the combinations now existing will be occupied with the readjustment of their finances. The industrial efficiency of the combinations has now to be tested under less favourable conditions. Attention has been drawn to the fact that some of the combinations have sold commodities abroad at prices below those of the home market. Such a practice is, however, no departure from the general methods of export trade. During the period from 1893 to 1897, before the great consolidation movement began, some manufacturers were able, by cutting their prices, to participate in European prosperity. The profits of this trade, although small, enabled them to keep their heads above water.

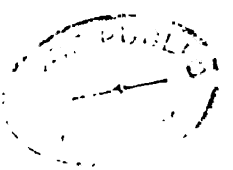
The combinations are now beginning to look to the foreign trade. The Steel Corporation, which has hitherto found the home demand more than sufficient, has now created a special department which, it is expected, will develop an export trade of $125,000,000 per annum which

Digitized by Google

will give a profit of 8 per cent. The reductions in wages, already referred to, will assist in the development of this trade. In some lines, e.g. the manufacture of tin-plate, the workmen have for some time been working on a lower wage schedule for export trade. Moreover, the railways agreed, in November 1903, to reduce the export rates on steel by one-third. A similar reduction has been made on steel rails, though it has not yet been officially published. In pushing the foreign trade the Corporation feels that the home market will be guaranteed to it by the tariff, and it will dispose of its surplus in foreign markets at whatever prices may be necessary to meet foreign competition. On a steel-rail contract at present pending in Canada the Corporation is willing to go below $22 per ton. Even at this figure it would have net earnings of $8·33 per ton. It has sold steel rails recently in Korea and in Japan at $20 per ton. For the present it is able, on account of the tariff, to hold the price at $28 per ton in the home market. It is also largely increasing its exports of steel wire to Australia. The other combinations will also be able to make their competition felt. What the ultimate effects will be, it is impossible to determine; but it is probable that, owing to the readjustment which European industries have been going through, the onslaught of this second 'American invasion' will be felt less in the home markets than in the trade of those outlying countries which Europe has hitherto regarded as its own.

S. J. McLean.





Digitized by Google

Art. IX.—MR CREEVEY AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

1. *The Creevey Papers. A selection from the Correspondence and Diaries of the late Thomas Creevey, M.P.* Edited by the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart., M.P. Two vols. London: Murray, 1903.
2. *Une Vie d'Ambassadrice au Siècle Dernier, la Princesse de Lieven.* Par Ernest Daudet. Paris: Plon, 1903.
3. *The Unreformed House of Commons.* By Edward Porritt. Two vols. Cambridge: University Press, 1903.
4. *Charles James Fox. A Political Study.* By J. L. Le B. Hammond. London: Methuen, 1903.
5. *George Canning and his Times. A Political Study.* By J. A. R. Marriott, M.A. London: Murray, 1903.
6. *Personal Reminiscences of the Duke of Wellington.* By Francis, first Earl of Ellesmere. Edited by his daughter Alice, Countess of Strafford. London: Murray, 1903.

THE Creevey Papers have a special value of their own. They derive their importance, not from the high rank or political eminence of the writer, but rather from his want of both. To judge from Sir Herbert Maxwell's introduction, he could hardly have known who was his grandfather. His friend Dr Currie, indeed, avowed that he was an officer in the army; but Sir Herbert Maxwell throws considerable doubt on the trustworthiness of the doctor's evidence. Creevey speaks of Ireland as his native land; but with this exception he is silent on the subject of his origin. He was returned to the House of Commons in 1802 for the borough of Thetford, a seat belonging to the Duke of Norfolk; but by what means he secured the Duke's patronage we are left to conjecture. He was evidently a man gifted with an exceptional power of climbing, and, being blessed with a satirical genius and a pretty turn of invective, he may have been thought a useful recruit by a weak and disheartened Opposition.

Creevey married in 1803 a widow, Mrs Ord, whose income ceased at her death (1818). He was then, says Greville,

'thrown upon the world with about 200*l.* a year, or less, no home, few connections, a great many acquaintances, a

Digitized by Google

good constitution, and extraordinary spirits. He possesses nothing but his clothes, no property of any sort; he leads a vagrant life, visiting a number of people who are delighted to have him, and sometimes roving about to various places, as fancy happens to direct, and staying till he has spent what money he has in his pocket. He has no servant, no home, no creditors; he buys everything as he wants it at the place he is at; he has no ties upon him, and has his time entirely at his own disposal and that of his friends. He is certainly a living proof that a man may be perfectly happy and exceedingly poor, or rather without riches; for he suffers none of the privations of poverty, and enjoys many of the advantages of wealth. I think he is the only man I know in society who possesses nothing.' (Memoirs, i, 240.)

What lends additional interest to this chronicle of Vanity Fair is the fact that the writer was one who, without either birth or wealth or fame to recommend him, mounted easily into the highest circles of society, more exclusive then than now, and was received on terms of perfect equality by all the leading ladies on that brilliant stage. Whether Creevey ever expected high office from his party we should think is doubtful. His diary and correspondence at all events betray no sense of responsibility. There is in them none of the usual reticence, reserve, or self-restraint, such as we generally find in diaries and letters of men who have either held, or think themselves likely to hold, important public situations. Creevey poured forth all he felt on the spur of the moment with a freedom for which we must consider ourselves in great measure indebted to his subordinate position. He is a perfect specimen of the thorough-going party man who knows no rule of conduct but the interest of the political group with which he is connected, and no higher object than to dish his opponents; with whom statesmen are villains or patriots according as they fall in with this conception of public duty, and deserve each epithet in turn at different points of their career. He says himself, after two years' experience of Parliament, that,

'as a private of a party, there is nothing so fatal to public principle, or one's own private respect and consequence, as acting for oneself upon great questions. I am more passionately attached every day to Party' (i, 25).

Digitized by Google

These words were written the day after a debate in the House of Commons on the administration of the Admiralty, in which Pitt and Fox joined in an attack upon the Government. Creevey thought Fox in the wrong, but said that the 'incomparable Charley' must give many wrong votes before he (Creevey) could bring himself to vote either against him or not with him. Mr Hammond, in his 'Life of Fox,' adopts much the same tone on public affairs as Creevey; and his account of Fox's earlier career is well worth reading, even when we cannot agree with him. But we know of no political memoirs or correspondence in which party spirit is so frankly confessed or brought out in such glaring colours as in the papers left behind him by the honourable member for Thetford. There is no disguise, no mistake, no timidity about Creevey. Grey and Grenville are two wretches; Wellesley and Canning are villains and madmen; Brougham is Beelzebub; Eldon and Wellington deserve hanging. It is quite obvious that through effusions of this kind one gets glimpses into the inner life of parties, and the passions and ambitions by which they are from time to time actuated, which we could obtain in no other way. If you want to know the truth about a family, you must go to the servants' hall; and if you would know the truth about a faction, you must go to such talkers as Creevey.

Creevey, as we have seen, began life as a Whig, and professed to fight under Lord Grey's banner. But he soon became a member of the 'Mountain,' as the Radicals now styled themselves—those who repudiated the Tierneys and Ponsonbys, and regarded Whitbread as their real leader. Their attitude towards Lord Grey was much the same as that of Bright, Cobden, Milner Gibson, Stuart Mill, etc., towards Lord Palmerston. Creevey, of course, was systematically opposed to the Tories, but he was always on the alert to get a shot at the Whigs as well, and their conduct on several occasions brought them within range of his weapon. During the whole of his parliamentary career he had good sport; and we scarcely doubt that he was perfectly well satisfied with the snug little berths bestowed on him, though they left him in the back row. We meet with few or no allusions in either his diary or his letters to the great principles at stake in the party

Digitized by Google

struggles of the day. Perhaps he was too near to them to realise their full significance.

Without this sketch of the man himself our readers would scarcely appreciate much that follows, or be able to determine the value of his testimony where it differs from such chroniclers as Croker, Greville, Lord Colchester, and a host of others who have travelled over the same ground. The quarter of a century during which Creevey was in Parliament embraced the two most important decades of the nineteenth century. Our life-and-death struggle with France, the trial of the Queen, Roman Catholic Emancipation, and Parliamentary Reform, stirred a depth of feeling in the public mind which has never, during the last seventy years, been reached a second time. Creevey himself said that the three great events with which, in the course of his life, he had been mixed up were the battle of Waterloo, the trial of Queen Caroline, and the struggle over Reform. But these are by no means the only incidents of which it is instructive to compare his version with the accounts given by the three writers we have named.

There is, to begin with, the ministerial crisis which ensued on the death of Perceval. When this took place, the Prince Regent commissioned Lord Wellesley to form a new administration. Lord Wellesley at once betook himself to Canning; and it was agreed that Canning should apply to Lord Liverpool, and Wellesley to Grey and Grenville. Lord Liverpool declined at once, his difficulty being the Catholic Question. Grey and Grenville had no objection of that kind, but they were not satisfied with the four cabinet seats allotted to their party. Then the Prince Regent offered them a majority of three. They replied that 'they could not join a cabinet constructed on the principle of counteraction—inconsistent with the prosecution of any uniform or beneficial policy.' But this was a mere excuse. Creevey throws out no hint of the real reason why Grey and Grenville declined. Canning's speech in the House of Commons, on May 12, 1812, should have opened his eyes, if he did not keep them shut on purpose—as there is some reason to believe that he did—since the Whigs themselves were very unwilling to let the truth be known. 'They were in-

Digitized by Google

clined,' says Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, 'to take advantage of every presentable ground for repudiating the advances made to them unless they received a direct and unlimited authority for forming an administration.'* The fact that the King had appointed the Prime Minister, in violation of the Whig doctrine which required that the sovereign should empower the party to choose the Prime Minister themselves, was at the bottom of their refusal. 'I was assured by Mr Canning,' says Stapleton, who was his private secretary, 'that this was the real but unavowed cause of the breaking off of these negotiations.' It is important to remember this in connexion with what happened in 1827. When applied to afterwards by Lord Moira, Lords Grey and Grenville found another pretext for not taking office, in the Prince's refusal to dismiss his household. Creevey, whose 1200*l.* a year began to recede into the dim distance, naturally thought they were quite wrong. Sir George Cornewall Lewis seems to have thought so too. But Sir Robert Peel, in 1839, defended his own demand for a change in the Queen's household by quoting the example of Lords Grey and Grenville.

Late in 1814 Creevey went with his family to Brussels, and remained abroad for nearly six years. During this period the letters and correspondence contain much that is exceedingly interesting concerning the French war, Napoleon, and the battle of Waterloo; much also about English politics and public men, and, after the death of the Princess Charlotte, about the succession to the Crown. In 1815, while Creevey was in Brussels, Croker was in Paris; and their journals of this date should be read together. The Duke of Wellington seems to have known what was going on in Paris better than Croker. When he first arrived in Brussels, he told Creevey he thought there would be no fighting; that a republic would be proclaimed at Paris; and that Bonaparte would be got rid of in a few weeks. When Croker was in Paris Lord Castlereagh told him what he had heard from Fouché, namely, that before Napoleon left Elba a Jacobin conspiracy existed in Paris, the object of which was to establish a republic—to have 'neither king nor emperor.' This plot came to the knowledge of

* 'Administrations of Great Britain, 1783–1830.'

Digitized by Google

Napoleon, 'who resolved, with the assistance of his military friends, to take advantage of the mine against the King which the conspirators had laid.' Croker says he does not believe a word of this story. But Creevey's report of the Duke of Wellington's conversation is a strong confirmation of it; and Greville also notes that in Napoleon's absence a spirit of liberty had sprung up in France which would have made a restoration of the imperial despotism impossible.

The Duke thought that he and Blücher would be able to 'do the business,' as he termed it, by themselves. Pointing one day to a private soldier of an English infantry regiment, he said to Creevey, 'It all depends on that article whether we do the business or not. Give me enough of it, and I am sure.' Creevey's account of the state of Brussels between the fifteenth and the eighteenth of June shows with what marvellous truth Thackeray drew his picture of it in 'Vanity Fair.' Creevey was an eye-witness, Thackeray only wrote from what he heard and read; yet the dismay among English residents and holiday-makers in Brussels, their precipitate flight, and the scenes of undignified confusion and panic which accompanied it, can never, says the editor, be more truthfully or vividly depicted than in the pages of 'Vanity Fair.' No wonder that the Waterloo number of the story made its fortune, and placed its popularity and success, till then a little uncertain, beyond all doubt.

The chapters relating to the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, are among the most instructive in the whole book; for they reveal a heartlessness, a duplicity, and a selfishness in some of the principal personages concerned which have never been exposed in so clear a light before. It was the object of the 'Mountain' and, no doubt, of some of their august friends as well, to keep the Princess in England as a standing example before the public eye of royal and ministerial injustice. The transactions which took place on this subject lie partly in the years 1813–14 and partly in 1820. Greville's Journal does not begin till after the first-mentioned year; and Croker does not seem to have been aware of the Whig-Radical intrigue, at least he says nothing about it. In Lord Colchester's diary there is a full account of all the proceedings taken in

Digitized by Google

1813, and of the different sums proposed in 1814 as an allowance to the Princess.

In the latter year the Princess frequently expressed a wish to go abroad; and, as an inducement to her to carry out this intention, the Government proposed to increase her allowance, from the 35,000*l.* a year which had just been voted, to 50,000*l.* This offer was at first accepted. The 'Mountain' was aghast. 'Brougham,' says Whitbread, in a letter to Creevey (July 1), 'was in convulsions.' They urged the Princess of Wales to decline this 'insidious offer'; and Brougham adopted a device for enlisting her daughter, the Princess Charlotte, on the same side, which Creevey considers 'the most brilliant move in the campaign.' He told her that, if her mother left England, a divorce would inevitably take place; a second marriage would follow, and then her title to the throne would vanish. 'This has had an effect upon the young one almost magical.' Brougham had previously tried a kindred argument with the elder lady. He had warned her of the spies and lies which could be used abroad to get up a case against her, and could not be so used in England; but, not making the impression he hoped for on the mother, he turned his attention to the daughter. We hear nothing as yet of Beelzebub or Mr Wickedshifts, the names by which Creevey afterwards distinguished this adroit strategist; he is now only a man of 'profound resource.' Yet, after all, though he may have deserved success, he did not command it. The Princess of Wales, who at first accepted the offer of an increased income, afterwards declined it on the ground suggested by the artful counsellor at her elbow; and she was instructed by Brougham to send a letter to the Speaker declaring that she had only accepted the increase in the belief of its being an earnest of a new system of treatment, but now she 'finds that she and the offer and all have been wholly misconstrued and that her conduct has been supposed to proceed from an unworthy compromise.' This perhaps is the letter delivered by Whitbread to the Speaker on July 5, 1814, and by him read out to the House, declining the addition to her income. Though Abbot, in his Diary, does not mention Brougham's name, the letter would probably be transmitted through the leader of the Princess's party. But the joke is that these

Digitized by Google

clever tactics failed after all. On August 9, just a month afterwards, we find that the Princess had 'bolted.' The hopes of the Opposition were again dashed to the ground. Brougham attributed the fiasco chiefly to Whitbread though, as Sir Herbert says, 'unjustly, as far as one can see.' On the above date Brougham writes to Creevey :—

'Sam is incurable; all this devilry of Canning and Mrs P. [the Princess] bolting, etc. is owing to his damned conceit in making her give up the 15,000*l.* of *himself* without saying a word to anyone' (i, 204).

Whitbread's share in the disaster we are not in a position to explain. Canning's 'devilry'—the share, that is, ascribed to him by Lord Brougham in persuading the Princess to leave England—is described in Brougham's Memoirs. The charge there brought against Canning is that he 'sold' the Princess. No doubt it was by his advice that she left England and thus robbed the Radicals of the choicest weapon in their armoury. But Brougham asserts that Canning was directly employed by the Government for this very purpose, and that his price was the Lisbon embassy, worth 14,000*l.* a year. This is what Creevey, of course, repeats. He was delighted with the suggestion. It was not his nature to enquire into the truth of such assertions. If they fell in with his humour at the moment, they were true; if not, they were false. In this instance he seems to have swallowed Brougham's suggestion at once; though there is really nothing whatever to support it but the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* argument, which, standing by itself, is worthless. Canning's speech on the Lisbon embassy is a flat contradiction of it; but it is an admirable specimen of the 'sweatmeats,' as Captain MacTurk calls them, which were concocted by the 'Mountain' and the friends and allies of the 'Mountain,' of which Creevey was now a leading member. Brougham himself, in defending his advocacy of Caroline, takes the high tone, and says much of his sympathy with injured innocence and a persecuted female. But he lets the cat out of the bag when, in the same passage (vol. ii, p. 284), he admits that a leading motive with the Whigs was their desire to take vengeance on the Prince for his ill-treatment of themselves. Were we to analyse all that they said about his conjugal

Digitized by Google

wickedness, 'the desertion of his former friends' would be found at the bottom of it.

The second act of the Caroline drama, in many respects a repetition of the first, opens with the death of George III (Jan. 1820), when the Princess of Wales became Queen of England. Now the plot thickens. Creevey at this precise moment was out of Parliament, but he was kept thoroughly well informed of all that was going on. And he is 'all there.' He seems by this time to have become suspicious of his old ally who had invented the pretty story about the Lisbon embassy, and to have surmised, what was the truth, that Brougham was fighting for his own hand. These altered feelings first begin to show themselves in 1821, just before and after the Queen's death. There was abundant ground for them. In fact, such a case of double-dealing has rarely been brought to light. If, however, any part of Creevey's distrust is to be ascribed to Brougham's employment of the Queen as a catspaw to pick out the chestnuts for his party, and, above all, for himself, it is only another instance of the pot and the kettle. But what Creevey evidently dreaded was Brougham's suspected readiness at any moment to make his peace with the Government and leave the 'Mountain' in the lurch.

Owing to rumours of the Princess's behaviour on the Continent, a commission had been issued in 1818 to collect such evidence as might afford ground for a divorce. But there were strong objections against proceeding to extremities; and in June 1819 Lord Brougham, of his own accord, and without the knowledge of the Princess, suggested to Lord Liverpool that an arrangement should be proposed by which her allowance of 35,000*l.* a year should be secured to her for life, instead of terminating with the demise of the Crown, on condition that she undertook to remain permanently abroad and 'never assume the rank or title of Queen of England.' Brougham knew well enough that this proposal would be welcome to the Government, and equally distasteful to his client; so, when Lord Liverpool accepted it, what did he do? In the following September he desired the Princess to meet him at Lyons, for the purpose, as was supposed, of communicating this proposal. But he never went; and no consultation ever took place between them on the

Digitized by Google

settlement suggested. It was not Brougham's object to keep the lady away from England, though he pretended as much to Lord Liverpool; and, in the following year, after George III's death, when Lord Liverpool in turn made a similar offer to Brougham, only increasing the proposed allowance to 50,000*l.* a year, Brougham neither communicated the proposal to Queen Caroline nor informed the Government that he had not done so. In the following June he met the Queen at St Omer, when she was first informed by Lord Hutchinson of the terms offered her, which, by Brougham's advice, she promptly rejected. Not another word is necessary. Brougham had gained his end. He had shown himself willing to assist the Government, while defeating the very object for which they had accepted his aid.

It may be thought that whatever service he had rendered by acting as ambassador for the Government would be more than cancelled by his subsequent defence of the Queen. But Brougham had two strings to his bow; and the situation had somewhat changed since he saw Lord Liverpool. When the Queen arrived in this country she was received with boundless enthusiasm. Public opinion ran so strongly in her favour that it was thought likely to overthrow the Government. 'The town,' says Greville in October 1820, 'is still in an uproar about the trial, and nobody has any doubt that it will finish by the Bill being thrown out and the ministers turned out.' About a month afterwards Madame de Lieven writes to her brother: 'We are not near settling with the Queen. If she is whitewashed the Radicals will triumph; if she is found guilty they will bring about a revolution.' Brougham had hedged, as he thought, by his offer to Liverpool. But he now thought his better chance lay in the opposite direction. Creevey says, 'this blackguard, foolish war with the Queen will eventually ruin the ministers and produce some great change in the House of Commons.' The wish was father to the thought. It is impossible to read Creevey's letters on this subject without recognising the perfect truth of what both Greville and Croker say upon the subject. 'It is taken up as a party question entirely,' says the one. 'The Queen now saw,' says the other, 'that her cause had been taken up by the Whigs chiefly to suit their own

Digitized by Google

purposes.' 'This business,' the Queen herself wrote, 'has been more cared for as a political affair than as the cause of a poor forlorn woman.' (Croker, i, 180.)

After the Bill was withdrawn, public feeling began rapidly to subside. Brougham began to see that the game was up. 'You never saw such a change in any person as in Brougham,' writes Creevey in February 1821. 'He is involved in the deepest thought and apparently chagrin.' Yes, the conspiracy had failed. 'The profit,' says Sir Herbert, 'which the "Mountain" had been waiting so long and impatiently to derive from the return of Queen Caroline turned to ashes in their hands.' Creevey, as much disappointed as the rest, was bound to be angry with somebody, and he now turns fiercely upon Brougham, who deserves all he says, though whether Creevey was the man to say it may perhaps be thought doubtful.

Immediately after the Queen's death he writes, in a letter to Miss Ord:—

'Nothing in my mind could be so calculated to injure this poor woman as the extraordinary overture made by Brougham to the Government in 1819. It seems that, at his request, or by his direction, the Queen came from Italy to Lyons in the autumn of that year for the sole purpose of meeting Brougham there, to consult with him upon her situation; but, forsooth! "he could not go—he was *busy*." This is all the excuse he makes for himself; and then he seems to think it odd she was very angry at this disappointment. He admits, likewise, that on this occasion she became very ill. So he was to have gone to her at Milan in the Easter of 1820, as you know he told me, when he asked me to go with him. . . . But he never mentioned having so lately brought the poor woman to Lyons for nothing. When I recall to mind how often, during our journey to Middleton at that time, he spoke of the Whig candidates for office with the most sovereign contempt—how he hinted at his own intercourse with the Crown and Ministers, and conveyed to me the impression that he thought himself more likely to be sent for to make a Ministry than anyone else—how clear it is that the accomplishment of this divorce was to be the ways and means by which his purposes were to be effected' (ii, 28).

And again:—

'And now, what do you think Brougham said to me, not an hour ago?—that if he had gone with the Queen's body to

Digitized by Google

Brunswick it would have been going too far; it would have been overacting his part; it being very well known that through the whole of this business he had never been very much for the Queen' (ii, 26).

'Did you ever know anything at all equal to it?' says Creevey. His going to Brunswick would indeed have been to imitate the actor who, when he had to play Othello, blacked himself all over.

It is rather amusing to see Creevey coming out as Jemmy Twitcher. But his indignation with Brougham does not seem to have arisen from any honest dislike of the manœuvres to which Brougham had recourse. The source of his ultimate distrust of him appears to have been the growing conviction that he was playing a game of his own and not taking his partners into his confidence. This was quite contrary to all Creevey's ideas of party morality. Not to stick to your 'pals' was in his eyes the worst of all political crimes.

His wrath with the Whigs rested on different grounds. The Whig party and the 'Mountain' had never made common cause against the Queen. Holland House stood aloof from the movement; and this, in Creevey's eyes, was a base truckling to royalty. The fact is that the Whigs as well as Brougham had ulterior purposes to serve. They shrank from 'giving offence to one whom they might shortly call their master.' Creevey, of course, attacks them in his usual style. 'As for the wretched dirt and meanness of Holland House, it makes me perfectly sick.' He was greatly shocked at what occurred in the House of Lords on August 17, when, on the order that 'the House do proceed with this Bill,' the Duke of Leinster moved that the order be rescinded. Twenty at least 'of our peers,' says Creevey, voted against him, Lord Grey among the number; and our friend quite agreed that after this 'Grey can never show his face again as a public man.' He is now for the moment Mr Wickedshifts Grey, and is described as 'grinning from ear to ear' over some scrape into which the House of Lords had stumbled. Creevey, at Lord Sefton's, sat at dinner between Grey and Sir Robert Wilson; and 'two greater fools he never saw.'

The Whigs and Radicals combined, of course, in opposition to the Government, but they were divided from

Digitized by Google

each other, as they have always continued to be, on a variety of great public questions; and it could be no surprise to Creevey that they declined to make the case of Queen Caroline a party question for themselves. They were placed, in fact, in a very awkward dilemma. Their object was to damage the ministry without offending the King. The Queen was only a pawn on the board; and we cannot say that Creevey's contempt for them was altogether misplaced. The whole story, however, as revealed in these pages is not very comfortable reading. It shows what low motives were at work under all the fine professions made by both parties; and it raises the veil from transactions of which the dishonesty has been commonly suspected, but never before brought so fully into the light of day. When Creevey speaks of the 'base devils' who voted against him in the House of Commons, he might have included many of the leading men of the day without doing them much injustice.

On the death of Lord Londonderry, in whom Madame de Lieven says she lost a very faithful and much trusted friend—an expression which derives some significance from a passage in her life relating to Lord Grey and the Duke of Wellington—Canning, contrary to Creevey's expectations, succeeded to the Foreign Office. He was not very popular at first with the Tory country gentlemen, and he had only a small following in the House of Commons. Creevey, remarking to Tom Smith—for he was intimate with all sorts and conditions of men—what a pity it was that Canning had brought no one in with him, received for answer that Canning was bad enough by himself without any of his set, and that he, Smith, was of Falstaff's opinion, that Canning was 'as rotten as a stewed prune.' Smith, 'le premier chasseur de l'Angleterre,' was a staunch Tory of the old school, and probably disliked Canning for the same reason that made Eldon and Wellington dislike him. Creevey, however, though still abusing him for 'blackguardly' and villainous conduct, thought him a great improvement on Castlereagh, and was rejoiced to think that Wellington, instead of that 'terrible fellow,' was at the Congress of Verona.

This remark of Creevey's raises the disputed question of the difference in foreign policy between Castlereagh

Digitized by Google

and Canning. It was commonly supposed that Canning initiated a more liberal system than that of his predecessor, and insisted on the principle of 'non-intervention' in opposition to the great Powers. Sir Herbert Maxwell and Mr Marriott in his useful little study of Canning, and others before them, have denied this. They contend that Castlereagh condemned the continental system, of which Metternich was the centre, as vigorously as Canning; and in support of this view we are reminded that, when Wellington was about to start for Verona in 1822, the paper drawn up by Lord Castlereagh for his own use at the Congress was handed over to the Duke by Canning without the alteration of a word. The Duke was instructed to say with regard to Spain that the internal government of that country was a question with which no other Power had the smallest right to interfere; and it was added that 'the recognition of the southern states of America was only a question of time.' The policy of Lord Castlereagh, it is said, was rather developed than modified by Canning. Creevey must have known the contents of Lord Castlereagh's despatches written in 1818 and 1820. But he and others may possibly have thought, what a passage in the Greville Memoirs certainly suggests, namely, that Castlereagh was not sincere. Lord George Bentinck, who was Canning's private secretary, told Greville that Canning had discovered in a drawer at the Foreign Office some copies of the correspondence between Castlereagh and Lord Stewart, our ambassador at Vienna, in which it is stated by the latter that some of the Foreign Secretary's letters were written 'to throw dust in the eyes of the Parliament,' so that, says Greville, 'while Lord Castlereagh was obliged to pretend to disapprove of the continental system, he was secretly giving Metternich every assurance of his private concurrence.' Creevey could not have known this. But he naturally adopted that view of Castlereagh's policy which was most useful to the Opposition.

We now approach one of the vexed questions of English history, the crisis of 1827; and, as we might expect, Creevey is very great on it. He uttered one very remarkable prophecy with regard to Lord Liverpool's successor. 'I think somehow it must be Canning after

Digitized by Google

all, and then he'll die of it'; and so he did. But who killed him? Of the general distrust of this great statesman, which prevailed equally among Whigs, Tories, and Radicals, no adequate explanation save personal feeling has yet been given to the world. The Duke of Wellington is said to have disliked him principally on account of the quarrel with Lord Castlereagh in 1809; also because he thought he had been making underhand overtures to the Whigs before Lord Liverpool's death. The old Tories never forgave him his treatment of Addington. He was suspected of having intrigued to gain the Treasury; and possibly Lord Grey may have thought that, but for Canning, there would have been a chance for himself. A numerous and influential section of the Tory party disliked his support of Roman Catholic Emancipation. But this was no ground for distrusting him. The nickname given him by Creevey—Mr Merryman—may perhaps have had as much to do with his unpopularity as anything else. He was a wit who used his faculty not wisely but too well. Many were stung by it; and others doubted, as some have doubted both before and since, whether it was really possible that a jester could be a statesman.

That Canning meant to be Prime Minister there can hardly be any doubt; and, according to Sir Herbert Maxwell, he had long been preparing for the struggle which he saw to be inevitable. 'He secured Lady Conyngham's paramount influence at Court. Nor did he neglect (and none knew better how to cultivate) the good graces of Madame de Lieven and the King's physician, Sir William Knighton,' whom Creevey characteristically styles 'the greatest villain as well as the lowest blackguard that lives.' His popularity with Madame de Lieven is easily accounted for. He took the part of the Greeks against the Turks, thereby playing into the hands of Russia, whereas Wellington rather favoured the Porte. When the Duke went to St Petersburg in 1825 she could not speak too highly of him. He was the finest character in the world. In fifteen months all was changed. We quote from M. Daudet's interesting 'Vie d'Ambassadrice':

'Quinze mois plus tard, par suite des dissentiments qui ont éclaté entre la Russie et l'Empire ottoman, et que vient d'aggraver le soulèvement de la Grèce contre la Porte, nous

Digitized by Google

trouvons la princesse de Lieven dans une nouvelle phase. Elle ne pense plus que du mal de Metternich; elle ne prononce plus le nom de Wellington qu'avec raillerie et colère. N'ont-ils pas pris parti l'un et l'autre pour la Turquie contre la Russie? C'en est assez pour déchaîner ses fureurs. Lord Liverpool, chef du Cabinet, étant mort, elle use de son influence sur le Roi pour faire nommer Canning à sa place et mettre en échec par cette nomination Metternich et Wellington. Elle est tout entière à Canning. "C'est un homme d'un talent extraordinaire; c'est un honnête homme. Ce n'est point du tout un Jacobin; c'est le seul membre du Cabinet qui soit bien, et très bien, pour la Russie. . . . Metternich et Canning se haïssent aussi cordialement que par le passé; le premier ne digère pas notre intimité avec l'Angleterre. . . . Entre ces deux ministres qui se détestent, le premier n'est pas le plus coquin; voilà une parfaite vérité. Enfin, qu'on me batte. Mais je soutiens que nous devons aimer Canning"' (p. 131).

But Madame de Lieven touches the real secret of his success in the words: 'Mais Canning restera. Le Roi se montre résolu à le soutenir, et voilà des occasions où un roi est beaucoup en Angleterre' (p. 133). It was the attempt to force Wellington on the King which really threw him into the arms of Canning, just as the attempt to force Lord Grenville upon him in 1812 had led him to select Lord Liverpool. Canning knew how to play upon the King's feelings on this point. When the eight dukes presented their remonstrance to the King, and told him that if he made Canning Prime Minister they should withdraw their support from his Government, they did the one thing that was necessary to ensure the victory to Canning. Creevey alludes to this incident in one of his letters to Miss Ord, but does not seem to have fathomed its importance.

'Much has been going on at Windsor lately upon our ministerial projects. Canning and Wellington were closeted with Prinney [George IV] one day, Peel for as long the next, and then—best of all the three—Cheerful Charlie went down yesterday to protest on behalf of himself and brother Tories against Canning being cock of the walk' (ii, 110).

We are informed in a note that 'Cheerful Charlie' was the fifth Duke of Rutland; but the Duke of Rutland of that day was John Henry. 'Cheerful Charlie' must be a nickname bestowed on him by Creevey, suggested, per-

Digitized by Google

haps, by the slang name borne by the old watchmen, or by some popular song of the day. The Duke of Newcastle had delivered a somewhat similar message to the King some days before; and the view of the situation which Canning impressed upon the royal mind is to be found in his letter to Croker of April 3, 1827. He put the question to the King himself almost in the same words. It was the old question mooted in 1812. Canning was maintaining the King's right to name his own Prime Minister; and 'it is against this right,' says Huskisson, in a letter to Croker about the same time, 'that the present effort is directed'—that is, the effort represented by the ducal protest aforesaid. 'The King,' says the same writer, 'you may rely upon it, feels this, and not the Catholic question, to be the only question at issue in the present struggle.' The King's resolution is well known. When reminded that his father had broken down the Whig ring, and asked if he himself would submit to a similar Tory domination, his Majesty is reported to have answered 'He'd be damned if he would.' He would show that this was one of those occasions 'où un roi est beaucoup en Angleterre.' Madame de Lieven very likely heard these words from the King himself. But Creevey seems to have heard no rumour of the effect produced upon the royal mind by 'Cheerful Charlie.' The Duke of Wellington appears to have made some attempt to obliterate it; but, if so, the attempt came to nothing.

Creevey and Lord Grey, who were now again in close alliance, were both very angry with Huskisson for joining the Duke of Wellington. Two years before Huskisson was a hero: now he is coupled with Brougham. Creevey frequently compliments the Duke at the expense of his Canningite colleagues. 'His frank, blunt, and yet sensible manner will beat the shuffling, lying Huskisson and Brougham school out of the field.' Creevey was right about one of them. The Duke's frankness and bluntness did drive Huskisson out of the field. But Creevey's estimate of that famous transaction is not shared either by Greville or Croker. Huskisson's own defence is described by Creevey as 'low and contemptible throughout.' Wellington, on the other hand, both 'in his letter and conduct, is as clear and clean as ever he can be.' But Croker thinks that Huskisson was hardly used, Greville says

Digitized by Google

that, though Huskisson had been hasty and imprudent, the Duke was harsh and showed great want of courtesy. But Creevey is always in extremes. He could have no sympathy with the Duke of Wellington; but, when it was necessary to find a telling contrast that should serve to blacken an enemy, he would have praised Beelzebub himself. Lord Ellesmere, Huskisson's private secretary, seems inclined, in his Reminiscences, to rest content with Greville's valuation of the case, and to put up with the formula that there were 'faults on both sides.' But Creevey was not the kind of man to whom such balanced estimates are congenial. If ever he did admit that there were faults on both sides, he would be sure to hold that they were so much smaller on one side than on the other as to make the lesser offender seem perfectly innocent by comparison. We cannot agree with his attack upon Huskisson; nor, if his case stood alone, should we hesitate to say that the Duke was the more to blame of the two. Sir Herbert Maxwell says that 'the Duke's military habit of discipline unfitted him for the kind of patience necessary to keep together a political party'; nor did he make allowance for mistakes arising from verbal ambiguity or nervous indecision. But Huskisson's case does not stand alone. The justification of the Duke lay in the fact that his Canningite colleagues were too much disposed, as Greville says, to act together as a party in the Cabinet. There had already been a good deal of friction, and the Duke was resolved to put an end to it.

Creevey, of course, applauds the Roman Catholic Relief Bill of 1829, and all the more because it took the wind out of the Whig sails. But he condemns the Duke of Wellington for keeping Lord Anglesey in the dark about his intentions, and thinks that the grounds assigned for his recall, which took place in January 1829, are of 'the rummest kind.' But nobody can read the Duke's own history of the affair, to be found in the Croker papers, without thinking those grounds amply sufficient. On the wisdom or propriety of his silence to Lord Anglesey there may be room for more difference of opinion. But Creevey distinctly misrepresents the Duke on one point. He says, apropos of the Bill:—

'It does Wellington infinite honour; the only drawback to his fame on this occasion is his silence to Anglesey as to his

Digitized by Google

intentions; but he has been jealous of his brother soldier playing the popular in Ireland, and so has sacrificed the man while adopting his opinions' (ii, 195).

For this last charge there is not an atom of foundation, except in the Radical imagination, always ready to invent discreditable motives, as in the case of Canning and the Lisbon embassy. Sir Herbert Maxwell is probably nearer the mark when he says that the Duke was determined not to have his hand forced. Lord Anglesey's attitude towards the Roman Catholics in Ireland was having that effect, and was breeding anticipations which it was the Duke's object to prevent. Besides this, Anglesey had certainly written to Dr Curtis, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, and also to Wellington himself, in a strain which was not only antagonistic to the established system, but also inconsistent with the respect which ministers of the Crown owe to the head of the Government. But, apart from all questions of insubordination or incivility, the Duke was desirous of gaining time. Sir Herbert Maxwell's own words are worth quoting:—

'The victory of Daniel O'Connell [in the Clare election] . . . had convinced Wellington that relief could no longer be withheld from the Catholics. . . . But he was too old a campaigner to allow the enemy to know the hour and order of evacuation. Peel was to be converted, and the King to be forced to consent, before the orders should be issued which, he knew, would breed mutiny in his own ranks. No sign should betray his purpose till all was prepared. The accustomed guards should be mounted; the regular sentries posted till the very last moment' (ii, 193).

The Duke's reasons for this reticence were no doubt the same as those which actuated Sir Robert Peel in not taking the Conservative party into his confidence about the repeal of the corn laws. He would not give more time than he could help for an organised opposition to be formed. Had Anglesey been a man of different character he might, perhaps, have been trusted with the secret, but, being what he was, he would have let it out.

Brougham's appointment as Chancellor in 1830 took the 'Mountain' by surprise. It was thought that he would have the Rolls. Lord Sefton, in a letter to Creevey on November 19, 1830, solaces himself with the belief that

Digitized by Google

Brougham was only put upon the woolsack because he could more easily be got rid of. He was put there because he would be less mischievous in the Lords than in the Commons. The Duke of Wellington pointed out to the King that, as Master of the Rolls, he would keep his seat in the Lower House and be too powerful for any government; and this, no doubt, is what Brougham himself thought. The 'Mountain' believed that, instead of Grey getting rid of Lord Brougham, Lord Brougham had a mind to get rid of Lord Grey. In February 1831 appeared a series of leading articles in the 'Times,' containing violent attacks on Lord Grey, and equally warm eulogies of Lord Brougham. Lord Sefton spoke to him about it, and repeated the conversation to Creevey. Brougham's influence with the 'Times' was, Sefton said, notorious; and it was well known that his brother William wrote for that journal. The inference was that Brougham did not object to these attacks, whereas Lord Grey felt them deeply. Sefton then went on to say

'that if he—Brougham—thought he would make a better Prime Minister than Grey, and was preparing the way for that event, that was matter for his own consideration; but if he really meant the Government to go on as at present formed, Sefton conjured him to lose no time in imposing his most positive injunction on the 'Times' newspaper to alter its course' (ii, 220).

Brougham, it is said, threw himself into a frightful rage, and 'swore like a trooper' that he had no influence with the 'Times,' and that his brother had never written a line for it. Yet, strange to say, the articles complained of were at once stopped; and instead of them some powerful articles appeared in favour of the Government. Neither Croker nor Greville seems to have got hold of this story; but Creevey must have revelled in it. He has hinted once before at Brougham having talked to him in such a manner as to suggest that he fancied himself for Premier; and the next intrigue, as Creevey calls it, in which he was engaged strengthens the suspicion.

Before we come to that, however, we may glance at what Creevey says of the Reform Bill. He falls into the same error as Mr Porritt, in his valuable and learned history of the popular assembly from the earliest time,

Digitized by Google

in thinking that the Bill restored the House of Commons 'in conformity with the original formation of that body.' This assertion is only partially true. To have made it wholly true, the Bill should have restored not only the form but the functions also of the popular assembly as it existed in the fourteenth century. It has always been allowed that the Reform Bill of 1832 transferred the government of the country from the aristocracy to the democracy. Yet no one will pretend to say that the constitution of this country in the time of the Plantagenets was democratic. The House of Commons, in those days, had no voice in the higher department of politics; and alongside its claim to such a voice gradually grew up the nomination system, which, by a self-adjusting process, secured the influence of the ruling class.

However, the interesting point in Creevey's letters on the subject is what he says on Lord Lyndhurst's amendment to the Bill in committee, proposing that the enfranchising clauses should be considered before the disfranchising clauses. This struck at the principle of the Bill, and gave Lord Grey the opportunity which he wanted. When the King refused to create the necessary number of peers, the Government resigned. The Duke of Wellington tried to form a government and failed; and Grey returned to power, master of the situation. Had not a good ground for resignation been provided by this important amendment, the Bill might have been so doctored by a succession of smaller ones that its own parents would not have known it again on its return to the House of Commons. This was what Lord Grey feared; and Wellington's 'false move,' as Creevey terms it, extricated Grey from a very difficult and dangerous position. Creevey says (ii, 247):—

'In the House of Lords yesterday Grey, according to his custom, came and talked with me. It is really too much to see his happiness at its being all over and well over. He dwells upon the marvellous luck of Wellington's false move, upon the eternal difficulties he (Grey) would have been involved in had the Opposition not brought it to a crisis when they did. Their blunder he conceives to have been their belief that he would not resign upon this defeat on an apparent question of form. Thank God they did not know their man.'

Digitized by Google

It may be permitted us to ask briefly how far this view was a correct one. As events turned out, the amendment recoiled upon its authors. But we must suppose, in spite of Lord Grey, that Lyndhurst and the Duke had considered what lay before them if the ministry should resign, and that they had not calculated on Peel's refusal to assist them. It is a question still *sub judice* whether Peel or Wellington could not have formed a ministry strong enough to carry a moderate Reform Bill. Brougham thought they could; and so did Lyndhurst. In Brougham's Memoirs (iii, 196) will be found his reasons for thinking so, and they are not without considerable weight. Croker and Greville express no decided opinion about it. But if such a ministry had been formed, and had gained the temporary support of the House of Commons, we are inclined to think that a more moderate measure might have been passed; and that, in refusing to join the Duke, Peel threw away a chance which no regard for consistency should have induced him to forgo. Besides, where *was* the inconsistency? Peel was opposed to all reform; but, seeing that some measure was inevitable, where was the inconsistency in trying to make it as little mischievous as possible?*

At this distance of time it is natural to feel surprised at the acrimony with which so many public men of that day spoke of Lord Brougham. Greville is as severe on him as anybody; and in the last transaction of importance in which Brougham was engaged, Brougham laid himself open to imputations of which Creevey did not fail to make the most. The Irish Coercion Bill introduced by Lord Grey in 1833 was a very severe one; and Lord Althorpe, with some other members of the Cabinet, agreed to it with reluctance. Lord Wellesley at this time was Lord-lieutenant, and Littleton, afterwards Lord Hatherton, Chief Secretary. On the renewal of the Bill in 1834 Lord Brougham, for reasons best known to himself, suggested to Littleton that he should write a letter to Lord Wellesley

* We may note in passing a slight mistake on p. 265, vol. ii (note). General Gascoigne's motion, on which the Government were defeated and Parliament dissolved in 1831, was not a motion to reduce the ordnance vote, but one to declare that the number of members for England and Wales ought not to be diminished.

Digitized by Google

enquiring whether some of the harsher clauses of the Bill might not now be dispensed with. All this was done behind Lord Grey's back, it being perfectly well known that he was strongly opposed to any modification of the Bill. Littleton told O'Connell that some change might be expected; Wellesley, having readily accepted Littleton's suggestion, wrote to Lord Grey to that effect; and Lord Althorpe supposed that, when he had to carry the Bill through the House of Commons, it would be a measure of a milder character. But Lord Grey refused any concession. Lord Althorpe resigned, and Lord Grey's resignation followed.

In this matter, who was the prime offender, and what could be his motives? Creevey, Greville, and the late Mr Reeve, in his edition of Lord Hatherton's Memoir, all throw the blame on Brougham. Mr Reeve repudiates the idea that there was any *arrière pensée* or anything like a conspiracy or plot against the Prime Minister. Not so Creevey. It may have seemed that Brougham had everything to lose by the break-up of Lord Grey's Government; but Creevey thought otherwise. He believed him to have ulterior views of a more ambitious character. It is a curious thing, as Mr Reeve points out, that in his own account of the affair given in his Memoirs, Brougham seems to have totally forgotten 'that the proposal which Lord Wellesley was induced to make for the omission of the meetings clauses from the renewed Irish Coercion Bill originated with himself.' And, according to Creevey, his deliberate object in making it was to drive Lord Grey from office. 'Moreover,' he says, 'I am equally certain that the driving Lord Grey from the Government has long been the object nearest Brougham's heart,' as in the affair of the 'Times' above referred to. As for there being no plot or conspiracy, Greville, who, if anybody, ought to have known the truth, declares: 'There certainly never was a more complete underhand intrigue than this . . . Everybody's finger is pointed at Brougham.' Lord Grey met him at dinner and would not speak to him. 'The Grey women,' adds Greville, 'would murder the Chancellor if they could.'

We must say that, taking the Creevey Papers, the Hatherton Memoir, and the Greville Journals together, with the incident of the 'Times' leaders as well, the case

Digitized by Google

against Brougham seems rather a black one. Nor did he improve it by the excuse for his behaviour which he himself offered. He thought, he said, that by the omission of the obnoxious clauses the Bill would pass more easily, and the session would thereby be shortened so that he would have time to go to the Rhine. Well may Creevey exclaim: 'Now, from the creation of the world was there ever such a defence—be it a lie, or be it true! And then the villain says it never entered his imagination that it could lead to the result it did!' Creevey hesitated for a little about Brougham's motive, but he returned to his first opinion in the end. On November 9 he says, in a letter to Miss Ord, that, if Brougham's object was not to get Lord Grey out of office, 'he must be an idiot, because he must have been quite sure that when this plot became known to Lord Grey, the latter, as a man of honour, could not remain a moment longer with such perfidious scamps.'

The great question then which still remains unanswered is, Why did Brougham keep the whole thing secret from Lord Grey, when he must have known that, on such a discovery being made, Grey's resignation was a certainty? The answer is that this was exactly what he wanted. Creevey's fixed idea, which crops out from time to time in his letters, was that Brougham expected some day or other to be sent for either to form, or to help in forming, an administration; and these suspicions are fully justified by what we are told in the Life of Lord Melbourne, namely, that on the formation of the new ministry, after Peel's resignation in 1835, Brougham gave out that he could have been Prime Minister if he had chosen, but that he thought it better for Lamb to have the post, and that, in fact, he had put him there. Indeed, if this statement is correct, it converts suspicion into certainty. But Creevey, Melbourne, and Greville all alike thought there was a taint of madness in the man, which is perhaps the kindest explanation of his conduct.

Passing on to the change of ministry in 1834, we find Creevey saying, very sensibly, that the Whigs would have died a natural death if left alone; and so they would. But it seems to be a mistake to say, with Creevey, that they were 'kicked out,' or to attribute this gracious act to Wellington. It is positively stated in the Life of

Digitized by Google

Lord Melbourne that the Duke of Wellington had not been near the Court for three months, and had had no communication with it, 'directly or indirectly.' But Creevey gets upon the high horse. He is indignant at seeing them 'kicked out of the world by this soldier, and to see him stand single-handed on their grave, claiming the whole power of the nation as his own.' There was life in Creevey yet. And so there was in his old enemy Brougham, who was, we are told, beside himself with rage. He was prompt to avenge what he regarded as a personal insult. Before any official announcement had been made, or anybody except Lord Grey himself and one other minister knew what had happened, Brougham, accidentally hearing it at midnight, sent the news off to the 'Times,' adding the well-known words, 'the Queen has done it all.' It is needless to say that this was the purest fiction; and we are disappointed to find that Creevey has nothing to say about it. Melbourne himself, however, evidently regarded the King's letter as a 'dismissal,' though as he, in his first communication to the King on the death of Lord Spencer, had partly suggested it, those who think fit may call it by a different name.

Before parting with the history of Opposition quarrels, we may observe that Sir H. Maxwell is mistaken in saying that it was these which kept the Tories in power. The Tories were supported by the bulk of the nation as the guardians of the national institutions, the Church, the Crown, and the Anglo-Protestant religion. To these principles the people in general were devoted with an intensity to which we are now strangers.

From Creevey in politics we pass easily to Creevey in society. How he continued to find the money for those unavoidable expenses, to which every man must be exposed who mixes much in the fashionable world, plays high at *écarté*, and spends the autumn and winter in driving from one country house to another, we are at a loss to understand. Greville says he had no property but his clothes; and, even if we allow for the difference in the value of money between that time and this, our surprise will be very little lessened.

As a promising Whig recruit, when recruits were in

Digitized by Google

much demand, he soon made the acquaintance of the Prince of Wales. He dined at Carlton House for the first time in 1804, when he records that the gentlemen walked about the garden before dinner without their hats. In the following September he was at Brighton with Mrs Creevey and the Misses Ord, and shortly after his arrival dined at the Pavilion. In the course of the evening the Prince introduced Creevey to Mrs Fitzherbert, and asked her to call on Mrs Creevey and to say from him that he would be glad to see her there. This she accordingly did, and Mr and Mrs Creevey went to all the Prince's parties at the Pavilion till January. The dinner hour was six, and the usual number of guests about sixteen. Mrs Fitzherbert always dined with them, and there was commonly one other lady to meet her; sometimes it was Mrs Creevey. Cards were introduced in the evening, Mrs Fitzherbert being a great player. The Prince never played, but talked to his guests, or gave directions to the band. At twelve o'clock the music ceased; sandwiches and wine and water were handed round, and the whole company dispersed. Creevey says very naïvely of these parties that he supposes all Courts are alike in one thing, namely, that in attending them you lose your liberty. 'After one month you fell into the ranks, and had to reserve your observations till you were asked for them.' This last little touch is exquisite when we think of Creevey's character. Another thing he objected to was being sent for half an hour before dinner, or perhaps in the middle of his own, which he thought humiliating. The Prince drank a good deal of wine, but he never saw him drunk but once, when he took Creevey to a ball, it being plain to everybody that he was tipsy; 'and so, of course, was I,' says Creevey with charming frankness.

Creevey, like 'the diners-out' in Thackeray's 'Book of Snobs,' was a great critic of the dinners and suppers to which he was invited. Coming back to Mr Lambton's (the future Lord Durham) after Doncaster races, a large party found that a cold round of beef on the sideboard was the best part of their dinner. The year before there had been only a sucking-pig. How different from the jolly doings at Mr Milbanke's at Thorpe Perrow: 'Excellent and plentiful dinners, a fat service of plate, a

Digitized by Google

fat butler, a table with a barrel of oysters and a hot pheasant, etc., wheeled into the drawing-room every night at half-past ten!' Another good table to which he sat down was kept at Cantley—Mrs Angelo Taylor's. On September 21, 1825, there were twenty-three to dinner; and they had turtle and venison every day, and 'pines without end.' At Brougham's, on the contrary, where he dined in the summer, the dinner was 'damnable, in cookery, comfort, and everything else.' Creevey seems, on the whole, to have liked the menage at Lord Sefton's better than at any of his numerous resorts. Writing to Miss Ord from Stoke, Lord Sefton's place in Buckinghamshire, in July 1824, he tells her how the day was spent.

'Breakfast at eleven: left to yourself till three: then ride with the ladies till six: dinner at half-past seven—not bad, moderate drinking after meals: and a walk with the ladies before tea: then crack jokes, and listen to the fiddle till half-past twelve or one' (ii, 73).

One very cheerful dinner he enjoyed at Whitbread's brewery. The guests were shown over the brewery after dinner by gaslight.

'A stable brilliantly illuminated, containing ninety horses worth fifty or sixty guineas apiece . . . is a sight to be seen nowhere but in this tight little island. The beauty and amiability of the horses was quite affecting. Such as were lying down we favoured with sitting upon, four or five of us upon a horse' (ii, 71).

In London, he tells us, in 1826 *écarté* was 'all the go.' Lady Tankerville and Lady Glengall and 'Harriet'—that is Lady Frances Leveson Gower—are mentioned as givers of *écarté* parties, much to the annoyance of the young ladies whose cavaliers deserted them for the card table. In March 1826 Creevey finds London very dull except for the card-parties given by Lady Tankerville, *née* De Grammont, and a few other leaders of society. At these houses, we are told, 'ladies of easy virtue meet every night, and as many dandies as the town can supply,' the ladies playing only guineas, and 'the men winning and losing hundreds a night.' Creevey himself lost ten pounds at 'Harriet's' *écarté* party, which made him, he says, 'rather blue.'

It was not only in the region of politics that Brougham

Digitized by Google

laid himself open to satire. At Croxteth (Lord Sefton's) one of the young ladies said to Creevey—

'We have seen a good deal of Mr Brougham lately. He went to the play with us three or four times, and you never saw such a figure as he was. He wears a black stock or collar, and it is so wide that you see a dirty coloured handkerchief under it, tied tight round his neck. You never saw such an object or anything half so dirty' (ii, 137).

Another anecdote about dress concerns a new style of greatcoat which came in about that time, called a Wellington. Lord Grey ordered one; but, when he appeared in it, his wife and daughter flew at him and tore it from his back, whether on account of its ugly shape or of its Tory name we are not informed. Lady Grey, it seems, was less tolerant of a bad coat than of a bad character. Creevey was sitting with her once, just after two ladies had left whose intrigues were notorious, when she said to Creevey, 'I like Lady So-and-so, and one or two others'—naming them—'they never say anything to offend me, and I do not feel that I have anything to do with all the different lovers they are said to have had.' For herself, she added, her own was a lucky case. Had she, like these ladies, married a man she did not respect, she might have acted like them (vol. ii, 302).

Creevey met Lord and Lady Grey at Stoke, where they had just arrived from Windsor Castle. Lady Grey said, in her own distressed manner, she was really more dead than alive. All the boring she had ever experienced in her life was nothing to those two nights. She hoped never to see a mahogany table again. The King and Queen, the Duchess of Gloucester, Princess Augusta, Madame de Lieven and herself, had sat round one for hours—the Queen knitting, the King sleeping, or only waking up now and then to say, 'Exactly so, ma'am.' What a picture! Could not Dendy Sadler paint it? Meantime Lord Grey was amusing himself better at the expense of Sir Henry Halford, who would insist on showing him some of his own Latin verses. Grey said he thought the verses were good. 'But there,' he said, pointing to the Provost of Eton, who was one of the party, 'show them to him.' Sir Henry read them out, but before he got to the end Goodall pounced upon a false quantity, at which, to Grey's infinite delight, Sir Henry 'turned scarlet.'

Digitized by Google

No doubt Creevey's popularity arose in part from his being a good talker and able to help the conversation when it seemed likely to flag. At the Duchess of Leinster's, when the guests were rather silent, 'everything must be done by Mr Thomas.' At dinner at Lord Grey's, when even Sydney Smith was among the guests, Creevey flattered himself that he had taken the lead. When he opened the door for the ladies after dinner, the Duchess of Cleveland remarked, 'How agreeable you have been!' and Lady Grey, who came last, put out her hand and said, 'Oh, thank you, Mr Creevey, how useful you have been!' Creevey evidently did something in return for his board and lodging.

We have little space for dealing with the new reign, and Creevey at the Court of Queen Victoria. Here he held his own. He dined with the Queen at the Pavilion at Brighton, and describes the dinner in his usual graphic style. He was highly gratified with his reception: 'the Queen,' he says, 'is very natural, has a beautiful voice, so that Lord Grey "cried with joy" when he heard it in the House of Lords'; and Creevey fully believed all that he heard of her great abilities, her strong character, her tact, and her good-humour. In the evening at the Pavilion he played two rubbers of whist, one against the Duchess of Kent, and one as her partner. Lord Grey told him of a report that the Queen was going to marry Lord Melbourne; but he makes no remark upon a rumour which we should have thought likely to set him off at a gallop. He was now getting an old man; but age had not quenched his vivacity, nor, seemingly, impaired his activity. On December 28, 1837, when he was within three months of his seventieth birthday, he was present at the servants ball at Holkham, at Christmas, when he danced down twenty-five couples in a country-dance with the Dowager Lady Anson. The last letter in the series is dated only a month later, that is, on January 27. Early in February he died; and it seems curiously congenial with his origin, his character, and his fortune, that 'of the manner of his death, and of those who attended him in his last illness, nothing is known.'

T. E. KEBBEL.

Digitized by Google

Art. X.—LATEST LIGHTS ON THE HOMERIC QUESTION.

1. *The Iliad.* Edited, with apparatus criticus, prolegomena, notes and appendices, by Walter Leaf, Litt.D. Second edition. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1900, 1902.
2. *Homer's Odyssey: Books XIII–XXIV.* Edited, with English notes and appendices, by D. B. Monro, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901.

THE two works which lie before us afford a striking testimony to the vitality of English scholarship. Nothing indeed could well be more different than the character and temper of the two editors; but fortunately these characteristics are suited, 'by some divine dispensation,' as Plato says, to their respective subjects. The audacity and acuteness of Dr Leaf are qualities which find full scope in the tangled and thorny paths of the 'Iliad'; the conservatism and caution of Mr Monro, carried, perhaps, sometimes to excess, are things to be thankful for when we look upon the question of the authorship of the 'Odyssey'; and both editors are alike well equipped in knowledge and unwearying industry. It is unfortunately only too natural, in a subject where all is uncertain, that they should not always agree; finality is not to be expected in the Homeric question; but the limits within which they differ are comparatively restricted, and their speculation is never flimsy.

It is often an interesting thing to look back upon the state of our knowledge in any subject fifty or a hundred years ago, to trace again the lines of the ancient camp in which the leaders of learning in those days thought themselves impregnable, to mark how the advance of science has altered the conditions of their warfare. Such a retrospect may well, at the same time, have a chastening effect, when we note how those old bulwarks have crumbled, and may lead us to entertain some doubt of the real strength of our own.

Since those happy days of primal innocence, when men were content to accept Homer as one and indivisible, without going beyond the glory of poetry which, after all, must ever remain the supremely important thing about him; when, if we may parody a line of Tennyson,

Digitized by Google

'the time was Maytime, for as yet no Wolf had dreamed' —since those days there have been three names of first-rate importance in the field of Homeric criticism, Wolf, Grote, and Schliemann. Wolf threw all our notions about Homer, the poet, into chaos; into that chaos Grote, like a second Anaxagoras, imported reason; Schliemann revealed the world of which Homer sang, the foundation on which he built. Other scholars and explorers have advanced in the paths which they threw open, but no one else has illuminated the whole question by any similar flash of original genius.

To go back to Wolf is perhaps now superfluous and, even to the most general reader, something of a nuisance. For indeed Wolf was a destroying and unsettling agent of great power, but as a creator did little or nothing. 'Wolf's an atheist,' cried Mrs Browning; he would create a world by the fortuitous concourse of atoms; and the idea of an 'Iliad' or 'Odyssey' arising out of primitive short 'lays,' by some kind of external force driving them together, was an idea which could never conquer the world of Homeric scholars. His argument that a long poem was impossible under the conditions of that date when writing was unknown has been disproved by comparison with the early narrative literature of other races, such as the sagas of Iceland and the Kalevala of the Finns; and it can be disproved by the evidence of Homer himself in his account of Demodocus, to which we shall have occasion to return. And, that once gone, the whole Wolfian hypothesis remains in the air. In truth it is very difficult now to put oneself back into his position; perhaps it comes roughly to this, that he felt the 'Iliad' to be a mysterious composition, but could not grasp the principle of its growth; that he was strongly influenced by the revival of interest in popular and ballad poetry which Herder and others had awakened; and that between these two forces he was drawn into speculations which he himself could not approve in his soberer moments, but which he strove to justify by far-fetched arguments. However, it is certain that, from the moment his 'Prolegomena' were published, it remained no longer possible to acquiesce in the old comfortable views, or absence of views, about Homer and the Homeric poems.

The successors of Wolf in Germany followed him up

Digitized by Google

with misdirected energy. Lachmann dissected the 'Iliad into 'many a lay and many a thing,' as Chaucer has it, with a glorious disregard of the economy which nature unfortunately displays in the production of poets, and without any of those misgivings which haunted Wolf himself. The criticism applied by Grote to these proceedings is absolutely crushing. Common-sense was the great attribute of the English historian; and this was backed up by unwearying labour and a consummate grasp of the whole question in all its bearings. A single sentence of his pricks the bubble at once: 'Now the Wolfian theory explains the gaps and contradictions throughout the narrative, but it explains nothing else.' What then remained to be explained? Why, the fact that there was a narrative there at all, that some kind of a thread does after all run through the 'Iliad.' For, however much the alleged unity of plot in that poem may have been exaggerated by the orthodox believers in early days, including Aristotle himself, who found nothing to complain of except that the two epics were somewhat long, nevertheless some sort of a unity there is. But at the same time this unity is blurred in a manner not to be paralleled in any other epic; the story simply does not get on as anybody would expect; the stream seems to stagnate and swell out into great lakes. Of the 'Odyssey' one might say with truth, in the divine words of Coleridge:

> 'Five miles meandering with a mazy motion
> Through hill and dale the sacred river ran':

but the 'Iliad' does not meander, it sticks. All that can be said in defence of it has been said by conservative critics, notably, in these latter days, by Mr Andrew Lang; but, as it has been said of Milton that the best answer to his dispraisers is to read him, so you may say of the 'Iliad' that the fatal objection to those defenders of its plot is that you cannot read it and believe in them. The real difficulty in the way of dissectors of the 'Iliad' is the splendour of the poetry; but that is another question.

To this difficulty, indeed, Grote appears to have been as blind as you might expect of the great emperor of common-sense. The lady in Cherbuliez's story informs a professor of chemistry that there are certain delicacies of sentiment which you cannot acquire by manipulating

Digitized by Google

acids. Perhaps Grote's training and environment were not calculated to inspire him with a fine feeling for the more delicate shades of poetry. But indeed this applies with greater force to the Germans. Lessing and Goethe are possibly the two greatest critics of modern times; search their writings from one end to the other, and where will you find anything about style? Of the conduct of a plot, of characterisation, of style itself, in so far as the word may apply to the arrangement of the matter, of all this there is abundant and admirable criticism in them; but of style in the ordinary and restricted sense, the style of single lines as so often insisted on by Matthew Arnold, never a word. Yet the style of Goethe himself at his best in poetry is an unmatchable marvel. However, it is from England that the protests have emanated to the effect that you cannot postulate any number of poets you please, writing or singing, in the grand style.

But to go back to Grote. If he was deaf to style of this sort, at least his common-sense enabled him to seize on the one great fruitful idea about the composition of the 'Iliad' which now holds the field. I see in it, he said in effect, not any more or less fortuitous concourse of atoms, but developments from a kernel. The opening lines announce the subject to be the 'Wrath of Achilles'; and that was the subject of the poem which opened with those lines. That poem, then, Grote called the 'Achilleis'; and he maintained it to have been swollen into an Iliad by accretions and expansions.

'The "Iliad" presents the appearance of a house built upon a plan comparatively narrow, and subsequently enlarged by successive additions. The first book, together with the eighth, and the books from the eleventh to the twenty-second inclusive, seem to form the primary organisation of the poem, then properly an Achilleis.'

It need hardly be said that this does not fully satisfy the more modern expounders of the matter, of whom Dr Leaf is the most prominent representative in England. But it is a remarkable tribute to Grote that all later speculation on the subject has run so consistently on the lines which he laid down. Modern authors, Fick, Erhardt, Leaf, and others, all recognise, amid much divergence on other points, that the primitive poem was included in

Digitized by Google

the region mapped out by Grote. Where they go further is in restricting the primitive poem to much smaller limits. There is only one exception to this, namely, the opening of the second book. It seems now to be the general opinion that some part of this must be retained; here alone does Grote seem to have gone too far.

That he should not have gone far enough in the way of rejection, is certainly not to be wondered at. If Dr Leaf is right, the original 'Achilleis' was a small thing indeed compared to the 'Iliad.' Less than seven complete books are spared out of the twenty-four. The original story contained nothing but the quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles in the first book; the dream of Agamemnon, which entices him to go out and fight in the opening of the second; the battle in the eleventh; the rout of the Greeks and the firing of one of the ships in the fifteenth; the exploits and death of Patroclus in the sixteenth; the vengeance of Achilles in the nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-first, and twenty-second. Even these books are not exempt from interpolations of varying amount.

It would take us into very debatable and somewhat too technical ground to discuss the manner in which this story was gradually swollen into an Iliad. Dr Leaf is the first to confess that his own 'is but one among many scores of theories, all of which have had equal attraction for their own authors.' Other authors go even farther than he does in their endeavours to extract the kernel; Fick positively knows that the original was composed in strophes of eleven lines each. But it certainly does seem very difficult to deny that modern critics are right in cutting down the 'Achilleis' to a small compass, whether it be exactly to be disembedded by any amount of ingenuity or no. For our own part we have little hesitation in saying that no certainty will ever be arrived at. We do not know how much of the 'Achilleis' has vanished in the accidents of transmission from one reciter to another. We do not know how much of the matter added to the kernel may be due to the original poet. We do not know that he may not have even composed variations on his own theme. Still less can it ever be possible to disentangle the manner in which the accretions successively grew around the kernel.

Let us take for a specimen of Dr Leaf's analysis a

Digitized by Google

passage of his introduction to the second book. Zeus sends a lying spirit to tempt Agamemnon to battle.

'Elated by the dream, as we are led to suppose, Agamemnon summons the army—to lead them into battle? Nothing of the sort; he calls them to assembly, and proposes that they shall return to Greece! The only preparation for this astounding step is a most meagre and puzzling account of a council before which he lays his dream, and his decision to "tempt" the army, ἦ θέμις ἐστί, whatever that may mean. The proposal is a disastrous failure; the temptation is taken in earnest, as it well might be. We suppose, however, that the chieftains, being forewarned, will at once do as they have been bidden, and step forward to stop the incipient rout. Again, nothing of the sort. The council is altogether forgotten, and nothing is done till Athene, by a special interposition, rouses Odysseus to intervene. By her aid he brings all back to their places, and the assembly is resumed in a speech from Thersites. This speech makes no allusion whatever to the extraordinary events which have just taken place, but turns only on the conduct of Agamemnon a fortnight before in taking Briseis from Achilles, as though this were a matter hardly over, and the cause of all the difficulty. When Thersites has been silenced, the question of retirement is once more discussed, but in terms which seem to imply that the proposal has not come from Agamemnon at all, but from his antagonist Thersites. Finally, Agamemnon sums up the debate in brave words, which are chiefly remarkable for the fact that they do not show the least consciousness, much less contain any explanation, of the diametrically opposite tone which the king of men had employed when last on his feet. How, then, are we to explain this wonderful medley of inconsistent and self-contradictory motives? The conclusion seems inevitable that we have a fusion of two quite different continuations of the first book.' ('Iliad,' vol. i, p. 46.)

After discussing these continuations in detail, Dr Leaf proceeds:—

'So far, then, we have found two continuations of the tale of the quarrel, consistent in themselves, but irreconcilable with one another. But as the Iliad crystallised, and had to be reduced into one official form for public recitation, it became needful either to sacrifice one of the versions, or to weld them together perforce. Happily for us, the latter course was adopted. The "diaskeuast" hit upon the ingenious device of the "temptation." Nothing short of such an

Digitized by Google

extreme device could have served him. He set to work by borrowing the speech of Agamemnon in I 17–28 (= B 110–118, 139–141), where the situation was somewhat similar; he expanded it by adding 119–38, which are a clever suggestion that the proposal was not in earnest, because the natural conclusion from the numerical superiority of the Greeks is that they should fight it out. With this expanded speech he made Agamemnon open the assembly, transferring that of Thersites to its present place, immediately preceding the reply of Odysseus. He introduced further the preparatory idea of the temptation in the council, while shewing us, in the anxious repetition of the superfluous and suppression of the essential, the straits to which he was reduced. It was hopeless to attempt to make the idea of the temptation probable; he took the best course in suggesting it in the fewest possible words, and trusting to the excellence of the material he was welding to cover the gaping imperfection of the joints. His work might just pass muster with hearers who had been trained to acquiesce in the inequalities of a growing Epos. We who read must shut our eyes now and then, to open them again as soon as the ring of the true metal calls our attention to the splendid narrative and characterisation which are at the bottom of the expansion of the Menis into the Iliad.' ('Iliad,' vol. i, p. 47.)

This is characteristic alike of Dr Leaf's ingenuity and of a way he has of looking at things which is a little irritating now and then to the poetic reader. 'Happily for us the latter course was adopted.' Happily for Dr Leaf, perhaps, because it must have given him great satisfaction to develope his theory, but not for the unhappy reader, who feels in a state of hopeless bewilderment over the whole opening of Book II, who has to 'shut his eyes now and then,' who, in fact, is apt to wish all 'diaskeuasts' in the bottomless pit. If only they could have left the different versions alone instead of combining them into a monster worse than the yellow cock-horse that once kept Dionysus waking.

But the point of chief interest to which we wish to call attention is this. The theory here presented by Dr Leaf, like some other theories of the same passage, assumes a deliberate editor, 'consciously fusing intractable material.' This is to a certain extent a reintroduction of the Wolfian hypothesis. Grote, and most scholars for years after him, held that the expansion of the

Digitized by Google

'Achilleis' had gone on in one growth. Dr Leaf assumes two different versions violently put together by an editor, just as Wolf supposed different lays put together by an editor. We think that Dr Leaf is right, and that here, and in some other less important cases, we really must go back to Wolf.

The two most important advances which have been made since Grote's day appear to be in regard to the wall and trench round the Greek camp, and the armour of Achilles. At the end of the seventh book we are told that the Greeks made a fortification to protect their ships from the enemy; and Grote truly observes that, 'as the poem now stands, no plausible reason is assigned why this should be done.' The reason which really did cause it was, in Grote's opinion, as follows. In the original 'Achilleis' the fortification was assumed as a matter of course, but the great expansions, consisting of Books II–VI, 'mention no fortification, and even imply its non-existence.' Some poet then discovered the contradiction between these and the later books which speak of the wall and trench, and inserted the making of them to get over the contradiction. It is strange that Grote did not himself see a weak point in this explanation. If the wall was assumed as a matter of course, why was it ignored in the expansion?

It is now held by critics and carvers of Homer generally that the wall was not assumed in the 'Achilleis' at all. As soon as we look closely into the description of the fighting about the ships, we find a perpetual vagueness and uncertainty about both wall and trench. Sometimes they are there as formidable obstacles; sometimes again they vanish or are just mentioned in a perfunctory manner. The 'Achilleis' and the earlier expansions then, it is supposed, assumed that there was no species of fortification whatever to fence the ships. The story said simply that Hector drove the Greeks down to the ships and began to set fire to them. Some later poet then added a 'teichomachia' for the sake of novelty. This has been amalgamated with the older parts of the poem, not without considerable violence; but violence did not go so far as to cut out passages where the non-existence of any fortification is assumed. Hence has arisen inextricable confusion in the accounts of the fighting near

Digitized by Google

the ships; and hence also arose the necessity for inserting somewhere the building of the wall. It is true that, even so, the contradictions and inconsistencies of the fighting in the later books could not be removed, but at least the inconsistency was removed between the earlier books which assume no wall and those later ones which, on the whole, do assume one.

The description of the armour of Achilles is one of the most splendid passages in all poetry, and it seems that it carries with it the still more famous and splendid passage in which Achilles, shouting over the trench, dismays the enemy and enables the body of Patroclus to be recovered. Yet this also, in the opinion of most critics since Bergk, is an addition to the original story. In that story Achilles sent Patroclus out to drive away the Trojans from the ships, but Patroclus went in his own armour, as one would expect. It is hard to say what good his taking the arms of Achilles could do. The reason put forward in the 'Iliad' now is that the Trojans may suppose Patroclus to be Achilles. But they do not suppose any such thing when it comes to the point; they do indeed fear that Achilles may be returning to war, but that is only because they see the Myrmidons coming forth; and who would not suppose that Achilles was to lead them? They never mistake Patroclus in spite of the armour. Probably the description of the shield was a rhapsody not fitting in to any definite place originally, and was brought into the 'Iliad' later. It then seemed necessary to explain how it was that Achilles stood in any need of armour; his own armour had to be got rid of, and so it was handed over to Patroclus. For ourselves, we wish devoutly that the making of the shield had been passed on to us as an independent piece, or at least that Achilles might have had the armour made by Hephæstus without the insertion of any makeshift excuses. But it is no use crying over spilt milk; and the evidence in favour of Bergk's view about the armour is not easily to be set aside.

The 'Odyssey,' fortunately, remains impregnable. We may say that its unity is more clearly recognised and more firmly established to-day than ever before. A few excrescences have to be lopped off, such as the scandalous

Digitized by Google

lay of Demodocus on the loves of Ares and Aphrodite, and the whole of the last book; but few can regret to part with them. As for the foolish notion that the so-called 'Telemachy' (Books I–IV, and parts of XVI) was ever either an independent poem or a later addition, it never took root in England; and still less favour has been shown by any English critic, possessed of independent judgment and sufficient courage to say what he thought, to the wild work of Kirchoff and some other German scholars. But English scholars have perhaps been a little too lazy in the work of defence. They have been inclined, after the way of their nation, to sit quiet while the enemy armed, nay, while he filled the air with shouts of assault. Mr Monro deserves the more gratitude from us for his most able and conclusive discussion of the question. He is not content with rebutting the evidence, such as it is, brought forward by the favourers of divided authorship; he puts forward in turn a positive proof that the 'Telemachy' must form an integral part of the poem, and cannot be taken away without violating a cardinal rule of the epic art. Of the unities which have played so astonishing a part in the criticism of Greek drama and in many modern dramatic performances, two are as desirable in epic as they are in drama. Unity of subject goes without saying. The unity of place is, other things being equal, desirable in drama because change of scene must needs interrupt the mood of the spectator. It is as if an interval were to occur in the performance of a continuous piece of music; it would interfere with our enjoyment of it, breaking the continuous stream of emotion which it is the business of music to create. French tragedy with its intervals between the acts does therefore in spirit violate this law no less than 'Lear' or 'Othello.' If we are to have gaps in the stream of emotion, to be presented with a blank curtain every now and then, and to talk and amuse ourselves, then it matters little whether the curtain is to go up for a new background or for the old one over again. The same is the true explanation of the much misunderstood unity of time. The only thing of any importance is that there shall not be a gap in the action passing before the spectator's eyes; and in a Greek tragedy there never is. The time filled up by a song of the chorus may be a matter of hours or days,

Digitized by Google

when you consider in cold blood what is supposed to take place while it is sung; but the spectator is not conscious of this, for he is not in cold blood. Here again French tragedy violates the spirit by its pauses, because it leaves a gap. The whole action may take place within four-and-twenty hours or four; it is no use if we are to have also four ugly pauses between the acts.

This law of the continuity of time applies to Homeric epic just as much as to drama, although nobody can ever have listened to an epic from beginning to end without a break, at least not since the 'Achilleis' swelled into the 'Iliad.' This, indeed, is the reason why Aristotle objects to the undue length of the epic.

Now in the 'Odyssey' we never have a gap in the continuity of time—from the opening lines, that is, to the point in the twenty-third book where Aristarchus declared the true 'Odyssey' to cease. But if you cut out the 'Telemachy' 'the seamless coat is rent.'

'The fourteenth book,' writes Mr Monro, 'ends at nightfall with the long dialogue between Ulysses and the faithful Eumæus. The passage in question begins before dawn (15. 56), and relates the return of Telemachus. It ends as Telemachus is approaching Ithaca, and then we are taken back to the house of Eumæus, where it is now supper-time. Thus between 15.1 and 15.301 there is a gap of one or more days in the story of Ulysses, which is filled up by the story of Telemachus. With the passage which describes the return of Telemachus the narrative is smooth and connected: without it there is a sensible hiatus in the course of events' (vol. i, p. 316).

It is the same with some other passages; and the total result of this scrutiny seems to us as absolute a proof that the 'Telemachy' was a part of the original poem as can possibly be looked for in a literary question of this kind. Very likely somebody will be found to assert that it is all the result of 'Bearbeitung'; there are people who still believe that the earth is flat.

Of those passages which must be admitted to be interpolations, the most important is the termination of the poem, i.e. the last seventy-six lines of Book XXIII and the whole of Book XXIV. A conflict is still going on over this, but we can have little doubt what the final verdict will

Digitized by Google

be. In style and conception the whole of this addition is unworthy of Homer, and in language it differs from him. It may be true that we should anticipate some trouble from the kinsmen of the slain suitors; it is certain that Homer would never have disposed of it in such an incompetent manner as in that ridiculous travesty of a battle in Book XXIV. And the attempts of some scholars to rescue parts of this Book from the general condemnation are in reality futile; it all hangs together and must all go together.

Upon the whole, then, we find that the position of Grote with regard to both epics appears to be sound. The 'Odyssey' is a true unity due to the genius of a single poet; the 'Iliad' is an expanded 'Achilleis.' To a limited extent it is likely that we should return to the Wolfian attitude about the 'Iliad,' but only to a limited extent. And in details modern critics go a great deal farther than Grote, but with much difference among themselves and much uncertainty. That the 'Odyssey' should have escaped with but little alteration, while the 'Iliad' has been thus freely treated, is natural enough. The 'Odyssey,' to begin with, is a good deal later in date, perhaps contemporary with some of the latest additions to the 'Iliad.' Then again its story did not give the same opportunity for additions; new battles could be invented *ad libitum* in connexion with the siege of Troy, and new heroes were there in plenty to be glorified. But no new hero could be brought into the tale of Odysseus. Nor had the 'Odyssey' ever the same attraction for the mind of the Greeks as the 'Iliad.' At any rate, be these reasons good or bad, such seems to have been the fact.

For some time, however, has been sounding in our ears the question of Mr Lang. Supposing all this to be true, how and when and where and by whom was it all done? Perhaps it may be a sufficient answer that though we do not know when or where a thing was done, we may yet feel sure that done somehow it was.

A very old hypothesis has recently been revived, according to which the Homeric poems were brought into their present shape under the direction of Pisistratus. This hypothesis also was carefully considered by Grote; and no one who reads his arguments can, we think, fail

Digitized by Google

to yield assent to the conclusion that the story about Pisistratus is utterly impossible and untrue. Recently the question has been again examined very carefully by Mr Monro. He points out the gradual growth of the story, the absence of good evidence for it, the reasons which may be held to account for its origin, and ends by saying: 'Let us understand it as a myth, and not think, by leaving out the anachronisms and the marvels, to turn it into history.' We hope that Pisistratus has finally received his quietus. But, as some original thinker once observed, error may be likened to the hydra; if Grote has been neglected in the past, so also may Monro be in the future. The well-known story of Solon's appealing to a line in the 'Catalogue of the Ships,' or interpolating it, to support Athenian claims against Megara, shows, if it be true, (1) that the catalogue was already at that early date embodied in the 'Iliad,' (2) that there was a recognised text of some kind already existing, whether written down or not. For how could he interpolate a line into a text which was not recognised? or what would be the meaning of any such proceeding? or how could he appeal to Homer if there was no recognised Homer to appeal to?

Again, we know that Solon made a law that both 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey' should be recited right through at the great festival of the Panathenæa, the rhapsodes following one another in order, 'so that where the first ceased the next should take up the story.' If this is true—and it is much better supported than the Pisistratus legend—it shows that the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey' existed, approximately at least, in their present form by 600 B.C. But indeed there can be little doubt that they so existed long before. For between Homer and Solon comes all the Epic Cycle, a collection of epics of varying length, and by different authors, some of whose names are known. It is utterly inconceivable that these epics should have been produced and by some means handed down, whilst the greater masterpieces of the past were left to float about in a chaotic condition. A few trifling interpolations may have got in here and there, but substantially our Homer existed as we now have it long before Solon; and that is just why we do not know how and when and where it was all done.

But what really was going on is plain from Homer himself. Beyond any reasonable doubt, the author of the

Digitized by Google

'Odyssey' knew the 'Iliad' well. The case has been well put by Niese, who shows at length how the 'Odyssey' presupposes the 'Iliad' continually while never repeating it. Of course, this 'Iliad' may not have been the same as ours; some of the books appear from the evidence of language to be as late as, or even later than, the 'Odyssey'; but in the main it was the same so far as it went. And doubtless there were other epics, now entirely lost, which were familiar to the author of the 'Odyssey.' How then does he represent the minstrel of his own times as dealing with this epic *corpus*? Demodocus is universally recognised as a portrait, idealised perhaps, of the contemporary minstrel; and the princes of Scheria correspond to the patrons of Homer. They tell him to 'go on' at a certain point of the tale of Troy; and he enchants the company, and Odysseus himself most of all, by the way he tells it. Then Odysseus asks him practically whether it is his own composition or only learnt by heart from another; and the bard with pride responds that he invented it all himself. This shows, first, that the story of the Trojan war already existed in some connected form; secondly, that some reciters, rhapsodes or 'singers,' as they are called by Homer himself, were already content to repeat the verses of old poets; and thirdly, that any singer of an original turn of mind might alter and add to the old poets as he pleased. Let us put ourselves back then at the time when the original 'Achilleis' existed in its simplest and oldest form. Any singer might add to it or alter it as he thought fit; one would embroider in one way and one in another. The result must have been an expanded 'Achilleis,' with different versions of parts of the story, precisely what Dr Leaf postulates as the condition of things existing when first the 'Iliad' was written down. With Homer's account of Demodocus before us, the burden of proof really rests on those who deny such a state of things. But that it is possible to disentangle this complex web by any quantity of ingenuity and logic, we are inclined to deny very strenuously; and indeed Dr Leaf himself denies it just as much when he observes that his solution is only one of many equally pleasing to their own authors.

In the next place, when was the poem first committed to writing? This ancient bone of dissension continues to

Digitized by Google

be gnawed by emulous disputants; and their answers are bewilderingly discordant. Some assert—saying things by no means persuasive to us—that one of the actual authors wrote it down first. Others go to the other extreme, and hold that it was not written down till the sixth century. This being so, we may plausibly say that nobody knows anything about it; but yet there are certain points of interest to be observed. Since the time of Grote, we have greatly enlarged our knowledge of early writing, which now appears to be a much more ancient art than was formerly believed; in particular, Mr Evans has proved that writing of a sort was practised in Crete hundreds of years before the very earliest parts of Homer were composed. But then nobody can read those documents of Mr Evans', nor even say in what kind of language they are written. But we may argue, from the case of the Babylonian tablets, that an epic would be likely to be written down if there was any method of doing it, however laborious, for the Babylonians certainly did write theirs. On the other hand, it may well be that the Cretan writings are nothing but inventories or records of some kind, the meaning of which might be only perceptible to a very small class. They certainly do not prove that anything in the nature of a 'reading public' existed in Crete at that early date; and we cannot assume on the strength of them that the Cretan poets, if poets there were, could write down a line of their compositions.

On the whole we seem thrown back upon that old battle-ground, the story of Bellerophon in the sixth 'Iliad,' wherein we read how Prœtus sent Bellerophon to Lycia 'and gave him baneful signs, scratching (γράψας) many deadly things in a folded tablet, and bade him show it to his father-in-law, that he might perish.' This enigmatic passage has been diversely interpreted by diverse critics, often, it must be confessed, in accordance with their preconceived notions or to suit their own theories. But, squeezing all the possible meaning out of each word, we seem to arrive at these results. First, that inasmuch as the tablet was folded, we may infer that the 'deadly marks' were capable of conveying their meaning to others besides the king of Lycia, to any one, that is, who saw them and understood the conventional meaning of these signs; and that comes to saying

Digitized by Google

'any one who could read them,' whether they were only picture-writing or some more developed form. Secondly, the epithet 'deadly' seems to show that this writing was regarded as a form of magic by the poet himself. If these inferences are correct, it appears that the Homeric poet knows something about a genuine form of writing, but does not understand at all correctly what it really is, and certainly cannot have practised the art himself. He looks upon it with a kind of wonder, just as he looks upon the works of art which he describes elsewhere.

This, again, fits in very well with the view which is now continually becoming more and more predominant—that the Homeric poems are the creation of an age of decadence in many respects. This brings us to our third great name in the history of the Homeric question, Schliemann. Everybody is more or less familiar with the story of his achievements and that romantic passion which haunted his life—how he took the two great epics in an innocent seriousness, like a child, as real history; how he toiled till he could carry out his dream; and how his dream proved true, *οὐκ ὄναρ ἀλλ' ὕπαρ*. It makes the heart beat quicker to think of him standing over the excavations of 'golden Mycenæ,' and beholding a new world come to light again in obedience to his inspiration, like the planet which swam into the ken of the astronomer's telescope at the bidding of Leverrier. For though we may smile at his belief that he had found the very bones of Agamemnon, king of men, yet a new world it certainly was, or rather an old world recreated. There is the gold in profusion which gave Mycenæ its ancient title; there are the bronze weapons, cunningly inlaid with metal work, and relics plain enough of a whole civilisation long passed away. At first it was natural to identify that civilisation with Homer's. But time brought reflection. In several points we cannot identify the Mycenæan culture with Homer's. In the way of burial, in dress and other things there are differences; in particular, the Mycenæan civilisation is that of the age of bronze; with Homer we find ourselves in the age of iron. For though Homer may talk more of bronze, yet iron is quite familiar to him; and the chances are that even the incessant talk about bronze is partly conscious archaism, partly a literary tradition.

Digitized by Google

These people then whose relics were discovered by Schliemann lived well before Homer's time. They are called Achæans, and it does appear reasonably safe to suppose that the Achæans of Homer are of the same race, the historical Achæans also being their descendants, though they were but a miserable remnant driven by the Dorian invaders into a mere strip of land along the north of Peloponnesus. The relation of these Achæans, whose headquarters were at Mycenæ, to other people round the shores of the Ægean who were in a similar state of civilisation, cannot with any certainty be determined. But it is generally believed by archæologists that this Mycenæan culture reached its climax about 1500 B.C., and gradually declined thereafter; at any rate, it seems as certain as anything of the sort well can be that the final collapse of the Mycenæan power in Greece proper was brought about by the invasion of the Dorians from the north. It is plausibly suggested that the Dorian victory was largely due to their possession of iron weapons. The Mycenæans or Achæans had only bronze. The earliest Greeks known historically, and also the Homeric poems, were well acquainted with iron; the earliest event in Greek history is this Dorian invasion, which is called in legend 'the return of the Heraclidæ.' But this, like everything else in connexion with the interpretation of the Mycenæan relics, is uncertain. For indeed the various theories put forward about the people who left those relics, about their relation to Homer's Achæans and to the different divisions of the Greek race, are so divergent and so speculative that the feeling left in the mind of any one who reads three or four different expositions of these questions is one of utter bewilderment and dismay.

However, 'one thing is certain, and the rest is lies,' as the poet quaintly puts it. Both on historical and linguistic grounds it is most probable that the Dorians differed more from all the other Greek races than the others differed among themselves. The Homeric heroes and the Homeric poets, then, both alike belong to the non-Dorian branch of the Greek race; and that is about as far as we can go with any real certainty. Of course such a modest conclusion will not please those who talk gaily of Celtic invaders and the dreaded name of the Pelasgi, nor even all those more moderate speculators, such as Mr Hall,

Digitized by Google

who says, for example, that in all probability the Asiatic coast was occupied by Ionians from the first, long before the Ionic migration. The 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey,' to be sure, assume a Trojan empire in Asia Minor, which was certainly not Greek, and knew nothing of any Greeks on the Asiatic coast. Nor can this be put down to conscious silence on their part, because such absence of a Greek population in Asia is part of the fundamental assumption of the whole story of the Trojan war.

Mr Monro argues with great force that the Homeric dialect was in reality the 'vulgare illustre,' as Dante has it, of the Achæan or Mycenæan Greeks. The Æolian element in the Homeric poetry is not, according to him, peculiarly Æolian, but is mainly an inheritance from the old Achæan language—the poetical language common, at any rate, to the ancestors of Ionians and Æolians alike. There must obviously have been varieties of speech in the Mycenæan period, as in any other; but one among these became the official language; and that, or rather, as we should put it, a poetical sister of that official language, is what we have, modified by lapse of time and much corroding and corruption, in the epic dialect as we now know it. The later literary Ionic and Æolic are descendants of other dialects of the Mycenæan period; and the Homeric text has been influenced by both. By Ionic, because Homer was handed down by the Ionians; and by Æolic, because many forms not understood by the later Greeks were called Æolic, *faute de mieux*, and were treated accordingly. For example, ἀμὲς would have been the original form of the nominative plural of ἐγώ. This would, in Ionic, become ἠμές; but this form being unknown to the later Greeks, it was assimilated to the Æolic from ἄμμες.

If this be the truth—and we are very much inclined to believe that it is so—then all the theories about the Æolic element in Homer, which have of late had so great a vogue, fall to the ground. It is no longer necessary to suppose that the original poems, as Fick thought, or original lays on which the poems were built up later, as Wilamowitz, Busolt, Leaf, and many others suppose, were Æolic at all in any narrow sense. They were in the old traditional dialect, consecrated to poetry in the Mycenæan age before Ionic and Æolic, as we know them, existed at all. This poetical dialect was as much the inheritance of

Digitized by Google

the Ionians as of the Æolians. Those who did not inherit it were the rude Dorians, who broke up the old state of things; and it was in consequence of their dissolvent energy that the later dialects rose into a prominence which would have been impossible so long as that state of things remained intact. The hypothesis, therefore, of an intermediate Æolian epos is unnecessary; moreover, Mr Monro gives reasons of considerable weight to show that it is also improbable.

But he goes much farther than this, into a region where, with the best will in the world, we find ourselves unable to follow him. He boldly broaches the theory of a European origin for the poems;* he believes, that is, that they were composed before the Dorian invasion by poets living in European Greece under the Mycenæan empire. The reasons for this startling view are based on the geographical knowledge shown in the poems themselves, and on the minute acquaintance displayed with the 'cherished legends and memories' of the country, particularly of the Peloponnesus.

We confess to a feeling of astonishment that any one should appeal to the geographical argument on this side. We have poets dealing with a story which assumes for its fundamental groundwork an attack upon Asia by European Greeks. It is part of the assumption that there are not to be any Greeks in Asia. This assumption, it is true, points to the legend of the Trojan war having arisen in European Greece before any migration to Asia; nobody has ever doubted for an instant that it did so arise; but that is a very different matter. And, granted that the legend itself is of the Mycenæan or pre-Dorian age, the question is when the 'Achilleis,' the later expansions which turned it into an 'Iliad,' and finally, the 'Odyssey,' were composed by poets dealing with that ancient legend. Obviously they are bound by the conditions of the story to keep up the picture of a European or Mycenæan empire opposed to the Asiatic empire of Priam; obviously they cannot talk of Greeks in Asia; nor, unless they dragged it in by the head and shoulders, could they be airing any information about Æolic or

* This was, indeed, advocated in a sentimental and rhetorical manner by Gladstone, but nobody took the trouble to consider it seriously.

Digitized by Google

Ionian settlements. And when the story does lead them to any point in the Ægean, at any rate, they show a very good knowledge of the situation. How accurate, for instance, are the indications of the third 'Odyssey' regarding the return of Menelaus! It is hardly fair to say, with Mr Monro, that 'Chios occurs, but merely as a landmark.' Where in all Homer is there a description of any place in Europe as accurate as that of this 'landmark' in its bearings to neighbouring places? And the knowledge of Crete in the same book is quite as remarkable. What a difference between this and the geography of the Ionian islands and Peloponnesus! It is a notorious blot on Homer's knowledge that he sends Telemachus from Pylos to Sparta without a word of the mountain range between them, and that he evidently conceives the whole country as a flat plain, or at least as easily traversable for a chariot. It is equally notorious that his description of Ithaca is impossible. Certainly Dr Dörpfeld tries to make us believe that Homer's Ithaca was not Ithaca at all but Leucas, and then forces the plain meaning of Homer's words in order to make Leucas fit in with them. But he cannot get over the difficulty that the name of Leucas was Leucas, and the name of Ithaca was Ithaca. One could as soon believe, with the late author of 'Erewhon,' that the picture of Ithaca was drawn from an obscure island off Trapani, or Trapani itself—it is not very clear which.

There is more weight in the other argument—that from the legends embodied in the Homeric poems. Undoubtedly Homer shows an acquaintance with ancient legends about European Greece remarkable in an Ionian. Remarkable, we admit; but when Mr Monro says 'hardly possible,' we demur. We do not think that he allows enough for the extraordinary tenacity of memory found in many nations before they have taken to embodying their history in writing, which, as Plato observed, is rather likely to enfeeble memory than to encourage it. The minuteness of information displayed in the Icelandic sagas, not only about the families of Iceland, but also about those of Norway, is astounding. It is 'hardly possible,' but it is a fact. Why should not the Achæan emigrants have had an equal power of retaining and handing down ancient legends about the country of their

Digitized by Google

origin? And, after all, the references are not so very minute or detailed. In the 'Odyssey' there is only one of the kind. Mr Monro lays stress on a single line (XVII, 207), in which Ithacus, Neritus, and Polyctor are just referred to by name. It may be true that we have here 'one of the instances in which the ruling families of the Trojan war have partially supplanted an earlier group of heroes'; but so attenuated a tradition can hardly establish the theory that the 'Odyssey' arose in Europe.

The 'Iliad,' however, is older—the oldest part of it perhaps much older. One certainly would hesitate to affirm anything definite about the oldest part of it. It may well be that the primitive poem of the 'Wrath of Achilles' was, in some form or other, composed before the Dorian invasion; and this was the opinion of the late Professor Geddes. Only there is no strong evidence pointing in that direction, no evidence to show that a different *provenance* is to be sought for the older and the younger parts of the whole 'Iliad.' The traditional lore on which Mr Monro lays such stress comes rather from the accretions than from the nucleus. The ninth book, at any rate, can hardly be European; for Dr Leaf is justified in following Robert Wood when he says (IX, 5) that 'the poet evidently speaks as an inhabitant of Asia Minor or one of the islands near.' In that passage the north and west winds blowing from Thrace drive the seaweed up along the shore. No European poet could have said that. Again, in the second book, the Greek army is compared to a gathering of birds about the streams of Cayster in the Asian meadow. Would any European poet have said that? The expansion of the 'Achilleis,' therefore, seems to us to have taken place in Asia Minor after the dispersal of the Achæans. And though there may be no definite arguments forthcoming on either side about the 'Achilleis' itself, we cannot help feeling that in all probability this also was composed in Asia in the form which was so largely expanded, although some much simpler lays or legends about it were brought over from Europe by the original emigrants.

Upon the whole, then, we decidedly 'return to the prevailing belief of antiquity,' that Homer was 'the Ionian father of the rest'; and that it was in Ionia that the great epic school was developed and flourished.

Digitized by Google

Here it was that the emigrants lingered fondly over the departed glories of golden Mycenæ and the suzerainty of the Pelopidæ over many an isle and all Argos. The splendours of the sunset have thus outlasted in song the magnificence of the earlier day; and to this extent Homer is a product of the decadence of the ancient empire. There is not much sign of decadence in the poetry, it is true. But the culmination of art not unfrequently synchronises with political decadence.

There are signs discernible in Homer, as it seems to us, of decadence in other respects. It has been observed that he looks upon the works of art which he describes with a sort of naïve wonder, an admiration as of something not altogether intelligible to him. It is thus, as we have said above, that he seems to regard the art of writing in the story of Prœtus and Bellerophon; and it does not appear impossible that an art, confined perhaps to a limited class, may have been lost in consequence of the Dorian invasion. But in particular we find this characteristic in the description of the palaces of great princes in the 'Odyssey.' There are two such, those of Menelaus and of Alcinous. Both are spoken of with the same wondering enthusiasm. Telemachus is struck dumb with awe at the sight of the former, 'for as is the splendour of the sun or moon, such was the glory of the house of Menelaus.' Equally does Odysseus marvel at the house of Alcinous. Yet Odysseus is one of the great Achæan chieftains. Why has he not a palace decorated in the same fashion? Or, if he was but an island chieftain and forced to be content with humbler fittings for his own house, yet at least he would be familiar with the courts of greater kings. But no; the Mycenæan upholstery astonishes him. The answer, we conceive, is this. In the 'Odyssey' generally Homer is describing the sort of life that he knew himself and saw about him; therefore the house of Odysseus is an ordinary house. But the tradition of such palaces as those of Mycenæ and Tiryns remained in ancient poetry and legend; and, when dealing with the fairyland of Scheria, or with, what is nearly as much fairyland to him, Lacedæmon, he indulges in a fancy picture.

Mr Hall has put this view very well in his book on 'The Oldest Civilisation of Greece' (p. 223):—

Digitized by Google

'The Homeric culture is evidently the culture of the poets' own days; there is no attempt to archaize here, unless the wondering descriptions of the masterpiece of bygone days is archaizing. But it is otherwise when political conditions are dealt with. Paul Veronese arrayed the wife of Darius in ruff and farthingale, but he knew full well that she was a queen of ancient Persia, not a sixteenth-century Italian princess.'

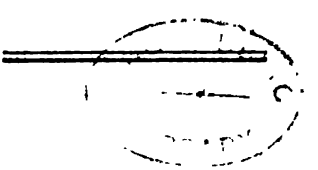
Only Mr Hall forgets that Homer knows of boiled meat, but makes his heroes eat only roast; he knows the use of the trumpet in war, but never lets his heroes blow it; in fact he does archaise to a certain extent in culture as well as politics, though to what extent we shall never know.

'We shall never know'—that is, alas! the true answer to so many questions, and it is one which we are all very loth to make. Great as are the advances made within the last half-century in our knowledge of so many things connected with Homer, still it all remains misty and vague and comparatively unprofitable. There are many other branches of the subject upon which we have not space to touch—the question of Homeric armour opened by Reichel, whose early death was a sad blow to classic science; the question of the restoration of the ancient Homeric language, which has come down to us in a modernised form like the text of Chaucer in old days; and many another question besides. But, after battling in the painful darkness surrounding all these, with what relief does one go back to the treasure itself, where our hearts remain:

'αὐτίκα δ' ἠέρα μὲν σκέδασεν καὶ ἀπῶσεν ὀμίχλην,
ἠέλιος δ' ἐπέλαμψε.'

That is what we feel on going back again to the living word of Homer, not without some envy of those who are content with it and ask no more, of the simple souls to whom may be applied that other couplet:

'Ἕκτορα δ' ἐκ βελέων ὑπαγε Ζεὺς ἔκ τε κονίης
ἔκ τ' ἀνδροκτασίης ἔκ θ' αἵματος ἔκ τε κυδοιμοῦ.'



Digitized by Google

Art. XI.—THE ABBÉ LOISY AND LIBERAL CATHOLICISM IN FRANCE.

1. *L'Évangile et l'Église.* By Alfred Loisy. Paris: Picard, 1902.
2. *Autour d'un Petit Livre.* By Alfred Loisy. Paris: Picard, 1903.
3. *Études Bibliques.* By Alfred Loisy. Paris: Picard, 1901.
4. *La Question Biblique chez les Catholiques de France au xixe siècle.* By Albert Houtin. Paris: Picard, 1902.
5. *Problems and Persons.* By Wilfrid Ward. London: Longmans, 1903.

THE temper of eighteenth century Catholicism differed in many respects from that of the Catholicism of to-day. It was learned, moderate, unaggressive. Religious and secular society had arrived at a *modus vivendi*: there was less talk about religion, but not, perhaps, less religion than now. If it be urged that the age was somewhat at ease in Zion, it may be answered that much depends on the way in which this objection is put. It possessed a sense of proportion, and, in general, of the harmony of existence; it took to heart the counsel of the Preacher not to be 'righteous overmuch.' Muratori was its scholar; Benedict XIV, lettered and urbane, its pontiff: the author of the Universal Prayer lived and died a Roman Catholic; nor was his orthodoxy questioned by his contemporaries; it was a later generation that took exception to his 'Jehovah, Jove, or Lord.' Theology was coloured by the easy philosophy of the time. Neither went to the root of things, or possessed the inductive basis that has been laid by later science. But the practical conclusions of each were tolerable: good sense and good temper made up for defective method and imperfect knowledge of fact. The older Ultramontanism had died out; the new was unborn: to those who looked back upon it, the age seemed like that of the Antonines—a golden age.

On this century, so tolerant, so progressive, so optimistic, the Revolution broke like a tornado, leaving destruction in its train. It passed: men rose and looked round them. Society, civil and religious, lay in ruins; the old landmarks, the old shelters, were gone. To reconstruct

Digitized by Google

was the first necessity. Unfortunately, those who threw themselves into the work of reconstruction forgot that not the structure only, but the foundations of the old world had been destroyed. Originally confined to the few, what was then called philosophy had become the property of the many; and, though social questions had more interest for them than speculative or scientific, the interests of Church and State were too closely allied for the politicians of the Restoration to be indifferent to ist diffusion. As regards religion, this philosophy meant Voltaire and the Encyclopædists. Their criticism of Christianity was superficial; but it was obvious, telling, and, so far as the traditional position went, conclusive. Its solution of the problems which it raised was insufficient; these were deeper and more many-sided than it supposed. But, negatively, its victory was decisive; the solutions hitherto proposed and accepted were beaten out of the field. It was superficial because, and in so far as, the knowledge of the age was superficial; but it cleared the ground and opened out fields of research, the existence of which had been unsuspected. And the horizons which these presented were infinite: men surmised continents untrodden and oceans unsailed.

In Germany this new theology was taken up in a spirit at once religious and scientific. As Hume had been the point of departure for Kant and the critical philosophy, so was the popular Deism of the Illumination for Herder, Schleiermacher, Rothe, and the generation of scholars and divines that followed them. The result was a construction, of which Renan, when introduced to it, wrote: 'Je crus entrer dans un temple. C'était bien là ce que je cherchais, la conciliation d'un esprit hautement religieux avec l'esprit critique.' It was certainly very different from anything to be found in France. The French mind is not interested in theology; it oscillates between ignorant belief and ignorant unbelief. 'Ici il y a superfluité et danger,' was De Maistre's comment on a treatise on the various theories of the origin of the universe: 'la Genèse suffit pour savoir comment le monde a commencé.' And, writing to a friend who had had the bad taste to question the chronology of the patriarchs, he remonstrates—in the spirit of that eminent theologian, Charles II—'Je veux vous dire une grande vérité: *l'irréligion est canaille.*' Nor

Digitized by Google

did the sonorous periods of Chateaubriand advance matters.

'Dieu a dû créer et a, sans doute, créé le monde avec toutes les marques de vetusté et de complément que nous lui voyons. . . . L'homme-roi naquit lui-même à trente années afin de s'accorder par sa majesté avec les antiques grandeurs de son nouvel empire, de même que sa compagne compta sans doute seize printemps, qu'elle n'avait pourtant point vécu, pour être en harmonie avec les fleurs, les petits oiseaux, l'innocence, les amours, et toute la jeune partie de l'univers.'

Glaire and Nicolas fell back upon the arguments of the preceding generation of apologists—arguments which had never been equal to the burden laid upon them, and were now as obsolete as flint muskets or crossbows. At Saint-Sulpice the venerable M. Garnier illustrated the history of Sarah, who, at the advanced age of seventy, inspired a susceptible Egyptian king with passion, by the analogous instance of 'Mlle de Lenclos.' If an improvement has been brought about since then, the impetus has come, not from within, but from without.

'Via prima salutis,
Quod minime reris, Graiâ pandetur ab urbe.'

It is German Protestantism that has pointed the way.

The Abbé Houtin has described the varying fortunes of the movement in 'La Question Biblique chez les Catholiques de France au XIXe siècle,' a work remarkable for a quality rare in theological literature, namely, humour. This crops up in the most unlikely places—the headings of the chapters, the bibliography, the quotations, the notes. The heading of chapter xii, on the Flood, may be instanced. 'Variations sur un grand miracle biblique: "le vrai miracle," le déluge universel,' p. 179.—'Le déluge un peu restreint,' p. 180.—'Le déluge plus restreint,' p. 189.—'Le déluge très restreint,' p. 195.—'Un peu plus de déluge,' p. 196.—'Pas de déluge du tout,' p. 197. Or consider the following extract from a recent commentary on the Apocalypse: 'Ce qui achève de rendre cette prédiction—c. ix, 16—parfaitement réalisable, c'est l'invention toute récente du cheval-machine, du bicycle . . . De plus, les versets suivants donnent à supposer qu'une partie de

Digitized by Google

cette cavalerie pourrait être des automobiles armées en guerre.' In view of the recent and emphatic condemnation of M. Loisy's works, the note appended to M. Houtin's book will be read with interest: 'Ce livre porte l'*imprimatur* de l'Ordinaire.'

M. Houtin's humour, lively as it is, is scarcely such as to recommend itself to the authorities of his Church. These exalted personages do not like to be made ridiculous; and, human nature being what it is, it is not surprising that a determined effort was made to place 'La Question Biblique' on the 'Index.' The difficulty was that the book is almost entirely narrative. The author makes little or no comment; he leaves the facts and quotations to speak for themselves. To condemn him would have been to pillory the dignitaries whose proceedings he records and the approved authors from whose works he gives extracts. More ridicule, if possible, would have been excited by the condemnation of the work than was caused by its publication: under Leo XIII it was felt that this would not do. This difficulty, however, has now been overcome. On December 24, 1903, 'La Question Biblique' was placed on the Index.

The history of apologetic, indeed, is scarcely edifying reading. The literature, whether of the Old or the New Testament, reflects the ideas of the age which produced it; and theologians who, confusing history with dogma, insist on construing it in the terms of later belief and teaching are put to strange shifts. No reconciliation is too forced, no expedient too desperate. The 'days' of creation were periods; the facts of geology and anthropology were forced, as upon a veritable bed of Procrustes, into this or that arbitrarily preconceived frame. One orthodox writer found a prediction of Columbus and the discovery of America in Isaiah lx; another a revelation of the chemical composition of bodies in 2 Peter iii, 5; a third saw in the life of the embryo in the uterus, or of the frog embedded in early rock strata, a parallel to the experiences of Jonah in the belly of the whale. It would not be worth while to recall these ineptitudes were they things of the past. But this is not so. The Paris schoolboy is taught in his catechism that the world was created four thousand years before Christ. He knows, from the instruction given him in the *école primaire*, that this is

Digitized by Google

simply untrue. So with the 'days' of creation, the Fall, the Deluge; and the list might be indefinitely extended.

In higher-grade education, it is true, distinctions are drawn and a certain latitude of interpretation is permitted. But to the great majority, to those least capable of distinguishing symbol from content, the truths of religion are presented in myths whose literal falsehood is patent. 'Les historiens qui auront à expliquer comment le peuple de France a perdu sa foi traditionelle, devront-ils négliger l'effet produit par de telles causes?'

More than any other man, Renan brought the biblical question into prominence. 'Philologue d'instinct,' he possessed in a rare degree the scholar's temper; his literary power equalled or surpassed his scientific; he was one of the greatest masters of style that ever lived. To a religious imagination he united a critical understanding; a vein of mystical sentiment underlay his scepticism; he retained the stamp of Saint-Sulpice to the end. His piety survived his faith. What made Roman Catholicism impossible to him was the irreconcilable opposition which, he believed, existed between it and criticism.

'Je vois autour de moi des hommes purs et simples auxquels le christianisme a suffi pour les rendre vertueux et heureux: mais j'ai remarqué que nul d'entre eux n'a la faculté critique. . . . Ah! si j'étais né protestant en Allemagne! Là était ma place. . . . Mais dans le catholicisme il faut être orthodoxe. C'est une barre de fer: il n'entend pas raison.'

From this view he never varied: Liberal Catholicism was a contradiction in terms. His reasoning on the subject was abstract. 'C'est le philosophe qui a fait dérailler l'historien,' was the comment of a representative of the incriminated school.

'Suivant lui, qui transige avec l'exégèse de M. Garnier est pire qu'un hérétique; c'est un catholique libéral. Il faut ou expliquer les aventures de Sara par celles de Mlle de Lenclos, ou s'exiler du christianisme. On trouve actuellement des personnes graves qui croient pouvoir échapper du dilemme.'

Hostile, however, as he was to Liberal Catholicism, he gave a powerful impulse to the work which Liberal Catholicism was and is carrying on. Knowledge is in-

Digitized by Google

ternational, and knows nothing of frontiers. He brought the Spree to the Seine. Popularising the results of German scholarship, and adding to them those of his own, he made the facts known. 'Tolle, lege.' Many for the first time opened a Bible: men questioned, criticised, perhaps scoffed, but they read; and, as they read, the difficulty accentuated itself. The received exegesis was impossible; and the Church refused to supply, or even to tolerate, another. It was a choice, it seemed, between religion and truth. After Renan's death the distress and perplexity in which many found themselves were represented to Cardinal Meignan, then Archbishop of Tours. A scholar himself, he was sympathetic, but unable or unwilling to move in the matter. 'Il n'y a rien à faire,' was his answer. 'Tous ceux qui reprendront la tentative de Richard Simon seront écrasés, comme il l'a été par Bossuet. Les théologiens sont féroces.'

He added a piece of advice based on his own experience, and confirmed by that of those to whom it was addressed: 'Quant à vous, gardez-vous de vous compromettre. Vous vous briserez inutilement, et ceux qui pensent comme vous ne vous soutiendront pas.' A few, more courageous, or less hampered by official responsibilities, spoke with greater freedom. Mgr d'Hulst wrote in guarded but unmistakable terms in the 'Correspondant'; the Dominican 'Revue Biblique International,' and the 'Enseignement Biblique,' the latter due to the initiative of the Abbé Loisy, were founded. M. Loisy had been since 1881 professor of Hebrew at the Institut Catholique, where the Abbé, now Mgr, Duchesne occupied the chair of Ecclesiastical History, and the Abbé Paul de Broglie that of apologetic. All three were marked men. M. Duchesne's lectures were suspended in 1886, the pretext being the part taken by him in the controversy as to the apostolic origin ascribed by legend to certain French churches; the students of Saint-Sulpice were forbidden to attend M. Loisy's courses after the publication of his 'Mythes Chaldéens de la Création et du Déluge'; and the appearance of an essay, entitled 'L'Histoire du Dogme de l'Inspiration,'* in the 'Enseignement Biblique' was final. In 1892 the connexion between the professor and the Institut

* Reprinted in 'Études Bibliques.'

Digitized by Google

Catholique came to an end. 'Dic nobis placentia,' quotes M. Houtin: the comment suits the text.

Nor were things better at Rome than in France. In 1887 three notable works were placed on the Index: Ledrain's 'Histoire d'Israël,' Lenormant's 'Origines de l'Histoire,' and Lasserre's translation of the Gospels, which had been published under the *imprimatur* of the present and the late Archbishop of Paris, and with the blessing of Leo XIII. It was a reign of terror; no one knew from day to day when or on whom the next blow would fall.

'Il faut bien le dire une fois pour toutes, c'était un sort terrible, il y a quinze ou vingt ans, que celui d'un prêtre appelé à étudier et à pratiquer scientifiquement l'exégèse biblique, si ce prêtre avait l'esprit ouvert et la parole sincère. Ce qui se révélait à lui était un champ d'études immense et que l'enseignement reçu lui avait à peine laissé deviner; c'était le travail incomplet, mais énorme cependant, qui a été accompli déjà par l'exégèse protestante et rationaliste; c'était la résurrection, confuse encore mais qui tendait à devenir de plus en plus nette, d'une histoire grandiose, celle des origines chrétiennes, histoire que les siècles passés ne connaissaient et ne comprenaient pas mieux, comme histoire, que celle de la haute antiquité orientale, grecque, et romaine; c'était la nécessité, pour les catholiques, de contribuer à cette résurrection comme à tout autre développement du savoir humain, sous peine de s'excommunier eux-mêmes de la société intellectuelle et de préparer pour l'avenir prochain une crise bien plus redoutable que toutes celles que la foi chrétienne a traversées depuis qu'elle existe.' ('Autour d'un Petit Livre,' pp. xv, xvi.)

In October 1893 the encyclical 'Providentissimus Deus' was published. This famous document bore on the face of it signs of compromise. Originally, it was believed, it had been drafted in conciliatory terms; then, under the influence of the Jesuit Cardinal Mazzella—theologically the evil genius of Leo XIII—revised in a temper the reverse of conciliatory; finally, as so often happens, a middle course was decided on; the papal utterance might, indeed, have been better, but it might, on the other hand, have been very much worse. It would have been unreasonable to expect it to take the critical standpoint. The Pope is not a professor; the Church is not a university; no one could have complained had the encyclical called

Digitized by Google

attention to the religious worth of Scripture, and emphasised the 'scientia inflat' of the apostle. But it did more than this. The traditional view of the inerrancy of the sacred books was propounded in its most extreme form. 'Libri omnes atque integri . . . cum omnibus suis partibus Spiritu Sancto dictante conscripti sunt.' Their writers were employed 'tanquam instrumenta ad scribendum': the notion of inspiration was defined in the precisest of terms.

'Nam supernaturali virtute ita eos ad scribendum excitavit et movit, ita scribentibus astitit, ut ea omnia eaque sola quae ipse juberet recte mente conciperent, et fideliter conscribere vellent, et apte infallibili veritate exprimerent. Secus non ipse esset auctor scripturae universae.'

At the same time concessions were made to natural science and even to history; the 'vera artis criticae disciplina' was distinguished from the 'ars quam vocant criticam'; and the clergy were urged to the study of Scripture in the original tongues, availing themselves of all the assistance that modern research and methods afford. This was an effectual, though an indirect and unintentional, antidote to what had gone before. Thought has a natural logic: such studies, once entered upon, take their own course and carry men with them whether they will or no. At the time, however, the encyclical fell like a bomb among the progressives. They did not change their views or abandon their hopes; but nothing, they felt, could be done for the moment: they must wait. Official submissions were made, official compliments exchanged over the document. Then the real work began: theologians set themselves to determine its interpretation; to maximise and minimise, to supplement and evade. If in all this there was a considerable element of insincerity, the blame attaches less to individuals than to the system which introduces an alien factor, authority, into the things of mind. The two are contrary one to another. In the external sphere authority has its place and its necessity. In the internal it is, in the literal sense of the word, impertinent. The one answer which thought can make to it is to deny at once its competence and its jurisdiction: 'Woman, what have I to do with thee?'

Roman Catholicism, however, is not in reality so rigid

Digitized by Google

as it seems. Dogmatic in form, papal pronouncements are, as a rule, disciplinary in substance; dictated rather by political than religious motives, they impose submission rather than assent. In this case the victory of the traditionalists was barren; the current of ideas against which they set themselves was too powerful to be withstood. The submission of the Liberals was nominal. Old writers reappeared under thinly veiled pseudonyms; new periodicals replaced those that had been discontinued or suppressed. At the Catholic congress of Fribourg (1897) the documentary theory of the composition of the Hexateuch was upheld by scholars of distinction. The Conservatives urged that this and similar opinions had been condemned by Leo XIII as 'portenta errorum.' If they failed to elicit a new condemnation, they succeeded in stifling discussion: at the Munich congress (1900) the section of scriptural science was suppressed. From one point of view, it must be admitted, the Liberals were at a disadvantage; the ground which they professed to occupy was not their real ground. Their opponents were in the right in saying that they had not conformed loyally to the papal instructions: they had to choose between loyalty and truth. One course only was open to them; and, unable to express their real sentiments, their protestations of submission had a false ring.

Again, their opinions were taking them further than they anticipated; the opposition between criticism and traditionalism is wider than moderate men on either side suppose. The 'gendarmes théologiques' had the instinct of self-preservation; like certain low organisms, they were sensible of a danger which they were unable to define. The fabric of theology—dogma, canon-law, ceremonial, all, in short, that distinguishes Roman Catholicism as creed or polity as opposed to religion—is based on certain conceptions of the universe, certain metaphysical beliefs, certain views of history and experience which shaped themselves at a particular time, under particular influences, and were the outcome of a particular phase of human development. As the conditions which have produced them change, these conceptions, beliefs, and views, change with them; and thus slowly but surely the foundations of theology are undermined. This process of undermining is gradual; it is not till it has reached an

Digitized by Google

advanced stage that it is perceived. For religious thought is relatively stable; the stir of the outside world is but faintly heard in the sanctuary.

Gradual, however, as the shifting is, it is certain. The history of Christianity is a history of identity, but—or it were not history—of identity in difference; and, while the identity is underlying and escapes observation, the difference is on the surface and strikes the eye. Christianity has been in succession Jewish, Greek, and mediæval: no conceivable change can be greater than that which transformed the Messianic movement of Jesus into the community of the Apostolic, and the Church of the post-apostolic, age. But that the adoption of the critical standpoint implies a wide change in received religious conceptions is beyond question. What, for example, becomes of the theology of the sacraments when the philosophical notion of Substance, what of that of the Incarnation when that of Person, disappears or is changed beyond recognition? Ideas indeed subsist under variations of conception and terminology; but this way of looking at things involves the admission that even our religious knowledge is relative, that our notions and terms are symbolic, and that that which they symbolise is expressed inadequately in them and is greater than they. This admission, incumbent on the strictest theology, and made, at least in terms, by its representatives, is strangely repugnant to popular religion, which, as Mark Pattison said, is

'not merely well satisfied with its own notions, but with itself for entertaining them. It can better bear to be contradicted than to be treated as of no account. A philosophical Christianity which admits, but leaves below it, the popular formula, trenches upon the egotism as well as the prejudice of the community.' (Essays, ii, 302.)

To go behind the traditional belief, to interpret, distinguish, qualify—this is what it will not endure. This dogmatic temper, common to the Churches, is accentuated in Roman Catholicism, because here the acceptance of dogma resolves itself ultimately into an act of submission to authority; and authority is the distinctive mark of Rome. A striking example was given when, in 1897, the question was put to the Holy Office whether the

Digitized by Google

authenticity of the so-called 'Comma Joanneum'—1 John v, 7—could safely be called in doubt. The Congregation replied *negative*; the answer being approved and confirmed by the Pope. An ambiguous and unofficial explanation of this amazing utterance, stating that it bore on the theological, not the critical, value of the passage, was communicated to the English Press. The distinction recalls the once famous opinion of Pomponazzi that what was true in theology might be false in philosophy, and *vice versa*. Neither then nor now could the subterfuge deceive any but those who wished to be deceived. What was obvious was that, in subject-matter, in which she claims exclusive competence, the decision of the Roman Church was flagrantly, it is not too much to say cynically, at variance with fact. Hence, in the last years of Leo XIII, a complete deadlock.

'Les critiques à l'heure présente ne sont pas qualifiés pour défendre les positions que Léon XIII leur reproche d'avoir abandonnées, ni pour faire valoir des preuves qu'ils ont naguère déclarées fragiles. . . . Les exégètes catholiques ne peuvent pas faire que la théologie d'autrefois soit la science d'aujourd'hui.' ('Revue du Clergé Français,' 1 juin 1900.)

It is urged that all that Rome claims is the subordination of the individual to the community, that her soldiers shall not march without the word of command. Analogies are fallacious. The Church is not an army, but mankind viewed from the religious standpoint; and it is impossible to impose military discipline upon mankind. To speak of the 'rights of man' is to use a phrase open to misconception. Whether a particular man has a 'right' to act in this or that way is, generally speaking, a matter of circumstances. But in the circumstances in which we live there can scarcely be two opinions as to the prudence or even possibility of a policy of intellectual repression.

'In some states of society, such as our own,' says Cardinal Newman, 'it is the worst charity, the most provoking, irritating rule of action, and the most unhappy policy, not to speak out, not to suffer to be spoken out, all that there is to say.' ('Via Media,' 1877, pref. p. lvii.)

Free trade in ideas is a fact, not an opinion: ideas must be met, not by force, physical or moral, but by ideas. The Roman Catholic Church is an institution on so large

Digitized by Google

a scale, and bound up so closely with the fortunes of mankind, that it is antecedently improbable, and even inconceivable, that she will put herself into an attitude of permanent opposition to received knowledge. Hitherto what she has opposed has been advanced, not received, knowledge; as this has become general her attitude of opposition has been dropped or explained away. Future development will probably resemble that of the past. But this consideration will scarcely help the controversialist. Rome claims submission as infallible: with the claim to infallibility that to submission stands or falls. And a dilatory and contingent accommodation to what may prove to be the results of science is a very different thing from infallibility. If all that can be said for the Church of Rome is that she is unlikely to put herself into permanent opposition to received knowledge, where is her divine prerogative? how does her infallibility differ from that of the College of Surgeons or the Royal Academy? Must we not conclude that Roman Catholicism is a phase through which the Christian idea has passed in former ages, but from which it has definitely and finally emerged?

This is the conclusion of Protestant theologians. M. Loisy disputes it; his argument being in effect this. (1) It is only by an unreal and illegitimate abstraction that the Christian idea can be separated from the Christian community. The two are correlative. The Gospel was born and has lived in the community: isolate it, and you have a ghost, not a spirit: life, movement, energy are gone. Further, (2) the attempt to represent any one feature of Christianity as invariable, and the essence of the whole, is unwarrantable. For, on the one hand, there is no part of the whole which is not variable and has not in fact varied; and, on the other, the notion of essence is abstract; it is the sum of the parts that constitutes the whole.

The first of these positions is true, and conclusive against an individualist theory of religion. The second, true in a sense, is scarcely the truth. Christianity has varied, but the Gospel has subsisted under its variations, and is simpler and more unmistakable than we suppose. Whether M. Loisy has refuted Professor Harnack is doubtful. They are workers in a common field and

Digitized by Google

towards a common purpose; to many it will seem that the points on which they differ are fewer and less vital than those on which they are agreed. Incidentally, however, M. Loisy has subjected Harnack's method and its results to an acute and suggestive criticism.

The Christian of to-day is faced by the difficulty that primitive and modern Christianity are two different things. He is inclined to assume that what he believes to be the fundamental truths of religion, and these only, constituted the original teaching of Christ, accounting for the rest by such causes as accretion, environment, degeneration, and the like. Working on these lines, Harnack and Sabatier have done a work for religion the importance of which it is difficult to exaggerate: clearing away the debris which blocked the entrance to the temple, they have given access to the shrine. Their method, however, is not beyond criticism. For the teaching of Christ contains other elements than those which we should now regard as fundamental; while, in the analysis, much of what is generally understood by Christianity disappears. The soul has been preserved, but the body has evaporated: Christology, the Church, her creeds, her sacraments are gone. M. Loisy, with the above-mentioned writers, takes the Gospel as relative; he assigns to later beliefs and institutions their historical place in Christianity; but he advances a philosophy of religion which accounts for their existence, for the Christian fact as a whole.

Great as Harnack is in history, his philosophy of history—especially of religious history—leaves something to be desired. He does not distinguish between the use and the abuse of this philosophy. Extracting from the Gospel a single, and, as he believes, a new and unchanging, principle—the belief in the Father-God—he tests everything in Christianity by its relation to this; it is the touchstone by which the rest stands or falls. On such a theory what is over and above remains a problem. It is antecedently improbable, remarks M. Loisy, that so vast and complex a structure as Christianity can be reduced to a single article of belief or fact of feeling. What becomes of the residuum? Harnack disavows the notion that it is merely parasitic: 'pathologisch ist hier nichts.' But, given his standpoint, it is difficult to give it other

Digitized by Google

than a pathological interpretation. And the question suggests itself, has he derived this standpoint from history? Or, having adopted it on other than historical grounds, does he unconsciously interpret history in accordance with it? 'L'Évangile a existé indépendamment de nous: tâchons de l'entendre en lui-même, avant de l'interpréter par rapport à nos préférences ou à nos besoins.'

The 'essence' of Christianity, if we may use the term in such a connexion, is not necessarily what Christians believe to-day, but what holds the first and largest place in Christ's teaching, the ideas which He preached and for which He died. So with the *kerugma* of the first days. The fact in each case is, and must be treated as, objective. To take a parallel instance, we discover the 'essence' of Islamism, not by selecting those of its component elements which recommend themselves to our religious sense, but those which, for the Prophet and his disciples, bulked largest in belief, conduct, and worship. Otherwise, with a little goodwill, we might identify the teaching of the Koran with that of the Gospel, both proclaiming as central the belief in the all-merciful and all-compassionate God. Again, *differentia* is not essence: to assume that the features which seem to us peculiar to Christianity constitute its definition is arbitrary. Monotheism, for example, is not peculiar to Christianity; but certainly it is of its essence, and stands in the forefront of its creed. Finally, a critical discussion of the text is a necessary preliminary to fixing, in Harnack's sense of the word, the 'essence' of the Gospel. What if the passages on which he relies are not, or are not in the sense in which he uses them, genuine sayings of Christ? M. Loisy is of opinion that two of them at least—Matthew xi, 27, and Luke xvii, 21—'ont chance d'avoir été influencés, sinon produits, par la théologie des premiers temps.' For another view the reader may be referred to Weiss, 'Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes' (p. 157). But the question is an open one; and Harnack's argument, in so far as it is based on the authenticity of these *Logia*, is insecure.

The truth however is—and M. Loisy is on strong ground when he insists upon it—that the idea of a gospel teaching or record independent of tradition is a contradiction in

Digitized by Google

terms. 'On ne connaît le Christ que par la tradition, à travers la tradition, dans la tradition chrétienne primitive.' His sayings, ideal and institutional alike, come to us through the minds of his followers; of few, if of any, would it be safe to argue that we possess them unaffected by the medium through which they have passed.

> 'Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
> Testa diu.'

Nothing has changed in Christianity, urges the Roman controversialist. Something has changed in it, answers the Protestant. Everything has changed in it, M. Loisy retorts upon both. 'L'Évangile tout entier était lié à une conception du monde et de l'histoire qui n'est plus la nôtre; et c'est l'Évangile tout entier, non seulement sa prétendue essence, qui n'y était pas lié inséparablement.'

But the question may be regarded from another point of view. The notion of essence as something fixed and unchanging is part of the *damnosa hereditas* of scholasticism. It is not in particles of matter, few or many, but in the direction and impulse of life pervading them that the identity of the organism resides. Harnack appears to conceive actual Christianity as a husk enveloping a kernel; the fruit is reached by the removal, layer by layer, of the outer rind. This were to dissect a dead, not to observe a living, body; the shrine, rudely invaded, is tenantless, the deity gone. The fatherhood of God, simple as the notion seems, means at once less and more to us than it meant to the Christians of the first generation; and if the direction given by Christ constitutes an identity in difference here, why not elsewhere also?—in the hope of the kingdom, in the ministry of the apostles, in the Messianic character of Christ?

'Pourquoi ne pas mettre l'essence du christianisme dans la plénitude et la totalité de sa vie, qui, par cela même qu'elle est vie, est mouvement et variété, mais en tant que vie procédant d'un principe évidemment très puissant, a grandi suivant une loi qui affirmait, à chaque progrès, la force initiale de ce qu'on pourrait appeler son essence physique, révélée dans toutes ses manifestations?' ('L'Évangile,' Introd. p. xxvi.)

The figure, indeed, changes, but the type is unchanging; the law which governs its evolution persists. The broad outlines of the whole, its characteristics,

Digitized by Google

that by which it lives—these constitute the essence of Christianity; and this essence is invariable, not in the sense that it does not change—it is always changing—but as being the principle of an organism which is identical with itself as long as, and in the measure in which, it lives. For life is a whole, and in the whole.

'La formule intégrale de la vraie philosophie religieuse ne serait-elle pas "Dieu partout," comme la formule intégrale du christianisme est: "Le Christ dans l'Église, et Dieu dans le Christ"?' (*Ib.* pp. xxxiii, xxxiv.)

M. Loisy, it will be seen, is a philosopher as well as a critic; and his work is primarily a contribution to the philosophy of religion. But it is his criticism rather than his philosophy which has brought him into conflict with ecclesiastical authority. The latter it does not understand; of the former it sees only the negative side, being too unintelligent either to recognise that this is a prelude to construction, or to appreciate the necessity of the construction to which it leads.

Manner, too, goes for something in these matters. 'Tout d'abord,' says M. Gabriel Monod in the 'Revue Historique,' 'ce qui a dû choquer ses censeurs, c'est le ton laïque du livre.' The note of M. Loisy's mind is impersonality; he sees in a dry light. There is no attempt at edification or unction. He dissects, observes, registers, without emotion. His last work, 'Autour d'un Petit Livre,' which, with its intense, though subdued, passion, recalls the 'Lettres Provinciales,' is the exception which proves the rule; ordinarily he is passionless, and treats the most burning questions with the apparent indifference of a physician diagnosing a case. The facts on which theology rests know nothing of sects or confessions; they are extraterritorial, the common inheritance of those who know. It is unnecessary, therefore, to define his position with regard to them. It is enough to say that, where he differs from Protestant writers, it is not because he is more conservative—he is often less so—but because he is more objective, less open to considerations of sentiment than they. It does not follow that he is always in the right as against them; feeling is sometimes truer than fact. But in concrete questions, where feeling is out of place, his judgment is not lightly to be questioned; he

Digitized by Google

has an instinct for the actual which seldom leads him astray.

It is with regard not to the facts but to the inferences to be drawn from the facts that differences of opinion begin. The liberal theologian, face to face with the opposition between criticism and traditional belief, falls back upon the distinction between the varying and the permanent in religion. There is a 'Wesen des Christentums'; we can separate the substance from the form. The eschatology of the Synoptics is form; the hope of immortality substance; the Easter message symbol; the life of the risen Christ, and our life in Him, the truth symbolised. The religious value of this distinction is greater than M. Loisy is disposed to admit; but he is in the right when he questions its historical validity: if it is not to be misleading it must be made with circumspection and under reserves.

Idealists at heart, we picture to ourselves a divine without a human, light without shadow, truth without alloy. And in religion, at least, we expect to find our dream realised: we wake with a sense of chill and disillusionment to find that here, as elsewhere, it is a dream. The actual falls short of the ideal. Our conception was abstract; in the concrete, the world of experience, good and evil, truth and falsehood, are mixed. He who lays stress on a preconceived idea of what a revelation is runs the risk of rejecting the revelation should it prove other than he conceived it. Faith is not vision; its object is a concrete symbol, not a pure idea. The Absolute underlies Scripture and religion as it underlies nature, no less and no more—or, if this seem a hard saying, no more, but no less. Here, as there, the attempt to mark out separate compartments for absolute and relative is vain. The two are inseparably fused together, the one being the vehicle of the other, but interpreting it inadequately and in part. To this rule there is no exception. If by the 'pure' Gospel is meant an abstract ideal teaching without time or place-colour, remote from circumstance and generally unrelated, then there is and can be no such thing as the 'pure' Gospel; it never existed; it does not and never will exist. Abstraction of this sort is the bane of theology. The point of departure is vicious, being a conception of what the Gospel, we think, ought to be, unchecked by reference to what the Gospel is.

Digitized by Google

'L'Évangile et l'Église,' to which 'Autour d'un Petit Livre' is at once a key and a supplement, may be regarded from two distinct points of view: (1) as a criticism of Harnack's 'Wesen des Christentums'; (2) as an essay in constructive historical theology; and, though the latter is the more important of the two aspects, the former must not be passed over without notice. That Harnack is strongly, perhaps too strongly, under the influence of the Ritschlian antagonism to the philosophy which underlies religion, is true. Ritschl did incalculable service to theology by recalling it from theory to life. But the arbitrary and *a priori* character of the theories which called forth his protest against theory does not abolish the inner logic of facts. Thought is in things. What is important is that it should be read out of, not into, them; that they should be allowed to speak for themselves.

So much for the general standpoint; in particular, it may be admitted that Harnack has, at least to a certain extent, allowed the notion of the Messianic kingdom to fall out of Christ's teaching. This is, of course, a matter of more or less. Passages might be quoted both from the 'Wesen' and the 'Dogmengeschichte' in which the notion of this kingdom is emphasised. What we mean is that, in the general view of Christianity presented, it takes less than its proper place. M. Loisy, on the other hand, has scarcely done justice to the distinction between the relative religious value of different parts, or aspects, both of the original Gospel and of later Christianity. Here, again, it is not a question of what is admitted in words, but of impression and perspective. The law of the whole is brought into such prominence as to obscure the freedom—a relative freedom, of course—of the parts. The individual reacts against, while he is acted upon by, his environment; and it is in the equilibrium between this action and reaction that normal and healthy life consists. Each of the two writers has something that the other lacks. The Protestant is quicker to seize the moral, the Catholic the historical, element in the data; the former has a keener instinct for idea, the latter for fact.

The significance of controversy, however, is passing; it is not on this side that M. Loisy's work possesses permanent worth. It is significant as being the most

Digitized by Google

important defence of Catholicism that has appeared since Newman's 'Essay on Development.' It has in an eminent degree what that famous book had not—the judicial temper. Free from sophistry and special pleading, the Catholicism which inspires it is hereditary and religious, not political. Its atmosphere differs from that of the pulpit and the clerical press, of the 'Schola Theologorum' and of Roman Congregations, of conciliar definitions and papal encyclicals; these things are, from the writer's standpoint, not ultimate authorities in religion, but problems needing to be solved. History is the key to their solution: we understand a belief or an institution when we know how it has come to be what it is. The past, though the ancestor, is the remote ancestor of the present; the links that connect them do not lie on the surface; the dust of centuries must be removed to bring them to light. The results of this process of removal are startling, if not to piety, at least to prejudice. We are accustomed, for example, to suppose that we possess in the Gospels the *ipsissima verba* of Christ. M. Loisy tells us it is not so. 'Il ne reste dans les Évangiles qu'un écho, nécessairement affaibli et un peu mêlé, de la parole de Jésus.' The organisation of the Church, her teaching, her hierarchy, her sacraments, are only mediately and indirectly to be traced to Him.

'Il est certain que Jésus n'avait pas réglé d'avance la constitution de l'Église comme celle d'un gouvernement établi sur la terre et destiné à s'y perpétuer pendant une longue série des siècles; . . . en ce qui concerne leur origine, il en est des sacraments, ainsi que de l'Église et du dogme, qui procèdent de Jésus et de l'Évangile comme des réalités vivantes et non comme des institutions expressément définies.'

The distinction between historical fact and theological opinion is vital.

'On peut dire, sans paradoxe, que pas un chapitre de l'Écriture, depuis le commencement de la Genèse jusqu'à la fin de l'Apocalypse, ne contient un enseignement tout à fait identique à celui de l'Église sur le même objet.'

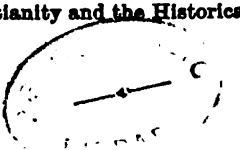
The Christ of the Synoptic narrative is other than the Word of later speculation; the two, if *unus*, are not *unum*. The latter, in whatever shape the figure is presented to us, Pauline, Joannine, or Nicene, is an

Digitized by Google

interpretation of the former; the formula in which this interpretation shapes itself is relative to the science, the metaphysic, and the psychology of its day. These having changed, this requires restatement: 'une traduction s'impose.' We have to do, in short, not with a stereotyped deposit given once for all, but with a living organism. The Gospel did not drop down from heaven ready-made; rather it was a seed planted in a definite soil, expanding, propagating itself, assimilating here, rejecting there, acted upon by sun, wind, and rain as they went and came. This is the light in which M. Loisy regards the history of Christianity. That the Church has changed is true—in constitution, in teaching, in worship—but this does not touch her claims upon us. For (1) such change was in the nature of things; 'le développement doctrinal chrétien était fatal, donc légitime en principe': (2) it is not peculiar to Catholicism; 'les apôtres se faisaient du monde et aussi de Dieu . . . une idée assez différente de celle qu'insinue la péroraison de "l'Essence du Christianisme"': (3) the teaching of the Church is for to-day, not for to-morrow; 'les formules traditionelles sont soumises à un travail perpétuel d'interprétation où la lettre qui tue est efficacement contrôlée par l'esprit qui vivifie.'

This, perhaps, is rather to describe than to justify or even account for the facts. To say that a development was inevitable is not to say that this or that particular development was so; there is an element of the contingent in human affairs. 'Every stage of the long journey was necessary to the result, and survives in it as an essential element.'* But it is not easy to fit the facts into so rigid a frame. A Christology was bound to emerge when men reflected on Christ's person and teaching, but not necessarily the Nicene Christology; the brotherly love of the first days inevitably crystallised into an organisation as the brotherhood became a church, but not necessarily into Episcopacy or the Papacy. Still less does it follow that there is a sufficient moral reason for these developments. M. Loisy's philosophy of history is open to Jowett's criticism of Hegelianism, that it is 'a transcendental defence of the world'

* Caird, 'Christianity and the Historical Christ.'



Digitized by Google

—in this case of the Church—'as it is.' In the hands of men of his own calibre the theory is safe from misapplication; but with many it will degenerate too easily into a denial of room for, and need of, aspiration. All may be left to the Time-spirit; for 'what is actual is rational, and what is rational is actual.'

'But a good man will not readily acquiesce in this aphorism. He knows, of course, that all things proceed according to law, whether for good or evil. But, when he sees the misery and ignorance of mankind, he is convinced that, without any interruption of the uniformity of nature, the condition of the world may be indefinitely improved by human effort. . . . The doctrine of Hegel will to many seem the expression of an indolent conservatism, and will at any rate be made an excuse for it. The mind of the patriot rebels when he is told that the worst tyranny and oppression has a natural fitness; he cannot be persuaded, for example, that the conquest of Prussia by Napoleon I was either natural or necessary, or that any similar calamity befalling a nation should be a matter of indifference to the poet or philosopher. We may need such a philosophy or religion to console us under evils that are irremediable, but we see that it is fatal to the higher life of man.' (Jowett's 'Dialogues of Plato,' iv. 328.)

Two obvious objections to this conception of religion suggest themselves; one, which has already been raised by the supreme ecclesiastical authority, that, whatever else it is, it is not Catholicism; the other—and this is the more important of the two—that, whatever else it is, it is not Christianity, at all events not Christianity as generally understood. That it is not the Catholicism of to-day is certain. That it is not the Catholicism of to-morrow is uncertain; this is for to-morrow to decide. Even to-day moderate men suspend judgment. Eight bishops, it is true, condemned 'L'Évangile et l'Église.' But there are eighty-four bishops in France; and seventy-six, though invited, it is believed, by the Nuncio to associate themselves with Cardinal Richard, refrained from action. It would be a mistake to infer that these prelates approved of M. Loisy's book; but it is fair to infer that they disapproved of its condemnation. That Rome has spoken, tardily and, as it seems, under protest; that the machinery of the Index and the Inquisition has been brought into play—this is immaterial to the real

Digitized by Google

issue.* Action of this kind, decisive too often of the position of individuals, affects but little the future of ideas. These are independent of their advocates; they live their own life, pursue their own paths, develope in accordance with their own laws. Indirectly and in the long run they govern the world and mould the most stubborn realists to their likeness, because they create the atmosphere in which we all, realists and idealists, live. They run the gauntlet of opposition; their survival is the test of their fitness to survive. Whether the forward movement in the Roman Church will proceed on the precise curve that M. Loisy indicates, time will show. But it has too many elements in its favour, it is too closely identified with the lines on which the world is moving, to be suppressed. Individuals may be crushed or driven into rebellion, but the cause is secure.

M. Loisy is a pioneer. A specialist in exegesis and history, to the untrained reader his conclusions will seem of the nature of a solvent; he is cautious, but it takes a scholar to appreciate his caution; and with all his caution he is a leader rather than a representative of the school to which he belongs. The net results of the movement towards a scientific theology with which he is identified, are seen perhaps less in his own works than in the raised level of knowledge outside the range of his personal influence. Positions hotly denounced twenty or even ten years back are now taken for granted. That a text-book written by a Sulpician and published under

* The following is a translation of the letter communicating the fact of the condemnation to Archbishop Richard:—

'By order of the Holy Father, I am to inform Your Eminence of the measures which His Holiness has decided to take respecting the works of the Rev. Abbé Alfred Loisy. The very grave errors which abound in these volumes concern principally—the Primitive Revelation; the authenticity of the facts and teaching of the Gospels; the Divinity and the Knowledge (*Scienza*) of Christ; the Resurrection; the Divine Institution of the Church; the Sacraments. The Holy Father, deeply grieved and sadly preoccupied by the disastrous effects which are produced, and may in future be produced, by writings of such a character, resolved to submit them for examination to the Supreme Tribunal of the Holy Office. This tribunal, after mature reflection and prolonged study, has formally condemned the works of the Abbé Loisy, in a decree of the 16th inst., fully confirmed by the Holy Father at the audience of the following day (Dec. 17). I am charged to transmit to Your Eminence an authentic copy of this document, the grave importance of which will not escape Your Eminence.

'R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL.'

Digitized by Google

the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of New York should 'ascribe to Richard Simon the honour of having been the first to inaugurate the method according to which the questions introductory to the interpretation of the Bible should be handled,'* marks the advance that has been made.

Another case in point is Mr Wilfrid Ward's significant 'Problems and Persons.' His tone is more distinctly apologetic than M. Loisy's. The latter is content for the most part to state his conclusions and indicate the methods by which they have been reached. Mr Ward's purpose is to show that, while foreign to the letter, such conclusions are not inconsistent with the spirit of traditional theology.

'My principal endeavour has been to point out that there is abundant room already provided by acknowledged theological principles for such devolopments in Catholic theology as these results [those of history and exegesis] may render necessary. The fault in the more conservative theologians has been . . . that they have not seen the full capabilities of their own principles, but have identified their utmost reach with the very limited application of them which past circumstances have demanded.' ('Problems and Persons,' p. xviii.)

However little theologians have analysed 'development' in dogma, the Church, he insists, has in practice admitted it; a growth has, in fact, taken place. And this not in virtue of a magical or semi-magical process outside the providential world-order, but under the operation of the universal laws that govern the history of mankind. Mr Ward represents what may be called the right, M. Loisy the left, wing of Liberal Catholicism; but the differences between them are differences of temperament, of less or more explication of content; in principle they are at one. It is possible that Mr Ward would not identify himself with all M. Loisy's criticism, or M. Loisy with all Mr Ward's apologetic. This makes their unity of standpoint more remarkable. The exponent to a later generation of the religious philosophy of Newman, a philosophy which, because not fully developed by its author, has yet to be worked out and appreciated at its true value,

* 'General Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures,' by Rev. F. E. Gigot, S.S. Benziger, New York, 1903.

Digitized by Google

Mr Ward unites dialectical subtlety with a religious spirit and a conservative temper, indisposed to novelties as such, with a political instinct which teaches him what positions must be abandoned and what, perhaps with modifications, can be retained. No one, however, can read the signs of the time more clearly, or demand more decidedly elbow-room for thinker and thought.

'It would be idle' (he says) 'to deny that the "new framework" in which we have set our conception of the universe has incidentally thrown theology into some confusion in all religious communions. Forms of theological expression fashioned at a very different phase of civilisation from our own often contain the record of views which the present age has outgrown. Rejecting some of their more obvious implications, men may find themselves out of joint with the *formulae* themselves, and feel more or less alienated from the communions which preserve them. . . . On the other hand, the generalisation of the evolutionary process brings home to us the fact that each successive age has really had to do a similar work of discrimination; that the theology of no age has been unalterable or final, although the slower pace of its evolution in the past has prevented this fact from being unmistakably apparent.' ('Problems and Persons,' p. ix.)

The other objection may be put in this way. The tendency of conservative theologians is to level up—to raise, for example, Tobit's dog to the level of God and immortality. Grave writers claim the authority of inspiration for the statement (Tobit xi, 9) that this animal, on the return of his master, wagged his tail. Liberal Protestantism distinguishes. While holding firmly to fundamental truths, it relegates Tobit and his dog alike to the province of the infinitely little. M. Loisy levels down. It would be too much to say that he reduces God and immortality to the level of Tobit's dog; but he regards the entire content of Christianity as treasure in earthern vessels—the two, treasure and vessel, being not merely in juxtaposition, but, as it were, interfused. If this seems a construing of the supernatural in the terms of the natural, which blots the sun out of heaven and tones down the landscape to a universal grey, it may be answered that, to correct this error, which after all is one of the imagination, we must fall back upon the poets—who for most of us are truer teachers than philosophers

Digitized by Google

or theologians—and learn from them that the world is diviner than we thought it, and God in Nature, 'though we know it not.' The answer, however, overlooks the fact that life is conditioned, not only by the universal, but by the particular; that the law of the world—in theological language the will of God—is balanced and brought about by the will of man. To forget this is to substitute a mechanical determinism for the free movement and initiative of life. Doubtless there is a power of recovery in men and things; doubtless the gradual process of the interpretation of dogma will work in the future as it has worked in the past. But it is poor comfort to the passenger on the brink of the torrent to be told that, within the next century or so, the stream will be bridged and men pass over dryshod; what he desiderates is not a bridge to-morrow, but a plank to-day. A historian classes together two evils which, even in the Apostolic age, threatened the purity and peace of the Christian communities—'Hierarchie und Häresie.'* The latter has been the special danger of the reformed, the former of the unreformed Churches. Had there been no organisation, the Gospel, it seems, had perished. Had there been no reformers—no Paul, no Augustine, no Luther—petrifaction had become putrefaction, the water of life, clear as crystal, a stagnant poisoned stream. Do we not come back here to the religious value of the distinction which, historically, we were compelled to treat as suspect? 'The thing reveals itself; no one who has a fresh eye for what is alive can fail to see it, and to distinguish it from its contemporary integument.'† That which underlies this is simple, and it is the 'Wesen des Christentums'; the union of the divine and the human in Christ.

Every religious communion has its strong and its weak points. The Roman Catholic Church has been peculiarly successful in making the religious life accessible to the average man, and has thus retained, at least hitherto, her hold on the masses. A price, indeed, has been paid for this; religion has been brought down to their level; but it has not been paid in vain. In dealing

* Von Dobschütz, 'Die urchristlichen Gemeinden,' p. 136.
† Harnack, 'Wesen des Christentums,' p. 8.

Digitized by Google

with ideas she has been less successful. Her danger is what M. Loisy calls 'le scandale des intelligences.' No Frenchman, in particular, who has the interests of religion at heart will question his statement,

'qu'il y a, dans le catholicisme français, trop de personnes, et depuis trop longtemps, qui n'ont pas assez peur de scandaliser les savants. . . . N'ont-ils pas tranché pour leur propre compte, et trop vite, hélas! le problème du Christ et le problème de Dieu, tous ces laïques instruits, qui, baptisés et élevés dans l'église catholique, s'en éloignent quand ils ont atteint l'âge d'homme, parce que notre enseignement religieux leur paraît conçu en dépit de la science et en dépit de l'histoire?'

The religious significance of what is called Liberal Catholicism is that it is an attempt to meet this 'scandale des intelligences' on the only ground on which it can be met—that of scientific knowledge of fact. Goodness, indeed, is greater than knowledge; but goodness by itself, much more the exterior observance which is so easily mistaken for it, is an insufficient basis for religion: the world of ideas transcends the actual, but the actual is the touchstone of ideas. The question of origins is vital to Catholicism. It is idle to denounce M. Loisy for raising it. He does not ask, he answers it: the question is in the air. Whatever primitive Christianity was, it was not Protestantism, exclaimed Newman triumphantly. He was right. But it was not Romanism either: it was the parent stem out of which later Christianity, Romanist and Protestant, has grown. The refusal to recognise this gives an air of unreality to average Romanist apologetic: the alternative is inevitable; either the writers are ignorant, or they are insincere. The symbolism of Christianity, invaluable as symbolism, is false and mischievous when taken for the thing symbolised. The one grace, said Martineau, which the Roman Church seems never to reach is veracity. But, for a teacher, veracity is the essential grace: the Church must reach it, or she must die.

Viewed from this standpoint, Liberal Catholicism is a struggle for life or death. To those who look for quick returns it promises little. Its results are neither tangible nor immediate. It will attract no influx of converts; it will make no appreciable impression on the masses; it brings with it no sensible or material advantage; no

Digitized by Google

political or social prestige. Some wanderers, indeed, may be recalled, some waverers kept from secession tacit or avowed. But these, though more in number than might be supposed, are the few. In general its work is indirect and gradual; it is to create in Catholicism an atmosphere in which the modern world can breathe. This is the condition of the fulfilment of the Church's mission, and indeed of her survival. Religion is immortal, but the various shapes in which she appears are mortal; the greater the scale on which these subsist the more lingering the process of dissolution; but in the long run none can defy nature, the laws by which creeds and churches live.

'Le catholicisme sera, par la force des choses, un parti, ce qu'il ne doit pas être, et un parti réactionnaire, voué à un affaiblissement incurable et à une ruine fatale, tant que l'enseignement ecclésiastique semblera vouloir imposer aux esprits une conception du monde et de l'histoire humaine qui ne s'accorde pas avec celle qu'a produite le travail scientifique des derniers siècles; tant que les fidèles seront entretenus dans la crainte de mal penser et d'offenser Dieu, en pensant simplement, et en admettant, dans l'ordre de la philosophie, de la science, et de l'histoire, des conclusions et des hypothèses que n'ont pas prévues les théologiens du moyen âge; tant que le savant catholique aura l'air d'être un enfant tenu en lisière et qui ne peut faire un pas en avant sans être battu par sa nourrice. Une formation spéciale et défectueuse crée nécessairement une mentalité particulière et inférieure, laquelle entraîne après soi l'esprit de parti, la défiance à l'égard de ce qui est vraiment lumière et progrès. La plus sage des politiques, la plus généreuse sollicitude pour les classes populaires, n'assureraient pas chez nous l'avenir du catholicisme si le catholicisme, qui, étant une religion, est d'abord une foi, se présentait sous les apparences d'une doctrine et d'une discipline opposées au libre essor de l'esprit hûmain, déjà minées par la science, isolées et isolantes au milieu du monde qui veut vivre, s'instruire et progresser en tout.' ('Autour d'un Petit Livre,' pp. xxxiv, xxxv.)

The tendency of thought is to anticipate average opinion; and it is by average opinion that the world is governed. Those who identify themselves with a movement in advance of it must count the cost. No man can serve two masters: credit, success, advancement will not be theirs. Their good faith will be denied, their motives

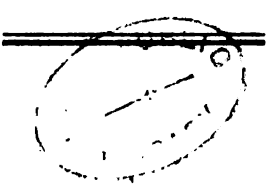
Digitized by Google

questioned, their shortcomings—for they are human—proclaimed on the housetops, their actions misconstrued and misconceived. The good opinion and good will of their fellows will be withheld from them; they will incur the hostility, not only of the bad—that were little—but of the good, of those whose virtues they respect and whose office they revere.

'Saepe etiam sinit divina providentia per nonnullas nimium turbulentas carnalium hominum seditiones expelli de congregatione christiana etiam bonos viros. Quam contumeliam vel injuriam suam cum patientissime pro ecclesiae pace tulerint, neque ullas novitates, vel schismatis vel haeresis, moliti fuerint, docebunt homines quam vero affectu et quanta sinceritate charitatis Deo serviendum sit.... Hos coronat in occulto Pater, in occulto videns. Rarum hoc videtur genus; sed tamen exempla non desunt; imo plura sunt quam credi potest.' *

Nothing, we may believe, but an imperative sense of duty could induce a man to embrace the renunciations, the strife, the interior solitude which such a lot involves. The rewards of life are pleasant, the approval of those about us is an incentive to action and a tribute to achievement with which no one who knows himself or human nature will lightly dispense. But the approval of conscience—in theological language, the praise of God—is better; it must be chosen before the praise of men. And he who chooses this narrow path 'may feel a confidence, which no popular caresses or religious sympathy could inspire, that he has by a divine help been enabled to plant his foot somewhere beyond the waves of time. He may depart hence before the natural term, worn out with intellectual toil, regarded with suspicion by many of his contemporaries, yet not without a sure hope that the love of truth, which men of saintly life often seem to slight, is, nevertheless, accepted before God.'

* St Augustine, 'De Vera Religione,' chap. vi.



Digitized by Google

Art. XII.—LORD SALISBURY AND 'THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.'

The Quarterly Review, 1860–1883.

JUST fifteen months ago, on the occasion of Lord Salisbury's retirement from public life, we reviewed in this place his fifty years' strenuous and fruitful labour in the service of the Empire. The sad task of chronicling his death, which took place last August, now devolves upon us. He was not old as compared with some of the most conspicuous of his political contemporaries; but in the mournful swiftness with which the allotted span of his life closed in upon the busy cycle of his statesmanship Death registered a silent testimony to the unsparing self-sacrifice with which he gave himself to his country.

There is a characteristic passage in Lord Beaconsfield's life of Lord George Bentinck in which 'the difficulty of treating contemporary character' is discussed. Lord Beaconsfield makes none of the author's conventional apologies. With his usual taste for paradox he declares that there is no ground for accepting the verdicts of posterity in preference to those of contemporaries, and he gives as his reason that 'the mist of time in the first instance and in the other the cloud of passion may render it equally hard and perplexing to discriminate.' Were this a sound judgment there would be no difficulty in finally determining, even at this early moment, the place in English history to be assigned to Lord Salisbury; for the task is as conspicuously unobscured by the 'cloud of passion' as by the 'mist of time.' There are, however, other difficulties in this appraisement besides the disturbing media indicated by Lord Beaconsfield. In the domain of constructive politics the final test of the greatness of a statesman must be the permanence of his work. Where his work is academic rather than constructive, the test must be the endorsement of his theories by experience. In both cases the final judge can only be posterity.

Let us suppose, for example, that the Lord Cranborne of the sixties had died after his resignation of the Indian Secretaryship in Lord Derby's third administration. Can we doubt that he would have been held up to his con-

Digitized by Google

temporaries, by men as far apart in doctrinal politics as General Peel and Mr Lowe, as a high type of political wisdom? And yet he himself lived to disavow, as Lord Salisbury, the principles he had regarded as vital as Lord Cranborne. Again, take the case of the Berlin Treaty—the most imposing piece of constructive politics associated with Lord Salisbury's name. In 1879 no homage was too extravagant to mark the epoch-making wisdom of that diplomatic compact; and, had Lord Salisbury died in that year, there can be no question that many of his contemporaries would have assigned him a position in English history which, if not greater than that which his name may eventually enjoy, would certainly have been very different. To-day, however, no one would dream of basing Lord Salisbury's fame on the foreign policy with which he associated himself in 1878. The truth is, of course, that a final judgment can only be formed in presence of all the facts; and it is only by time that the completeness of the *dossier* can be assured and tested.

It is a very superficial idea that a statesman's character is necessarily mirrored in the most salient acts of his life as interpreted by his public speeches. Between the acts themselves and their governing motives there may be a whole world of conditioning circumstances; while the tactics of party warfare or the exigencies of diplomacy are elements in political speeches, the full discounting value of which cannot easily be fixed by contemporary observers. It is only in the light of private documents, or statements of opinion delivered under circumstances of limited responsibility and restraint, that the essential character and fundamental motives of a statesman can be fully revealed. When materials of this kind become available for Lord Salisbury's biographer, many judgments which now appear to be firmly founded will probably have to be modified.

We cannot assume to know exactly what quantity of such material may be in existence, but it is probably very considerable. In the impressive silence of his private life Lord Salisbury wielded a pen of singular power and productivity. Although a few magazine and other articles have been rightly attributed to him, the public have never known the real extent of his authorship. Had he chosen to write his name at the foot of everything he

Digitized by Google

printed, the world to-day would be perplexed to decide whether to hail him as one of the greatest statesmen of the Victorian epoch or its most brilliant political essayist. Much of his work—perhaps the main bulk of it—appeared in this Review. Written with all the freedom which the traditional anonymity of the 'Quarterly Review' guarantees, these essays more truly portray the man than anything he said or did within the cramping limitations of parliamentary procedure or under the restraining influence of party and ministerial responsibility. We have here not only elaborate discussions of the political questions of the day, which have an abiding historical value, but also weighty statements of political theory, and many an instructive glimpse of ethical motive and of the origin, growth, and modification of opinion. In finish of style, in controversial resource and subtlety, in the wide range of their scholarship and worldly wisdom, in the loftiness of their ideals and the strange combination of polemical bitterness with the most generous sympathies, these articles present us with an absolutely new picture of Lord Salisbury. A brief account of them will, we feel assured, prove a welcome contribution to that more accurate knowledge of Lord Salisbury which his many admirers must desire to possess.

No fewer than thirty-three articles, varying in length from sixteen to sixty pages—in all about a thousand pages—were contributed by Lord Salisbury to the 'Quarterly Review' between the years 1860 and 1883. For the seven years between 1860–1866 he wrote a large number of the chief political articles; and it was only the pre-occupation of office which subsequently compelled him to write less frequently. On one occasion—in July 1865—he contributed two articles, one on 'The Church in her Relations to Political Parties,' and another on 'The Elections.' The conventional picture of Lord Salisbury as a statesman absorbed by problems of foreign politics in public and spending his leisure in scientific study is not borne out by these articles. Neither foreign politics nor science plays a predominant part among the topics with which they deal. For the most part they relate to questions of domestic politics, and almost all turn on the great issue of parliamentary reform which was in

Digitized by Google

every man's mind in the early sixties. The majority of the articles on foreign politics are intended to point the moral of the teachings on reform; and, even when dealing with financial questions, which they do very capably, the dominant idea is the predatory tendency of Radical finance. Only one article, that on 'Photography,' is purely scientific; and it was by no means the least remarkable of the series. What science lost when Lord Salisbury, from motives of unselfish patriotism, threw himself into what he frequently described as the uncongenial arena of politics, may be clearly seen in this article. There is no more lucid account of the chemistry of photography extant. Even at this distance of time it may be read in preference to many a modern manual. Full of valuable scientific suggestion, it anticipates not a few of the recent artistic and scientific achievements of photography.

The first article contributed by Lord Salisbury—then Lord Robert Cecil—to the 'Quarterly Review' appeared in the issue for April 1860. This paper was entitled 'The Budget and the Reform Bill,' but it dealt chiefly with Lord John Russell's third attempt to secure an extension of the principles of the Reform Act of 1832. Although public interest in parliamentary reform was at the time apathetic, Lord Robert Cecil saw clearly that the growing force of Radicalism in the country would not be satisfied with the settlement of 1832. How far would it go? How far would it be wise to allow it to go? These questions had apparently much exercised his mind during the seven years he had sat in Parliament, though he had spoken little on them. That he had arrived at very definite conclusions in regard to them is, however, shown by the paper on 'Theories of Parliamentary Reform' which he contributed to the volume of 'Oxford Essays' for 1858. Here he set forth his views very clearly. He was not uncompromisingly hostile to change. Indeed he recognised that there were many anomalies in the representative system which might be removed with advantage, though he felt that the wisest plan would be to leave them alone. Whatever course reform might pursue, however, on one safeguard he impressively insisted:—

'The condition in the representative system which it is our duty to maintain, even at the cost of any restriction or any

Digitized by Google

anomaly, is that the intellectual status of the legislature shall not be lowered, and that sufficient weight, direct or indirect, shall be given to property to secure it from the possibility of harm.'

For this principle Lord Salisbury fought tenaciously in all the articles he contributed to the 'Quarterly.' It will be convenient here to consider briefly the fundamental political theory on which he acted. His Radical critics have often reproached him with being a Tory of an antique type, wholly incapable of 'trust in the people.' So far as his early career is concerned, there is a measure of truth in this reproach. Lord Salisbury was a constitutionalist after the manner of Burke. Although he never indulged in 'political metaphysics,' it is not difficult to see that the axioms which governed all his political views were those of the historical, or, as Mill called it, the 'naturalistic' school, of which Burke was practically the founder. Over and over again he insists in his 'Quarterly' essays on the necessity of preserving the historical continuity of British institutions, and of upholding

'the central doctrine of Conservatism, that it is better to endure almost any political evil than to risk a breach of the historic continuity of government.'

The High-Tory incidence of this doctrine may be illustrated by the way in which it would have applied to the first Reform Bill. Had Lord Salisbury's public career begun a quarter of a century earlier, there can be no question that, holding this view, he would have uncompromisingly resisted that measure, seeing that, in so far as it emancipated the Commons from aristocratic control, it constituted an abrupt break with fundamental political tradition.* The changed conditions of the post-Reform epoch did not modify the High-Tory character of this principle, but only shifted its application. Hence it is not altogether unfair to describe Lord Salisbury's early Toryism as somewhat antiquated in its main inspiration. The same may be said of his alleged mistrust of the democracy. The peril to be guarded against in the sixties was still, as in the time of Burke, the degradation

* See Gladstone's 'Gleanings,' i, 77. That Lord Salisbury sympathised with this view is shown by a passage in the last article that he contributed to the 'Quarterly Review.'

Digitized by Google

of the House of Commons and the insecurity of property owing to the presumed ignorance and envy of the masses. Lord Salisbury believed intensely in this peril, and he fought against it with all his might.

The Reform Bill of 1860 was consequently well calculated to arouse his most sensitive apprehensions and to stimulate his bitterest invective. There was no nonsense about Lord John Russell's Bill. Unlike Mr Disraeli's unfortunate measure of the previous year, it was 'exquisitely free from all complexities and compensations . . . a pure and simple approximation to democracy.' In his 'Quarterly' article Lord Robert Cecil submitted it to a merciless examination, first as to the scope of the changes it contemplated, and then as to its possible effects. He declared, in curious anticipation of Lord Derby's famous phrase in 1867, that the House of Commons was being asked to take 'a leap in the dark.'* His speculations on this experiment are in his most characteristic vein:—

'We are humbly carrying our homage to some new king, but we know neither his name nor character. When the transfer is effected, when the new reign is opened, when the old rulers are irrevocably dethroned, then the veil will be drawn aside, and we shall see the form and lineaments of the now unknown power which will thenceforth dispose of the fortunes of England. Until this interesting revelation is made, it is scarcely worth while to speculate. Some say that the publicans will be our masters; others declare that it will be the trades unions. It is a blessed choice between debauchery and crime. On the whole, we pray for King Publican and his merry rule. If the sceptre is to be wielded for the benefit of one, and that the hungriest, class, the weaker the hands that it falls into the better. Anyhow, Elagabalus is more tolerable than Caligula.'

His fears as to the predatory tendencies of the democracy are thus uncompromisingly stated:—

'The mists of mere political theory are clearing away, and

* The first application of the phrase 'a leap in the dark' to parliamentary reform is generally attributed to Lord Derby (House of Lords, August 6, 1867). As a matter of fact it was often used before Lord Derby used it. Apart from the employment of it by Lord R. Cecil in 1860, we find Lord Palmerston writing to Lord J. Russell in 1859: 'As to our county franchise, we seem to be taking a leap in the dark' (Walpole, 'Life of Lord J. Russell,' ii, 340).

Digitized by Google

the true character of the battle-ground, and the real nature of the prize that is at stake, are standing out more and more distinctly every year. It galls the classes who barely sustain themselves by their labour that others should sit by and enjoy more than they do, and yet work little or not at all. Benighted enthusiasts in other lands, or other times, may have struggled for idle theories of liberty, or impalpable phantoms of nationality; but the "enlightened selfishness" of the modern artisan now fully understands that political power, like everything else, is to be taken to the dearest market. He cares little enough for democracy unless it will adjust the inequalities of wealth. The struggle between the English constitution on the one hand, and the democratic forces that are labouring to subvert it on the other, is now, in reality, when reduced to its simplest elements, and stated in its most prosaic form, a struggle between those who have to keep what they have got, and those who have not to get it. Across the water the succinct formula, "La propriété c'est le vol," expresses in its most naked form this goal of democratic aspirations.'

A more piquant interest attaches to this first 'Quarterly' article owing to the revelation it affords of the mental attitude of its author towards his two great contemporaries, Mr Gladstone and Mr Disraeli. Although Mr Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer in a Reform government, and was himself tainted by what the Tories regarded as subversive political doctrines and confiscatory principles of finance, Lord Robert Cecil's admiration of him was unbounded. He gives in this article a word-picture of the Liberal Chancellor on the Budget night, which, in spite of its dash of sarcasm, constitutes a splendid tribute to his genius:—

'The stage effects were so admirably arranged, the circumstances that led up to the great speech were so happily combined, that there were not wanting malicious tongues to suggest that that convenient, impressive bronchitis was nothing but an ingenious ruse. Certainly never was cold timed so opportunely. If it had lasted longer, Sir G. C. Lewis must have brought the Budget forward, and then the House of Commons would have been unquestionably able to give to it a most dispassionate consideration. If it had not come at all, the orator would not have found his audience predisposed in his favour by the high-wrought tension of their expecta-

Digitized by Google

tions, as well as by their sympathy for the heroic will that mastered even a rebellious uvula in the cause of duty. The very doubt that prevailed whether he could do it enhanced the amiability of his audience. Down to the very moment before he began, nay, down to the close of his glorious peroration, criticism and censure were hushed by a feeling of anxious uncertainty whether huskiness or heroism would have the mastery at last. The House was very crowded that night. . . . At last a general cheer arose as the long-looked-for orator, with his usual stealthy, almost timid, step, noiselessly slid into his place. A few minutes of other business, and he rose to speak. It was impossible for the most embittered opponent to avoid scanning his features with something of sympathy, or anxiously trying to trace in his tones whether it was possible that sheer determination and mental vigour would really carry him through. His face was pale, and he occasionally leant against the table with an appearance of fatigue, as though standing was an effort; but his tones were as melodious, his play of features and of gesture was as dramatic as ever. Throughout the whole four hours of intricate argument neither voice nor mind faltered for an instant. Of the success of the speech there is no need to tell. Looked at from a distance, there does not seem much in a Chancellor of the Exchequer having a bad cold; but at the time this vulgar accessory added marvellously to the effect of what was in itself one of the finest combinations of reasoning and declamation that has ever been heard within the walls of the House of Commons.'

The passages relating to Mr Disraeli are in a very different spirit. It is true that the Conservative leader's crimes were not quite as serious as Mr Gladstone's, but they were treated with infinitely less indulgence. Mr Disraeli had not tried to subvert the constitution, but only to establish friendly relations between his own party and the Radicals—to the exclusion of the Whigs—and to illustrate the essential sympathy of the Tory party for the masses by a mild Reform Bill bristling with educational and property qualifications. To Lord Robert Cecil this policy was without a redeeming feature. It was 'stratagem and finesse; not statesmanlike, only ingenious.'

'To crush the Whigs by combining with the Radicals was the first and last maxim of Mr Disraeli's parliamentary tactics. He had never led the Conservatives to victory as Sir Robert Peel had led them to victory. He had never procured the

Digitized by Google

triumphant assertion of any Conservative principle or shielded from imminent ruin any ancient institution. But he had been a successful leader to this extent, that he had made any government, while he was in opposition, next to an impossibility. His tactics were so various, so flexible, so shameless, the net by which his combinations were gathered in was so wide, he had so admirable a knack of enticing into the same lobby a happy family of proud old Tories and foaming Radicals, martial squires jealous for their country's honour and manufacturers who had written it off their books as an unmarketable commodity, that, so long as his party backed him, no government was strong enough to hold out against his attacks. They might succeed in repelling this sally or that, but sooner or later their watchful and untiring enemy, perfectly reckless from what quarter or in what uniform he assaulted, was sure to find out the weak point at which the fortress could be scaled. For mere partisans no doubt this was exciting work. . . . Opponents were wont to speak almost with envy of the laudable discipline of the Tory party. They little knew the deep and bitter humiliation that was masked by the outward loyalty of its votes.'

As for Mr Disraeli's Reform Bill, 'it was of a piece with a policy which had long misguided and discredited the Conservative party in the House of Commons.'

Lord Robert Cecil's brilliant *début* in the 'Quarterly' was strikingly successful from every point of view. For weeks the article was the talk of the town. Lord John Russell felt the attack upon himself so keenly that he poured out his woes in a speech to the House of Commons in which he ascribed the authorship of the article to 'some obscure individual.' Mr Disraeli was too tactful to follow the example of the tetchy Premier, but the 'Times,' though opposed to him in politics, chivalrously wielded the cudgels on his behalf, and rendered a tribute to his parliamentary tactics, which, in the light of all we know now, must be pronounced as just as it was flattering. How far the article contributed to the collapse of the Reform Bill is, of course, difficult to say, but it would be idle not to recognise in its incisive and widely discussed criticisms some causal relation to the abandonment of the Bill which followed so closely on its publication.

This triumph, together with other misfortunes of the Radicals, such as the failure of the campaign against

Digitized by Google

Church rates and the rejection of the proposed abolition of the paper duty, inspired Lord Robert Cecil's second article in the 'Quarterly.' The design of this essay was to hail and explain 'The Conservative Reaction.' It is more thoughtful than its predecessor; and its pugnacity is less vehement, though not less mordant. While expressing his belief—somewhat over-sanguine, it must be confessed—that 'a widely extended franchise is exactly the thing the nation will not endure,' he recognises with much truth that the reaction is more immediately due to the reckless and alarming avowals of the demagogues—it is chiefly Mr Bright whom he scarifies—and to the fact that, when the conservative instincts of the enfranchised middle classes are aroused, the working classes must be powerless. Incidentally this leads him to the reflection that 'if victory could be secured by a mere comparison of forces, moderate Conservatism ought always to be in the ascendant.' After the violent protests against Mr Disraeli's lapses from the straitest Tory orthodoxy in the previous article, this is a large and striking concession. It marks, indeed, the beginning of an intellectual ferment which a quarter of a century later was destined to expel the last vestiges of 'unbending Toryism' from Lord Salisbury's conception of practical politics. Perhaps it was due to this tendency that his treatment of Mr Disraeli became softened in this article.

It is curious to note that at the same time his indulgent view of Mr Gladstone completely disappeared, owing to that erratic politician's final alliance with the extreme reformers. He thus describes Mr Gladstone's fall:—

'He votes, on the greatest constitutional questions, alone with Lord John Russell and Mr Bright; he heads the Radical assault upon the rights of the House of Lords; and he is claimed by friends, and stigmatised by foes, as the avowed leader of the Manchester school, is honoured by the dearly-bought homage of its narrow clique, and shares with it the general opprobrium it merits and receives. A political Hogarth might draw the picture of a new "Rake's Progress," full of warning to unsteady politicians, from the rapid stages of Mr Gladstone's downward course. Changes so rapid, and apparently so causeless, from one pole of the political compass to the other, will certainly puzzle the future historian as much as the contemporary observer. Some anti-

Digitized by Google

podean Niebuhr in distant centuries, grubbing up the files of the "Times" from the ruins of the Museum, will surely come to the conclusion that the almost simultaneous representative of so many schools of thought could not have been one and the same person, but that "Gladstone" must have been some title of office symbolical of the affable sternness required of a Chancellor of the Exchequer.'

There was, however, no laughter in Lord Robert Cecil's heart. A note of genuine sorrow is struck in the following passage:—

'Few who prize the character of our public men will see without sorrow the fall which this year's errors have done so much to hurry on. We are not so rich in honest and intrepid statesmen that we can contemplate their political suicide without regret.'

And then comes a strangely rash prophecy:—

'It is difficult to write calmly on the havoc which an unbridled imagination has made with prospects on which so many hopes were fixed and with talents so fascinating and so rare. Short as political memories inevitably are, and high as the virtue of forgiveness stands in the ethics of politicians, it is not likely that Mr Gladstone can ever again occupy the political position he once held, notwithstanding the reputation which his matchless eloquence must always command.'

The 'Conservative reaction,' which was in reality largely an affair of Lord Palmerston's temperament, enabled Lord Robert Cecil, during the next two years and a half, to write on questions other than reform, although, as his treatment of these topics showed, the democratic danger was never absent from his mind. Competitive examinations, the income tax, Lord Stanhope's 'Life of Pitt,' the American Civil War, Church rates, Lord Castlereagh, and the dissenters, successively engaged his pen. In January 1863 he dissected, with his usual effectiveness, the four years' history of Lord Palmerston's administration, and he took the opportunity to reassert his faith in the Conservative reaction and the impossibility of any further extension of the suffrage.

'The period in which the reform delusion has been dissipated is one which future students of our time will examine with curious interest. No great event has marked the turning-

Digitized by Google

point; but a more momentous change in the history of opinion has seldom taken place. Four years ago Mr Bright was still a power in the State. It was still a matter of orthodox belief that reform was inevitable, and that even that reform would only be temporary. Whether they feared it or hoped it, nobody disputed that a constant degradation of the suffrage was to be the inexorable law of our growth; and that as time went on, it would be, not our choice, but our necessity to consign our national interests more and more to the guidance of the most ignorant amongst us, and to submit at each change to be taxed more and more according to the discretion and at the pleasure of the classes who habitually stand upon the brink of want. All this dismal prospect has passed away like a summer thunder-cloud. Our statesmen have awoken to the fact that the imagined reform agitation was nothing but an intrigue among themselves, and that the nation was far too sensible to desire any further approximation to the government of the multitude.'

The Lord Robert Cecil of those days was evidently not wanting in sanguineness.

Disillusionment, however, came quickly and cruelly. Ominous signs of vitality on the part of the reformers, especially Mr Gladstone's pronouncement in 1864 for what was virtually one man one vote, and the publication of new editions of Lord John Russell's and Earl Grey's early works on parliamentary government, reanimated Lord Robert's apprehensions and called forth vigorous protests from his pen. Nevertheless, when, in July 1865, Parliament was dissolved, his confidence in the restored conservatism of the constituencies was unabated. His article on 'The Elections' is a buoyant appeal for an overwhelming Conservative majority. Once more he declares that the cause of reform is dead, and that 'the general feeling of the country is strongly conservative.' He winds up with an impassioned appeal for a final and crushing decision of the question 'whether England shall be governed by property and intelligence or by numbers . . . the great issue upon which the hopes of freedom and order and civilisation depend.' The country responded with a majority of seventy for Lord Palmerston and Earl Russell.

The Tory rout was rendered all the more hopeless in the following October, when the final obstacles to a new

Digitized by Google

Reform Bill were removed by the death of Lord Palmerston and the succession of Mr Gladstone to the leadership of the House of Commons. Lord Robert Cecil, who, by the death of his elder brother, had now become Lord Cranborne, buckled on his armour for what he felt would be a desperate struggle. He contributed two striking articles—all the more weighty because they displayed a sounder judgment of the political situation than had previously characterised his contributions. The first article, on 'The Coming Session,' warned the country that the Reform Bill to be introduced would be of a Radical type, although, as we know from Lord Sherbrooke's correspondence, there was a good deal of doubt at the time, even in the Liberal party, as to whether any Bill would be proposed at all. Lord Cranborne's old exaggerated apprehensions were now stirred to their depths. The speeches of Odger, Lucraft, and Beales had, he imagined, justified his most alarmist warnings of the anarchist bias which characterised Mr Bright's propaganda. He earnestly besought all moderate men to bestir themselves.

'It is for those who love the Constitution to decide whether they will try to graft this foreign and uncongenial growth upon the old native stock. They are asked to set up a new thing in the political history of the world—a government that shall be chosen by the class which lives on the proceeds of its daily labour, that shall conform to the wishes of that class and be obedient to its slightest impulse, and which yet shall guarantee the rights of property and of capital. And they are asked to perform this strange and wild experiment, not on some small community which might be ruined or effaced without materially affecting the sum of human happiness, but upon the greatest commercial and industrial empire in the world. It is an act of stupendous importance that they are about to execute. Be it for good or be it for evil, it can never be retraced. From the moment they have completed it, the class to which they belong is politically dead. The artisans to whom they transfer the supreme power over the vast and varied interests of this community may or may not tolerate that those who have summoned them to it shall continue to exercise a delegated influence; but the independent power which the educated classes, the aristocracy, the professional men, the merchants, the landowners, the manufacturers, have hitherto exerted, will be gone for ever. . . .

Digitized by Google

They will hold all their dearest rights by favour. Their sole hope of escaping the whole burden of a taxation artificially inflated to furnish employment for the working class, their only chance of averting laws that will limit the free disposal of property, and will leave the employer helpless in the presence of those whom he employs, will lie in an unflagging and unfastidious courtiership of the new masters they have installed. . . . The danger is great; the temper of the time does not rise to the height of this momentous controversy.'

The Bill was duly introduced in March and completely justified Lord Cranborne's forecast. In an article in the 'Quarterly Review' he submitted it to a searching analysis, concluding with a strong and clever appeal to the Whigs to help in wrecking it. This appeal, as we know, was heard; and the proposed 'vertical extension of the suffrage' was completely frustrated. Lord Cranborne's article played a considerable part in the successful campaign against the Bill. It was widely discussed and quoted; and the bitterness of its attacks on ministers and their democratic allies profoundly irritated the members of the Government. In his speech on the second reading Mr Gladstone referred to it with much heat and even designated one of its statements as 'a lie.' The victory to which it contributed must have been peculiarly gratifying to Lord Cranborne, for not only was his end attained, but it was attained by means to which he was deeply attached, in opposition to the known maxims of his leader in the House of Commons. At one blow he saw the reform policy of Mr Gladstone shattered and, as he imagined, the anti-Whig proclivities of Mr Disraeli discredited. His triumph, however, was of short duration. Once again he was doomed to disappointment—this time the bitterest of his life.

When the next paper by Lord Cranborne appeared in the 'Quarterly Review,' the political horizon seemed quite unclouded. He was a member of a Tory cabinet apparently pledged to orthodox Tory principles, and with no very precarious expectancy of life before it. He was consequently in genial mood, and he discussed tolerantly and even sympathetically the question of a Conservative Reform Bill on moderate terms to settle the franchise question once for all, although in 1860 he had severely

Digitized by Google

rated Mr Disraeli for entertaining a similar idea. His conclusions were in favour of such a Bill. He admitted that the existing system required amendment.

'There are numberless irregularities and inconveniences in the present arrangement that may well be corrected. Few impartial persons will be disposed to deny that, considering the large transfer of wealth and population that has been made to the north by the progress of mechanical discovery, the balance of legislative power inclines too heavily towards the south-west of England; although a good deal is to be said, too, for Cornwall, which is teeming with wealth, and in a high state of progress. No one, again, can deny the advantages of what has well been called the 'lateral' extension of the franchise. Whether the vexed question of vertical extension ought to be entertained at the same time, to any material extent, must depend, as we have said, on the tone in which it is claimed by those who are to benefit by it. They will never induce the present depositories of power to agree to it unless they accept the guarantees that are necessary to prevent the preponderance of mere numbers. There are, moreover, many points of minor moment in which our electoral system might be advantageously improved.'

Another reason for concession he found in the moral consideration that it is never wise to push a victory to extremes.

'Half, or more than half, the earnestness of a political struggle belongs to the sporting category of feelings. Men are sore when they lose and satisfied when they win, not for the value of the thing at stake, but for the value they set on winning in the abstract. Therefore it is that any termination of a struggle in which either side wins nothing is unsatisfactory. It is not that one of the extremes may not be perfectly right. In times of great excitement the mean between two extremes may be anything but moderate in reality. But a complete victory on either side leaves a wound that will not heal. It gives earnestness to the defeated, while the victors are apt to lose it; and earnestness, no matter in what cause, exercises a fatal charm often upon whole generations as they pass through the sentimental age.'

This was his conclusion:—

'But it is not for combatants to offer terms of compromise unless they are certain they are strong enough to hold their own in case of need. Otherwise, to offer a compromise is to

Digitized by Google

sue for peace. The attitude which the Conservative party ought to assume in reference to the question of reform must depend on the strength which they find they possess in the House of Commons. If they can command an assured support which shall enable them to secure that the terms of any compromise adopted shall be really moderate, it may be wise to close the controversy, so far as it can be closed by any action of theirs. But to bring forward any measure affecting the representation of the people in the presence of adverse forces strong enough to engraft democratic amendments on it, would be to throw away all the advantages which the labours of this session have secured.'

In a word, he was in favour of any measure of reform which the Cabinet might be able to pass with the support of their Adullamite auxiliaries.

The question at issue was, it will be seen, the old question which had alienated Lord Robert Cecil from Mr Disraeli in 1860. Should the Tories, in default of a majority of their own, favour the Whigs against the Radicals or pit the Radicals against the Whigs? So far the pro-Whig argument had prevailed and justified itself. The principle for which Mr Disraeli had striven in his own Reform Bill of 1859 had been maintained, but only by aid of the Whigs; and, as custodians of that principle, the Tories had been placed in office. In these circumstances the lines upon which a Conservative Reform Bill might be constructed seemed a foregone conclusion. No one was prepared for the amazing somersault which, within a few months, was executed by Lord Derby and Mr Disraeli. The history of that sensational performance is too familiar to need repetition. Suffice it to recall that household suffrage suddenly became the battle-cry of a huge Tory-Radical coalition with Mr Disraeli as its virtual head; while Lord Cranborne, a disgusted seceder from the ministry, found himself battling for his old anti-democratic principles in the company of a curiously assorted minority of irreconcilable Tories, new Whigs, and mortified Radicals belying their own innermost convictions.

It was in these circumstances that he wrote one of the most famous articles that ever appeared in this Review. This was 'The Conservative Surrender,' published in the issue for October 1867. The impression produced by

Digitized by Google

this essay was profound. Had it dealt merely with the practical aspects of the new legislative departure, it would, perhaps, have attracted little notice; but it struck a deeper note—one which appealed to a sense of honour and a philosophical consciousness far above party differences. Its theme was not the more or less problematical danger of democracy, but the moral effect and probable constitutional consequences of the devious and disingenuous course pursued by the Government. Its keynote was struck in the following passage:—

'Whatever may be the issue of the momentous constitutional experiment we have been trying, the nation will not pass by as matter of no account the tactics by which the change has been brought about. The strange morality which has guided public men, the unexpected results to which parliamentary discipline and faith in party leaders have conducted us, will awake in the minds of thinking men a deeper solicitude than even the adoption of a hazardous form of government. The tone of public opinion and the character of institutions undoubtedly react upon each other, but not with equal power. If it be not absolutely true of governments that "that which is best administered is best," still the form of the machine is indeed of slender importance compared to the manner of men by whom it is worked. The patriotism and honour of statesmen may force the worst institutions to yield a harvest of prosperity; but no political mechanism will restore the tone of a public opinion that has been debased.'

How had Lord Derby justified this severe reflection? Lord Cranborne did not shrink from answering the question.

'The charge recorded against him by recent events is far graver than that of any change of opinion however rapid. It is that he obtained the votes which placed him in office on the faith of opinions which, to keep office, he immediately repudiated. It is that—according to his own recent avowals—he had made up his mind to desert these opinions even at the very moment when he was being raised to power as their champion.'

Mr Disraeli had pleaded that so far back as 1859 the Conservatives had been in favour of household suffrage. On this Lord Cranborne caustically comments:—

'Roman Catholics tell us that recent developments of their faith, which, to an ordinary reader of ecclesiastical history

Digitized by Google

seem very novel indeed, were in reality held by the ancient Fathers; and that the entire absence of any mention of such things from their writings, and indeed, the occurrence of many observations of a totally different complexion, were due to the fact that the Fathers held these beliefs implicitly and unconsciously. Conservative belief in household suffrage, previous to last Easter, must have been very similar in character to the patristic belief in the Immaculate Conception.'

It was, perhaps, of small moment to ask whether there was any precedent for the action of the Government. There was, however, one which might console the stickler for tradition.

'If they wish to seek for an historical parallel they will have to go far back in our annals. They will find none during the period for which parliamentary government has existed. Neither the recklessness of Charles Fox, nor the venality of Henry Fox, nor the cynicism of Walpole, will furnish them with a case in point. They will have to go back to the time when the last Revolution was preparing—to the days when Sunderland directed the councils and accepted the favours of James, while he was negotiating the invasion of William.'

Turning to the wider significance of 'the Conservative surrender' as a thing distinct from the faithlessness of ministers, the article proceeded to point out its 'tremendous import.'

'The very conditions under which our institutions exist have been changed; the equilibrium of forces by which they have been sustained is shaken. The defences on which we have been wont to rely have proved utterly rotten. They have broken down absolutely before they were even subjected to serious pressure. The breakwaters that were to protect us from the fury of popular passion have crumbled away in fine weather. What seemed to be strong and durable has proved worse than worthless. Those who have trusted to the faith of public men, or the patriotism of parliamentary parties, or the courage of aristocratic classes, must now find other resting-places on which to repose their confidence. The supports on which they have hitherto relied will pierce the hand that leans on them.'

Read in the light of recent history the pessimism of this article must certainly appear exaggerated. It was

Digitized by Google

however, shared by some of the best minds of the time; and it may well be doubted whether Mr Disraeli himself saw clearly that a stable Conservatism could be founded on the new franchise he had created. Certainly Lord Derby did not. But it was not by reason of its prophecies of evil that the article produced so deep an impression. This was due to the loftiness of its political tone, to the uncompromising courage with which it arraigned and denounced tactics which no one could in his heart defend, to its earnest appeal for principles before place. In these respects the article has a permanent value, biographical and historical. It is a fine redeeming passage in a page of history which, in itself, apart from its sequel, is not pleasant reading; and it is a monument to the incorruptible rectitude with which its author guided his public life.

For two years Lord Cranborne's pen remained idle. Meanwhile the General Election of December 1868 took place; and the Liberals returned to power with a majority of 100. When Lord Cranborne, or rather Lord Salisbury—for in the interval he had succeeded to the marquisate—resumed his contributions to the 'Quarterly,' he reviewed once again the philo-Radical policy of Mr Disraeli, and contrasted it with the disappointing results of the General Election. Now that the party was once more in opposition he urged upon it his own pro-Whig tactics. The article is chiefly valuable for its historical survey of Disraelian Conservatism from the time of the Young England movement.

A little later, he took up the subject again in a militant article which showed that, despite his break with the Conservative leaders in 1867, he had no intention of removing himself from their councils. 'Play for Whig support' was still his cry; and he enforced it with a very acute analysis of the Conservative drift of all the well-to-do classes in the country. A few months later the wisdom of his advice received a curious illustration. In Birmingham a young politician, Mr Joseph Chamberlain, who had achieved considerable reputation in local municipal affairs, was beginning to dream of a career on a larger stage. He had published in the 'Fortnightly Review' an article on 'The Liberal Party and its Leaders,' which not only formulated a new Radical

Digitized by Google

programme in the words 'Free Church, Free School, Free Labour, and Free Land,' but gave the signal for revolt against the Whigs, on the ground that in all primary and essential points there was no possibility of agreement between them and the Radicals. Lord Salisbury at once fixed upon this article as a text for a fresh exposition of the democratic danger, and of the necessity on the part of the Conservatives to avoid all further Radical alliances. He submitted 'the Programme of the Radicals,' as he called it, to a scathing criticism, and concluded by expressing his conviction that its acceptance by the English people was 'an improbable contingency.' His anticipation was speedily fulfilled. At the General Election in the following year the country repudiated Radicals of every complexion, and gave the Conservatives a clear majority of fifty.

The biographer of Lord Salisbury, when he arrives at this stage of his career, will have to ask himself the question, how far the result of the election of 1874—the beginning of the great Conservative reaction, which has lasted down to the present time—was a justification of Mr Disraeli's previous parliamentary tactics or a vindication of Lord Salisbury's long dissent from his official chief. The question has a peculiar interest in connexion with the articles we have been reviewing. In one respect the General Election of 1874 was certainly a victory for Lord Salisbury. Had the tactics of 1867 been repeated before the constituencies in 1874 there can be no doubt that the disaster to the Conservative party, as then constituted, would have been overwhelming and final. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the Conservatism which manifested itself so triumphantly in 1874 was largely the creation of the act of 1867. It was not the Toryism upon which Lord Salisbury himself would have relied, but a moderate Conservatism, in the existence of which he had never believed, and which had disclosed itself only when Mr Disraeli, by what he called the 'education' of his party, adjusted the old Toryism to its peculiar needs. Lord Salisbury indeed made two mistakes. In the first place he thought that Mr Disraeli would never know when to stop; and, in the second place, he did not make sufficient allowance for differences

Digitized by Google

in national characters when he argued from continental experience that the enfranchisement of the British democracy was bound to lead to anarchy. Bentham was a surer prophet when he declared that English workmen were intelligent enough to see that confiscation of property in their favour would be ruinous for them. Lord Salisbury himself was not slow to admit his mistake. In speeches delivered in 1876, 1884, and 1895, he confessed publicly that, owing to 'the qualities of our countrymen,' his fears of the effects of reform had not been fulfilled.

Although after 1874 Conservatives and Liberals fought the political battle on equal terms, Lord Salisbury never ceased to rely on the Whigs as possible auxiliaries in the event of a revival of Radical extremism. As we know, his dream of a Whig-Conservative coalition was ultimately realised; although, curiously enough, it was not to resist any destructive measure imperilling the rights of property or calculated to lower the character of the House of Commons that the union was brought about. In this connexion he contributed in 1883 a very remarkable article to the 'Quarterly Review': it was the last essay from his pen which appeared in these pages. The title of it was 'Disintegration'; and it was devoted to a survey of the attitude of the Whigs towards the latest aspirations of the Radical party. For the most part, however, the article dealt with the Irish question, on which it made two notable prophecies. It declared that the proposal of Home Rule was coming, although down to that time it had not been advocated by any prominent politician; and, in the second place, it foretold that, when it did come, it would be rejected by the great majority of the nation. The latter prophecy is so emphatic that it deserves to be reproduced.

'One issue there is which, in the judgment, not only of the Conservative party, but in that of the great majority of Englishmen, is absolutely closed. The highest interests of the Empire, as well as the most sacred obligations of honour, forbid us to solve this question by conceding any species of independence to Ireland; or, in other words, any licence to the majority in that country to govern the rest of Irishmen as they please. To the minority, to those who have trusted us, and on the faith of our protection have done our work, it would be a sentence of exile or of ruin. All that is Protestant, nay, all

Digitized by Google

that is loyal, all who have land or money to lose, all by whose enterprise and capital industry and commerce are still sustained, would be at the mercy of the adventurers who have led the Land League, if not of the darker counsellors by whom the Invincibles have been inspired. If we have failed after centuries of effort to make Ireland peaceable and civilised, we have no moral right to abandon our post and leave all the penalty of our failure to those whom we have persuaded to trust in our power. It would be an act of political bankruptcy, an avowal that we were unable to satisfy even the most sacred obligations, and that all claims to protect or govern anyone beyond our own narrow island were at an end.'

The article concluded with the enquiry, 'What will the Whigs do?' Lord Salisbury had very little doubt as to what their course would be; but he was scarcely prepared for all the new associates Home Rule was destined to bring him. When the crisis that he had foreseen arrived, and the Whigs entered the Conservative camp, they brought with them two allies of whom, indeed, in his wildest imaginings of coalitions, he had never dreamt. If, before 1867, Lord Salisbury had been asked to name the most dangerous man in England, he would have answered without hesitation—Mr Bright. If, after 1873, the same question had been put to him, he would have answered emphatically—Mr Chamberlain. Even in his article 'Disintegration,' in which he made his last great bid for Whig support, the peril he had mainly in his mind was Mr Chamberlain.

'They [the Whigs] do not feel Mr Chamberlain's enthusiasm for manhood suffrage or the payment of members; they hardly echo his disinterested condemnation of all who do not make their living by toiling and spinning.'

And yet, when the Whig-Conservative combination was formed, these two Radical stalwarts were the soul of it. Truly the Radical mountain had come to the Tory Mahomet. One can almost fancy a mocking Disraelian chuckle echoing from the Great Beyond.

Of the thirty-three articles contributed by Lord Salisbury to the 'Quarterly Review,' only nine dealt with questions of foreign politics, and of these six were really

Digitized by Google

contributions to the reform controversy in England under the guise of monographs on external affairs. The value of the latter group of essays as studies of foreign politics is consequently not very considerable; and it would be unwise and unfair to attempt to found upon them any serious theories of Lord Salisbury's views of foreign policy at the time they were written. Moreover, as we dealt especially with Lord Salisbury's foreign policy in the article already referred to (October 1902), and quoted from his writings and speeches on that subject, it is unnecessary to recur to them at length here.

The American Civil War and the collapse of France in 1870, with its sequel in the shape of the Commune, were 'awful examples,' on which Lord Salisbury dwelt chiefly for the benefit of English Radicals. The bitter tone of the American articles, the authorship of which was guessed from their resemblance to Lord Robert Cecil's speeches on the same subject, earned for him the reputation of being a violent enemy of the North; and Mr Bright, in his speech in the House of Commons on relations with the United States, in March 1865, gave expression to a very prevalent view when he referred to 'the unsleeping ill-will of the noble lord, the member for Stamford.' As a matter of fact the English Radicals themselves were largely to blame for the prejudiced view that Lord Salisbury took of the Civil War. They had so belauded the virtues of the American democracy, so puffed the success of American democratic institutions, had gone so near claiming the American Republic as a constitutional example for Great Britain to follow, that it is scarcely surprising if a Tory retorted with passion upon them when this same Republic became convulsed by civil war and trembled on the verge of dissolution. The polemical design of Lord Salisbury's articles may be gathered from their titles—'Democracy on its Trial' and 'The United States as an Example.' There was a third article entitled 'The Confederate Struggle and Recognition,' the aim of which was similar to that of the other two.

How little the somewhat violent view of American politics which these articles express was the outcome of Lord Salisbury's sober judgment, it is not difficult to show. He was not an apologist for slavery; indeed, in these very articles he vehemently denounces it; and while

Digitized by Google

condemning Lincoln's policy as 'a struggle for Empire,' he showed how little it was antipathetic to his own Unionist instincts by the sarcastic remark, 'It is impossible not to feel for them [the North] in their novel position as the assertors of Legitimacy against Revolution.' Nor did he disguise his personal liking for the American people, 'so admirable for their independence and their courage, and so closely bound to our own.' Finally, when, later in life, he came to look more dispassionately upon the so-called democratic institutions of the great Republic, he found that they were far less democratic than our own, and that they possessed 'safeguards to prevent hasty or violent legislation' which are entirely wanting in the existing British constitution.

The articles on France, so far as they relate to the democratic problem, are on a different footing. There are, for example, few propositions in the articles entitled 'Political Lessons of the War' and 'The Commune and the Internationale' to which even the majority of English Liberals would not subscribe. Lord Salisbury is, perhaps, a little too severe on Napoleon III; and his High-Tory views on the conflict between the French Republicans and the Clericals lack the keen insight and the practical grasp of the international bearings of the struggle which Prince Bismarck—a far more unbending Tory than himself—brought to bear on the same problem. The French Republicans have, as a matter of fact, been much better friends of European peace and especially of Great Britain than their Conservative opponents. Perhaps some such reflection crossed Lord Salisbury's own mind in the threatening days of Fashoda, when English Radicalism had ceased to trouble.

But, it will be asked, is there nothing in these 'Quarterly' articles to help the political student to a better knowledge of the natural bias in foreign affairs of a statesman who exercised so large an influence on international politics as Lord Salisbury? As a matter of fact there is; and it may be stated in a few words. In the first place Lord Salisbury inherited from Castlereagh, who was his ideal of a Foreign Minister, a deep attachment to Austria. In one of his earliest essays in the 'Quarterly' he speaks of Austria as 'England's ancient and true ally, bound to her by the only bond of union that endures,

Digitized by Google

the absence of all clashing interests.' This conviction lasted his lifetime. He repeated it almost in the same words in a speech in 1879; and throughout the Armenian crisis in the nineties it was one of the chief postulates of his policy. In the next place he was strongly antagonistic to Germany. His views on this subject are set forth with absolute clearness in three articles—'Poland,' 'The Danish Duchies,' and 'The Terms of Peace.' The first two of these articles, apart from their Teutophobism, are admirably lucid surveys of complicated questions with the true bearings of which the public are very imperfectly acquainted. The impression produced throughout Europe by that on 'The Danish Duchies' is testified to at great length by Count Vitzthum in his valuable political memoirs.*

Lord Salisbury's dislike of Germany, or rather of Prussia, arose from two causes. All his orderly and equitable instincts revolted against the aggressive policy of the Hohenzollerns. 'Spoliation,' he once severely wrote, 'is the hereditary tradition of their race.' When to 'the piratical seizure of Silesia' were added 'the plunder of Denmark and Hanover' and 'the outrageous annexation of Alsace,' his indignation knew no bounds. He was the soul of the war party in England in 1864; and six years later he pleaded strongly in these pages for a European intervention which should stop any tampering with existing European frontiers. Another reason—a logical consequence of this moral aversion—was his conviction that German ambition was a standing menace to England and to European peace. One of the grounds on which he opposed in 1864 the absorption of Schleswig-Holstein by Prussia was that it would give her a set of admirable harbours on the Baltic and North Seas, which would constitute the first step towards making united Germany a great naval power. Herein Lord Salisbury was indisputably a prophet.

His more general conception of the German peril was, however, an exaggeration not unlike his belief in 1867 in Mr Disraeli's inexhaustible opportunism. He imagined that Prince Bismarck, like Mr Disraeli, would not know when to stop. In later years, when in a position 'of

* 'St Petersburg and London,' caps. xxviii, xxix.

Digitized by Google

less freedom and greater responsibility,' he revised this opinion; but even then, and in his last days, he struggled hard to escape from the German alliance imposed upon him by Mr Gladstone's Egyptian policy in 1882 and to substitute for it a durable understanding with France. The story of his failure will be told one of these days when the secret history of his last cabinet is disclosed. Suffice it to say now that the epitaph on that failure might be given in one of his own *obiter dicta*: 'Infirmity of purpose is the besetting weakness of coalitions.'

There is one further aspect of these essays to which reference must be made before we close this all too brief survey. In the preceding pages we have dealt exclusively with the light they shed on the motives of Lord Salisbury's political action and on the evolution and modification of his political opinions. Of the deeper ethical impulses which guided his career, and of which we obtain many an impressive glimpse in these anonymous compositions —confessions would perhaps not be an altogether inappropriate word—something must now be said; and it must be said, not only as a contribution to the moral portraiture of the man, but also as supplying the key to the astonishing success he achieved as a minister. In three articles written in 1861 and 1862, he reveals to us his great teachers and exemplars in public life, the men in whose footsteps he earnestly sought to walk, and on whose principles and maxims he relied for guidance through life. These men were Pitt and Castlereagh.

Pitt he admired for his 'high morality and unimpeachable probity,' his 'lofty forgetfulness of self,' his 'grandeur of intellect,' and 'his example of pure and self-denying patriotism.' Castlereagh impressed him by 'his calm, cold, self-contained temperament,' and 'the courage, the patience, and the faultless sagacity which contributed so much to liberate Europe and to save England in the crisis of her fate.' Formed in this school, Lord Salisbury acquired the force of character which enabled him to triumph over the disadvantages of antiquated political ideas and over not a few misjudgments of the currents of his time. His patriotism was of the purest. He had no taste for political warfare. 'There is,' he wrote in 1865, 'no greater sacrifice made by the highly-

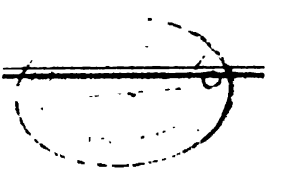
Digitized by Google

educated classes in England to their country's welfare than the part which they take in politics.' He described himself as one 'who has little interest in politics except the maintenance of the institutions of his country.' Yet he gave himself to this 'unedifying and unattractive warfare' because he felt that to do otherwise would be a dereliction of patriotic duty. The same high conception of public conduct dictated to him that adaptability to the changing conditions of political life which at first sight seems so incongruous a feature in his career. When in 1874 he took office under Mr Disraeli, he wrote to Abraham Hayward that 'there were many causes that made office unattractive' to him. The motives which actuated him in disregarding these causes may be recognised in the following two maxims set down by him in these pages:—

'It is the duty of every Englishman and of every English party to accept a political defeat cordially, and to lend their best endeavours to secure the success or to neutralise the evil of the principles to which they have been forced to succumb.'

'So long as the great institutions which are essential to our form of government are preserved, Conservatives are bound by their own principles to uphold, as laws, alterations which, as projects, they opposed.'

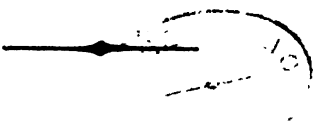
Is it altogether astonishing that so self-denying a patriotism should have won the confidence and even the affection of democratic England? Certainly Lord Salisbury himself was not surprised. In 1861 he wrote: 'There is no blindness so unaccountable as the blindness of English statesmen to the political value of a character.' And again: 'A character for unselfish honesty is the only secure passport to the confidence of the English people.' Of the truth of these reflections he was a living example. What Lord Beaconsfield said of the Duke of Wellington may well be said of him: 'He has left to his country a great legacy, greater even than his fame; he has left to them the contemplation of his character.'



Digitized by Google

THE

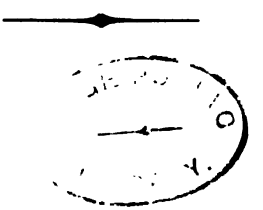
QUARTERLY REVIEW.



No. 398.

PUBLISHED IN

APRIL, 1904.



LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1904.

Digitized by Google

LONDON:
Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, Limited,
Stamford Street, S.E., and Great Windmill Street, W.

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

OF

Nos. 395, 396, and 397.

No. 395.—JULY, 1903.

Art.		Page
I.	The Sagas and Songs of the Gael	1
II.	The History of Mankind	28
III.	The Second Afghan War	56
IV.	The Improvement of British Forestry	81
V.	The Submarine	105
VI.	New Lights on the French Revolution	127
VII.	Asia in Transformation	155
VIII.	Siena	178
IX.	The Royal Academy and Reform	196
X.	The Survival of Personality	211
XI.	Religion and the Poor	230
XII.	Mr Chamberlain's Fiscal Policy	246
XIII.	Pope Leo XIII	279

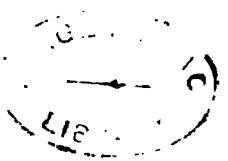
No. 396.—OCTOBER, 1903.

I.	Sophocles and the Greek Genius	307
II.	The Religion of Napoleon I	336
III.	The Novels of Mr Henry James	358
IV.	Our Orchards and Fruit-gardens	380
V.	The 'Time-spirit' in German Literature	404
VI.	Pope Leo XIII and his Successor	436
VII.	The Reign of the Engineer	462
VIII.	Macedonia and the Powers	485
IX.	La France et les Congrégations	515
X.	Mr Morley's Life of Gladstone	545
XI.	The Cabinet and the War Office	580
XII.	Retaliation and Reciprocity	613

No. 397.—JANUARY, 1904.

I.	The New Socialism	1
II.	The History of the British Army	32
III.	The Metric System of Weights and Measures	57
IV.	The Art of the Nineteenth Century	80
V.	Matter and Electricity	100
VI.	Some Tendencies of Modern Sport	127
VII.	'Que sçais-je?'	153
VIII.	Pools, Trusts, and Industrial Combinations in the United States	183
IX.	Mr Creevey and his Contemporaries	216
X.	Latest Lights on the Homeric Question	245
XI.	The Abbé Loisy and Liberal Catholicism in France	268
XII.	Lord Salisbury and 'The Quarterly Review'	296

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

OF

No. 398.—APRIL, 1904.

PAGE

ART. I.—THE BRITISH MERCANTILE MARINE - - - 328

1. Reports of the Select Committee on Steamship Subsidies. (300: 1901, and 385: 1902.)
2. Report of the Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to inquire into certain questions affecting the Mercantile Marine. (Cd. 1607, 1608, 1609; 1903.)
And other works.

ART. II.—THE ART OF THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE - - 355

1. Jean Goujon: his life and work. By Reginald Lister. London: Duckworth, 1903.
2. Le Primatice. By L. Dimier. Paris: Leroux, 1900.
And other works.

ART. III.—GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO - - - - - - 388

1. The Triumph of Death. Translated by Georgina Harding. London: Heinemann, 1898.
2. The Virgins of the Rocks. Translated by Agatha Hughes. London: Heinemann, 1899.
And other works.

ART. IV.—RECENT ÆSTHETICS - - - - - - - 420

1. Raumästhetik und Geometrisch-optische Täuschungen. By Theodor Lipps. Leipzig: Barth, 1893–97.
2. Einfühlung und Association in der neueren Aesthetik. By Paul Stern. Hamburg: Voss, 1897.
And other works.

ART. V.—RETALIATION AND SCIENTIFIC TAXATION - - 444

Tariff Reform. I. Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade. II. Speech delivered at Sheffield (October 1, 1903). III. Speech delivered at Bristol (November 18, 1903), together with Letter to the Rt Hon. J. Chamberlain, M.P. (September 16, 1903). By the Rt Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P. London: Longmans, 1904.
And other works.

Digitized by Google

PAGE

ART. VI.—LESLIE STEPHEN AND HIS WORKS - - - 468

1. Sketches from Cambridge. By a Don. London: Macmillan, 1865.
2. The Playground of Europe. London: Longmans, 1871.

And other works.

ART VII.—THE NOVELS OF THOMAS HARDY - - - 499

Desperate Remedies (1871); Under the Greenwood Tree (1872); A Pair of Blue Eyes (1873); Far from the Madding Crowd (1874); The Hand of Ethelberta (1876). And other works.

ART. VIII.—THE PENINSULAR WAR: BAYLEN AND CORUNNA - - - - - - - - - - 524

1. A History of the Peninsular War. By Charles Oman. Vols I and II. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902–3.
2. The Diary of Sir John Moore. Edited by Major-General Sir J. F. Maurice. Two vols. London: Arnold, 1904.

And other works.

ART. IX.—MARCO POLO AND HIS FOLLOWERS IN CENTRAL ASIA - - - - - - - - - - 553

1. The Book of Ser Marco Polo, translated and edited by Colonel Sir Henry Yule. Third edition, revised by Henri Cordier. Two volumes. London: Murray, 1903.
2. The World's History. Edited by Dr H. F. Helmolt. Vol. II. London: William Heinemann, 1904.

And other works.

ART. X.—RUSSIA AND JAPAN - - - - - - - 576

1. Russian Affairs. By Geoffrey Drage. London: Murray, 1904.
2. Korea. By Angus Hamilton. London: Heinemann, 1904.

And other works.

ART. XI.—CHINESE LABOUR FOR SOUTH AFRICA - - 611

1. Present Position and Future Prospects of British Trade in South Africa. Report of Henry Birchenough, Commissioner appointed by the Board of Trade. London: Spottiswoode, 1903. (Cd. 1844.)
2. Report of the Transvaal Labour Commission. London: Spottiswoode, 1903. (Cd. 1896; Cd. 1897.)

And other works.

ART. XII.—THE POLITICAL SITUATION - - - - 623

Digitized by Google

THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. 398.—APRIL, 1904.

Art. I.—THE BRITISH MERCANTILE MARINE.

1. *Reports of the Select Committee on Steamship Subsidies.* (300 : 1901, and 385 : 1902.)
2. *Report of the Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to inquire into certain questions affecting the Mercantile Marine.* (Cd. 1607, 1608, 1609 ; 1903.)
3. *Tables showing the progress of Merchant Shipping in the United Kingdom and the principal Maritime Countries.* (Board of Trade, 329 : 1902.)
4. *Papers relating to a Conference between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Prime Ministers of Self-governing Colonies.* (Cd. 1299 ; 1902.)
5. *Reports from his Majesty's representatives abroad respecting Bounties on Shipbuilding, &c.* (Foreign Office —Commercial, No. 4, Cd. 596 ; 1901.)
6. *Memoranda, Statistical Table, and Charts prepared in the Board of Trade with reference to various matters bearing on British and Foreign Trade and Industrial Conditions.* (Cd. 1761 ; 1903.)
7. *History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce.* By W. S. Lindsay. Four vols. London : Sampson Low, 1874–6.
8. *The Men of the Merchant Service.* By Frank T. Bullen. London : Smith, Elder, 1900.
9. *The Merchant Shipping Consolidation Act*, 1894. By Frank St Maur Henry. London : Stevens, 1896.

And other works.

It is remarkable that Great Britain is now confronted with the same question that troubled the English Parliament two hundred and fifty years ago, viz. the best means of conserving her merchant shipping. In the seventeenth

Digitized by Google

century the maritime power of Holland was so great, and her enterprise so aggressive, that it was found necessary to reserve from her shipping the trade with the Plantations of North America. In 1650 English shipowners, for the relief of their trade and the remunerative employment of their property, obtained an Act of Parliament prohibiting all foreign ships from trading with the Plantations, except with a licence. Cromwell went farther, and decreed that no goods or commodities from Asia, Africa, or America should be imported into England or Ireland or the Plantations except in British-built ships, owned by British subjects, and manned to the extent of three fourths by British seamen. These and other provisions which followed were aimed at the Dutch, who had obtained the monopoly of the sea-carrying trade in most of the markets. The Dutch were masters of the seas, until England asserted her right to carry on her own trade in her own ships alone. The difference between then and now is that, when the Act of Cromwell and the 'Maritime Charter of England' were passed, England had not enough shipping to carry on her trade, whereas now the fear is expressed that she may not have enough trade to employ her shipping.

It is well to recall the fact that the maritime energies of England began to develope from the moment when a bar was placed against foreign shipping, and the exclusive 'Colonial system' was adopted. The ships multiplied to meet the trade. But even at the opening of the nineteenth century the amount of shipping under the British flag did not exceed 1,750,000 tons. And, though we may date the birth-year of our maritime supremacy at 1840, our tonnage amounted, even in 1848, the year before the repeal of the navigation laws, to only about 4,000,000 tons. We were growing, but America was growing faster.

A host of recollections and a dim crowd of shadows of the 'might-have-beens' are conjured up by the reminder that in 1860 the United States owned a larger amount of ocean, lake, and river tonnage than the United Kingdom, and, indeed, owned nearly as much as the whole British Empire, as it then existed, put together. It is a remarkable illustration of British progressiveness in at least one direction that, reckoning only vessels of over 100 tons, the British Empire now owns 15,500,000 tons

Digitized by Google

of ocean craft, and the American Federal Union, even when lake and river vessels are included, only 3,500,000 tons. In the first half of the nineteenth century, however, America developed in maritime affairs almost as much as in the second half she developed in industrial pursuits. She found use for the magnificent harbours with which nature has endowed her; and within eighty years after the Declaration of Independence she was the largest shipowner in the world—as, indeed, she may once more be, long before other eighty years have passed.

The former maritime progress of America was made at a time when we excluded her ships from our colonies, and when France extracted heavy differential duties on all goods imported into France in American ships. Between 1810 and 1850 the exports from New Orleans alone rose from three to thirty millions sterling; and most of it was in American bottoms. In 1860, 6,165,924 tons of American vessels cleared from all the ports of the United States, and only 2,624,005 tons of foreign vessels. The merchants of Boston broke the monopoly of the East India Company, long before the British 'free-trader' ships were recognised, by sending their clippers to India and China and bringing back cargoes of tea, coffee, spices, and sugar, which they transhipped again at Boston for the ports of Europe. In these years of American prosperity it is to be feared that neither British vessels nor British crews were always satisfactory; and in 1843 a circular was issued from the Foreign Office to all British consuls calling for information about the conduct and character of British shipmasters and seamen in foreign ports, especially with regard to 'the incompetency of British shipmasters to manage their vessels and their crews, whether arising from deficiency of knowledge of practical navigation and seamanship, or of moral character, particularly want of sobriety.' It may be that the British seaman was more maligned than he deserved; but at all events her Majesty's Government wanted evidence to authorise steps for remedial measures. This inquiry, followed as it was by Lord Palmerston's Commission in 1847, led to the establishment of a 'Board or Department of Commercial Marine,' otherwise the Marine Department of the Board of Trade, charged with the supervision of maritime affairs. Shipowners did not

Digitized by Google

then welcome the interference of government with their officers and crews; but shipowners themselves must have been in need of supervision when merchants preferred chartering foreign to British vessels because of the inferior character and condition of the latter.

We have recalled this inquiry into the conduct of the merchant service because it led up to the movement for the repeal of the navigation laws, which for two centuries had been supposed to maintain for Great Britain the sovereignty of the seas. Whatever virtue these laws may have had in their day, it must be acknowledged that, for some time after they were enacted, Holland was more powerful at sea than we were, and that since their repeal Great Britain has become more powerful at sea than all the other nations put together. Let us for a moment recall what these laws provided; for, although they are often referred to in discussion and conversation, it is doubtful if many even well instructed men know what they really were. They decreed then, in brief: (1) that specified articles of European production should only be imported into the British Isles in British ships, or in the ships of the country in which the goods originated or from which they were customarily shipped; (2) that none of the produce of Asia, Africa, or America should be imported into Great Britain from Europe in any vessels, and that such produce should only be imported from other places in British ships or in ships of the country of origin; (3) that only British ships should carry goods from one part of the British and Irish coasts to another; (4) that no goods should be exported from British ports to British possessions in Asia, Africa, or America (with some reservations in the case of India) except in British ships; (5) that only British ships should be allowed to carry goods between one British possession and another, or between the different parts of any British possession; (6) that goods should be imported into any British possessions in Asia, Africa, or America, only by British ships or by the ships of the country in which the goods originated, provided such vessels brought the goods direct; (7) that no foreign vessels should be allowed to trade with any British possessions unless by special authority of an Order in Council; (8) they empowered the Sovereign in Council to impose differential duties on

Digitized by Google

the ships of any foreign country which imposed duties on British ships, and to place restrictions on importations from any foreign countries which placed restrictions on British importations into such countries. The regulations with regard to Europe applied to imports only, foreign ships being at liberty to carry exports from British ports if not to British possessions.

These were, in brief, the laws into the operation and policy of which J. L. Ricardo, in February 1847, moved for and obtained a select committee of inquiry. Ricardo took his stand upon free trade, yet discarded the authority of Adam Smith, who wrote: *

'There seem to be two cases in which it will generally be advantageous to lay some burden upon foreign, for the encouragement of domestic, industry. The first is, when some particular sort of industry is necessary for the defence of the country. The defence of Great Britain, for example, depends very much upon the number of its sailors and shipping. The Act of Navigation, therefore, very properly endeavours to give the sailors and the shipping of Great Britain the monopoly of the trade of their own country, in some cases by absolute prohibitions and in others by heavy burdens upon the shipping of foreign countries.'

The Act to which Smith referred did not, he admitted, tend to further the growth of our foreign trade; but he contended that, as 'defence was of more importance than opulence,' therefore the Navigation Act was one of the wisest of all the commercial regulations of the country. Ricardo, on the other hand, contended that the best way to encourage the commercial navy was to free the commerce of the country from all restrictions, impediments, and obstructions; that commerce was the parent of the merchant marine; and that, if the parent were nourished, the child would flourish. Huskisson, on his part, had maintained in 1826 that

'the object of the navigation laws was twofold: first, to create and maintain the great commercial marine of this country for the purposes of national defence; and secondly, an object not less important in the eyes of statesmen, to prevent any one other nation from engrossing too large a portion of the navigation of the world.' (Speeches, iii, 2.)

* 'Wealth of Nations,' Book IV, c. ii (ed. 1850, p. 203).

Digitized by Google

It is possible that Huskisson's views would receive more support to-day than they did at the time of Ricardo's motion. The navigation laws were doomed, however, from the moment when the motion for a committee of inquiry was carried—for abolition, not investigation, was the real object of Ricardo and his followers. The shipowners, in so far as they were represented by the Shipowner's Society of London, did not make the mistake of claiming special privileges. They argued, however, that the State imposed on them burdens and restrictions for objects of supposed national benefit, and that therefore common justice demanded that they should be protected from the competition of other shipowners not so burdened and restricted. They contended that, by the registry laws, they were compelled to trade with the most costly ships in the world; by the navigation laws, to employ only the highest paid and most expensively fed seamen in the world; and, by other laws, were specially taxed and prevented from trading in the way in which they could make the most profit. Nevertheless, it must not be overlooked, that at the period of the Ricardo agitation the business of shipowning was improving, as Mr Lindsay, in his 'History of Merchant Shipping,' shows. As to the coasting trade, although the original Navigation Act of 1660 did not debar foreign-built vessels from it, the Act in force in 1847 declared that no goods or passengers could be carried coastwise from one part of the United Kingdom to another except in British-built ships.

While, however, the navigation laws were in force, it is important to note that the principle of reciprocity was not inconsiderably applied—to the distaste of the British shipowners. The Anglo-Austrian Treaty of 1838, for instance, provided that all Austrian vessels from the ports on the Danube should be admitted into the ports of the United Kingdom and of British possessions, just as if they came direct from Austrian ports alone. The treaty of 1841 with the States of the North German Customs Union made free the mouths of the Meuse, the Elbe, the Weser, etc.; and the ships of the Zollverein were in turn admitted to trade in ports of the United Kingdom and of British possessions. In 1843, by a treaty with Russia, Russian vessels arriving from the mouths of any rivers which rise in Russia, though reaching the sea through

Digitized by Google

other territory, were to be admitted just as if they came direct from Russian ports with Russian produce.

On the other hand, some nations followed our example and copied our navigation laws. For instance, in 1817 the United States of America adopted a counterpart of our law with the express object of retaliation. The ships of the American States, while British colonies, had the privileges of British ships; when they became independent their ships were treated as foreign ships. Then the Americans were exasperated, and, after a series of retaliatory experiments, finally took a leaf out of our own statute book and paid us the sincerest form of flattery. Retaliation ruled, with some modifications and attempts at conciliation, until 1830, when Congress passed an ordinance providing that whenever the President had evidence that Great Britain would open her colonial ports to American vessels on the same terms as to British vessels, he might grant similar privileges to British vessels coming from these possessions to the United States. In return for this a British Order in Council was issued (Nov. 5, 1830) authorising vessels of the United States to import into British possessions any produce of the United States direct, and to export goods from the British possessions to any foreign countries. This was retaliation followed by reciprocity; and reciprocity had already characterised the treaties made between 1824 and 1826 with Prussia, Denmark, the Hanseatic Towns, France, and Mexico, opening, on certain terms, the ports of Great Britain to the ships of the other contracting party, but reserving the coasting trade and the colonial ports.

The Bill 'to amend the laws in force for the encouragement of British shipping and navigation,' drafted in 1848, was a compromise which reserved the coasting and colonial coasting trade to British ships, but gave power of retaliation against foreigners who might decline to reciprocate. It is worth recalling that, when this measure was before the House of Commons, and the discussion turned on what America, on her part, was prepared to do, viz. to concede the foreign while reserving the coasting trade, Mr Gladstone contended that the American coasting trade was of such high value as to be quite equivalent to an extensive oversea trade.

Digitized by Google

'Let us give her the coasting trade' (he said), 'and we are entitled not merely in policy, but in justice, to ask her for her coasting trade. But let us give her the colonial trade without the coasting trade, and we give her the valuable boon while we withhold the worthless; but we cannot say to her, "Give us all, for we have given you all."' (Hansard, 3rd ser. xcix, 270.)

But we did give her all, and she has given us nothing. She has retained and still retains her vast coasting trade, which is equivalent to a great colonial trade, though she has obtained access to both our colonial and our coasting trade. Can we in the present day deny the justice asserted by Mr Gladstone in 1848, that for what we conceded in our navigation laws to America we are entitled to claim a similar concession in her navigation laws to us? In the second-reading debate on the Bill, when re-introduced in 1849, Mr Gladstone said,

'If you proceed by unconditional legislation and offer to give up your colonial trade instead of giving up your coasting trade, I believe she will get your colonial trade, and she may be ready to give you some comparatively insignificant advantages in return; but she is not a lover of free trade in the abstract.' (Hansard, 3rd ser. ciii, 554.)

Mr Gladstone was perfectly right in contending that the coasting trade should be thrown open to foreigners if they reciprocated; but, as a matter of fact, ministers knew very well, when the second-reading debate was in progress, that the Americans had no intention of opening their coasting trade in return for the concessions the Bill was devised to offer. After a stormy career in both Houses the Bill became law on June 26, 1849. The coasting trade of the United Kingdom was, in 1854, unconditionally thrown open to the vessels of all nations. But, to the present day, America reserves her coasting trade, with the addition of the trade between the ports of the United States and her oversea possessions in Puerto Rico and Hawaii. The Philippines are meanwhile open because, under the Spanish-American treaty of peace, Spanish vessels have the same rights as American vessels in Philippine ports until 1909; and assurance has been given that British shipping will not be less favourably treated than Spanish.

Digitized by Google

But after 1909 the trade between the United States and the Philippines will doubtless be reserved to the vessels of the Federal Union. So wide an extension of the term 'coastal trade' may not be more extravagant than the reservation of the trade round the coasts of two continents and through the waters of a dozen foreign Powers, as from New York to San Francisco, but it more directly challenges comparison with such British imperial trade as that between, say, Montreal and Cape Town, in which we allow American vessels to engage. It is true that American vessels take no part in the coasting trade of the United Kingdom, though it is open to them; but America has now become an extra-continental nation and aims at becoming a great maritime power. Who can limit what she may attempt in the future?

On the repeal of the manning clauses followed the vexed question of the employment of foreigners in our merchant navy. The importance of this question we believe to be somewhat exaggerated, for the foreign element would not really interfere with the effective working of our ships in the event of a naval war. The foreign seamen we employ are not all of one nationality, and they are usually of nationalities (such as Norway and Denmark) with which there is not the slightest probability of our ever being at war. We are, therefore, not at one with Mr Bullen when he predicts that, in the matter of our mercantile marine, we are heaping up for ourselves 'a most awful mountain of disaster' by allowing it to become so much a 'foreign service.' Those who would revive the manning clauses forget how deficient is the supply of British seamen, and how inexhaustible is the supply of 'wasters' from whom unscrupulous 'crimps' are ever ready to make up a crew. But we do not believe that the wit of man and of the architects of Merchant Shipping Acts has been exhausted in improving the quality of the service, or in designs for attracting a desirable class of British subjects to seafaring life. There may be something in favour of Mr Bullen's contention that no aliens should be employed in British vessels until they become naturalised; but there is a great deal more in favour of earnest and concentrated effort to remove the national reproach which underlies the general reply of the merchant skipper—that he prefers foreigners because

Digitized by Google

they are more sober, less quarrelsome, and more manageable than the average British seaman.

In January 1902 the President of the Board of Trade appointed a committee to inquire into various matters having an important bearing on the future of the mercantile marine. The reference to this committee was to inquire into and report upon the following matters: (1) the causes that have led to the employment of a large and increasing proportion of Lascars and foreigners in the British merchant service, and the effect of such employment upon the reserve of seamen of British nationality available for naval purposes in time of peace or war; (2) the sufficiency or otherwise of the existing law and practice for securing proper food, accommodation, medical attention, and reasonable conditions of comfort and well-being, for seamen on British merchant ships; (3) the prevalence of desertion and other offences against discipline in the mercantile marine. This committee reported that there is no doubt of the increase of foreigners and the corresponding decrease of British seamen employed in the mercantile marine, or of 'a very considerable increase' in the number of Lascars and other Asiatics employed. As to Lascars, they are British subjects, hereditary sailors, with special qualifications for work as firemen in tropical climates, and they are temperate and orderly. Moreover, they have claim to consideration in respect of the fact that British steamers have largely displaced native trading ships. As to foreigners, the committee report:—

'As regards the increasing employment of foreign seamen, we do not think, speaking generally, that they are preferred on account of cheapness. The rates of wages at home ports are usually the same for British and for foreign seamen; but possibly crews largely or wholly foreign are sometimes taken at foreign ports, partly because wages are lower there, e.g. at Hamburg and Antwerp. It may also be observed that British vessels which habitually trade between the ports of foreign countries frequently recruit their crews from the foreign seamen available for employment at such foreign ports. The superior contentment and docility of foreign seamen, certainly in the earlier stages of their employment in British ships, render masters and owners willing to take them. It is, however, satisfactory to find that no competent authority alleges

Digitized by Google

that the foreigner is a better seaman than the British subject, especially at times of danger.' (Report, Cd. 1607, p. vi.)

The committee further remark:—

'From evidence given by various witnesses, it appears that a certain number of the foreign seamen employed on British ships have acquired homes at seaports in the United Kingdom, and have become in this way British citizens. We think it would be a valued privilege for these men, and for others who intend to serve for lengthened periods in the British mercantile marine, if all seamen who have served for a substantial time, perhaps four years, on board British merchant ships, and acquired an adequate knowledge of the English language, were entitled, by an easy process, without expense, to become British subjects by naturalisation.' (Report, Cd. 1607, p. vi.)

It is not desirable for the navy to depend much on the mercantile marine from which to draw crews in time of naval war. The object of the navy is to keep our merchant ships afloat, not to deplete them and so render them useless. Our real naval reserve must be among the fishermen, yachtsmen, and coasting sailors. The object of Lord Muskerry's defeated Merchant Shipping Act (1894) Amendment Bill, introduced last session, was to prevent aliens from obtaining the sole control of British ships and property. But the Bill was too extreme in its proposals for the present temper of Parliament.

In 1860 the mercantile marine of the United States was, as has been said, equal to our own. Hawthorne writes of America disputing 'the navigation of the world with England.' Returning from his mission to England, Buchanan publicly declared that 'our commerce now covers every ocean; our mercantile marine is the largest in the world.' On the eve of secession, Alexander H. Stephens said, in a speech delivered before the Georgia Legislature: 'We have now an amount of shipping, not only coast-wise but to foreign countries, which puts us in the front rank of the nations of the world. England can no longer be styled the mistress of the seas.' On the eve of the Civil War the United States shared the carrying trade of the world with Great Britain, which was gradually losing the predominance even in her own ports. The outbreak of war in the United States,

Digitized by Google

however, altered these conditions. In the ten years from 1860 to 1870, British tonnage in British ports nearly doubled, and foreign tonnage showed scarcely any increase. Trade was transferred to neutral vessels free from capture; but the advantage thus given to British shipowners was as nothing to that caused by the substitution, about the same time, of iron for wooden vessels. Great Britain instituted and retained a virtual monopoly in the construction of iron shipping, and thus regained and assured her supremacy.

The proposal has been recently revived that the United States navigation laws should be so amended as to give encouragement to American shipbuilding and American commerce. On this subject a report of the United States Commissioner of Navigation is precise. It recommends the giving of grants-in-aid to vessels built in the United States; and the suggestion has been favourably received.

Germany has succeeded by means of government grants in making herself, as a shipbuilder, independent of Great Britain. The United States, the Commissioner of Navigation thinks, could not do better than follow the example of Germany. Some provision, it is declared, is absolutely necessary in order to enable American traders to enter immediately into active competition for the Asiatic trade which is expected to be developed by the annexation of Hawaii and the Philippine Islands, and also by Great Britain's 'open-door' policy in regard to China. This open-door policy is, of course, recognised as no mean factor in the case, and there is a hope on the part of Americans of all classes that Great Britain will adhere to it; but as regards America's acquisitions in the West Indies and in the East, the case is different. There is to be no open door there, even for Great Britain. Puerto Rico and the Philippines are to be regarded simply as extensions of the territory of the United States.

What has already been done by the American Executive in regard to Puerto Rico may be taken as an indication of the policy that will ultimately be adopted generally. Nearly all the trade between the North American continent and the West Indies was carried on before the Spanish war either in British vessels running out of New York and other United States ports,

Digitized by Google

or in Canadian vessels. The rule restricting this trade to American bottoms has now been put in force, so far as Puerto Rico is concerned; and it would also apply to Cuba in the event of that island being annexed. Many British trading firms have been injuriously affected by the result of the war; and we, as a nation, are concerned as to further developments in the Caribbean Sea and in the neighbourhood of the projected isthmian canal. The whole of Central America is in a more or less unsettled condition; and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that, when the canal has been constructed, other schemes promoting American expansion will come to the front. The new Republic of Panama even now subsists only by permission of the United States.

In view of these things, and of the whole policy of the American Government and the aspirations of the American people, it is the duty of Great Britain to do everything to encourage the Canadian shipping trade. Montreal, Halifax, and St John are all doing their best, under climatic disadvantages, to cope with the United States; and it is of importance that the Imperial Government should aid them. It is not contended here that the United States has done anything not strictly within its rights; but it is of the utmost consequence to the people of Great Britain that they should remain fully alive to the political and other objects at which their most formidable competitor is aiming.

Last year the closing of the Canadian coasting trade was effected against foreign-built vessels whose only title to engage in it was a British register. Formerly, foreign-built vessels were free to carry between Canadian ports if they were registered in the United Kingdom. Vessels already admitted on that ground continue in the enjoyment of the privilege, but the right is no longer to be extended to other vessels. Foreign-built vessels of British register, not already in the coasting trade, can now enter it only by paying the duty provided for in the tariff. An Act to this effect was passed at the last session of the Dominion Parliament. Many vessels of non-British origin were registered in Newfoundland, and upon that authority plied between Canadian ports, especially carrying coal between Nova Scotia and the St Lawrence. This trade is now reserved for Canadian and British-built vessels.

Digitized by Google

Whatever restrictions we may now find it desirable to place on foreign shipping in our inter-imperial coasting trade, we need have no fear of retaliation, because most other countries already reserve their own coasting trade. Nor need we adopt a system that could be characterised as protection applied to British shipping, inasmuch as provision could be made for admitting all foreign vessels to the inter-imperial trade which would recognise the same rules and regulations as British vessels, and would divest themselves of bounty. Apart from this, it seems possible that we may have to adopt some form of carefully regulated subsidy to encourage intercourse between those parts of the Empire where the present traffic is insufficient to make a service profitable to private enterprise. Tropical West Africa is a case in point.

The annual value of British trade, including bullion and specie, in 1900, may be summarised as follows:—

	£
Trade of United Kingdom with foreign countries .	711,838,000
Trade of United Kingdom with British dominions	237,098,000
Trade of British dominions beyond the seas with foreign countries and among themselves . .	254,342,000
Total trade of Empire	1,203,278,000

Thus about one fifth of the total trade of the Empire is not directly connected with the United Kingdom. We shall see presently what is the apportionment of that trade among our shipping.

From Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping we table the following figures, together with the totals for the previous year for comparison, from which it will be seen that the tonnage of British and foreign steamers and sailing-ships of over 100 tons each increased during the past year from 32,437,763 tons to 33,643,131 tons.

Digitized by Google

Flag.	1903.		1902.	
	Steamers.	Sailing-ships.	Steamers.	Sailing-ships.
	Tons gross.	Tons net.	Tons gross.	Tons net.
British	14,193,582	1,813,792	13,652,455	1,894,442
United States	2,222,067	1,389,889	1,954,168	1,382,988
Argentine	70,862	24,918	67,341	28,328
Austro-Hungarian	557,745	20,952	529,319	26,784
Belgian	156,559	488	170,577	624
Brazilian	132,107	22,979	134,568	23,556
Chilian	67,186	36,572	72,149	41,019
Chinese	60,491	..	59,731	573
Colombian	877	934	877	934
Cuban	38,550	2,324	32,752	1,875
Danish	483,968	97,279	440,010	98,483
Dutch	613,219	45,626	555,047	57,873
French	1,153,761	468,255	1,104,893	415,029
German	2,794,311	488,936	2,636,338	502,230
Greek	325,895	52,304	287,986	55,171
Haytian	1,750	..	1,750	..
Italian	704,109	476,226	691,841	467,241
Japanese	585,542	141,276	555,230	135,351
Mexican	15,210	3,678	15,347	3,303
Montenegrin	..	5,449	1,857	4,238
Norwegian	935,229	718,511	866,754	766,003
Peruvian	4,992	9,704	4,992	9,704
Philippine Islands	48,138	8,261	38,284	8,361
Portuguese	51,217	50,087	56,619	49,330
Roumanian	16,600	634	17,419	634
Russian	578,343	231,305	556,102	244,232
Sarawak	2,270	669	2,270	..
Siamese	1,829	..	1,829	..
Spanish	720,822	43,625	736,209	48,364
Swedish	502,581	218,535	464,705	225,468
Turkish	92,869	61,625	98,044	61,653
Uruguayan	26,488	19,540	23,961	16,634
Venezuelan	3,058	1,060	4,015	1,060
Zanzibar	2,808	..	2,808	..
Other countries	23,330	5,333	18,740	5,947
Total	27,183,365	6,459,766	25,859,987	6,577,776

It should be noted that Lloyd's include vessels only of 100 tons and over, whereas other records include craft of all sizes.

The British figures include the steamers acquired by the 'Morgan combine' (to which reference will be made later) and other vessels owned by Americans. The steamers belonging to the 'combine,' or in which the 'combine' possesses a controlling interest, and at present registered in this country and flying the British flag, are, according to the new register:—

Digitized by Google

	Steamers.	Tons gross
F. Leyland and Company (1900), Limited	48	283,383
Atlantic Transport Company, Limited	9	43,993
Mississippi and Dominion Steamship Company, Limited	3	18,186
British and North Atlantic Steam Navigation Company, Limited	12	106,710
National Steamship Company	4	26,465
White Star Line	28	266,824
International Marine Company, Limited, Liverpool	10	70,803
Total	114	816,364

In addition to the above, the Atlantic Transport Company has one steamer of 7914 tons gross; the Atlantic Transport Company of West Virginia two steamers of 15,826 tons gross; and the American line ten steamers of 82,856 tons gross—all under the United States flag. With the Red Star line's five steamers of 27,322 tons gross, under the Belgian flag, the fleet belonging to the 'combine' under all flags comprises 132 vessels of 950,282 tons gross.

The Blue-book recently issued by the Board of Trade on British and foreign trade and industrial conditions discloses the participation of foreign vessels in the shipping trade within the British Empire, and the practice of foreign countries with regard to the shipping trade within their own sovereignty. Of the seven principal foreign countries with oversea possessions, four, viz. Germany, Holland, Denmark, and Portugal, throw open the carrying trade between their own ports and these possessions. France reserves the carrying trade with Algeria, and also the trade between her Atlantic and her Mediterranean ports. Russia and the United States reserve practically the whole trade between their coasts and their oversea possessions to vessels of their own flag. Russia has always treated as coasting trade the entire trade between her Baltic and her Black Sea ports, and now forbids the trade between her European and her Asiatic ports to foreign vessels. The United States still retain the whole trade between their Atlantic and their Pacific seaboards for national vessels, even though in the carriage of that trade round Cape Horn these have to traverse the waters of several foreign Powers. The United States now also reserve to American vessels the trade between Federal ports and Puerto Rico and Hawaii; and that with the Philippines will soon be reserved also.

Digitized by Google

All the countries which retain for themselves their oversea trade with their own possessions reserve their home coasting trade, as do also France and Spain. The only countries which throw open their coastal trade, either unconditionally or on conditions of reciprocity, are Germany, Italy, Sweden and Norway, Denmark, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, and Greece. But the whole of our coastal trade and of our enormous intra-imperial trade is open to the ships of all nations, even of those nations which will not allow our vessels to carry a single ton between two of their own ports. The only reservation within the British Empire is that of Canada, which at present opens her coasting trade by reciprocal arrangement, the countries having the right to a share in it being Italy, Germany, Holland, Sweden and Norway, Austria-Hungary, Denmark, Belgium, and Argentina.

The extent of the competition which we may meet on the ocean in the trade between our own possessions, if and when America adopts the sweeping system of ship subsidies which has been so long in contemplation, can hardly be measured; but at least we should prepare for it. This may be done, without any special act of legislation, by mere official and timely notification, if the Board of Trade experts are correct in their assumption that the Customs Consolidation Act of 1853 (sections 324 and 325) gives power by Order in Council 'to exclude from the carrying trade between the United Kingdom and British possessions vessels of countries that do not give reciprocity.' This was the view taken by McCulloch, who, when commenting on the alteration in the navigation laws, wrote ('Dictionary of Commerce and Navigation'):—

'The reciprocity system is still wisely maintained and is, indeed, embodied in the Act 12 and 13 Vict. c. 29. But we do not make its previously agreeing to this system a condition of a foreign country being entitled to participate in the advantages conferred by this Act. Such preliminary arrangements would have occasioned much embarrassment and difficulty; and we, therefore, have contented ourselves with reserving power to her Majesty in Council, in the event of her thinking it expedient to interfere, to impose such prohibitions, restrictions, and discriminating duties on the ships of any foreign Power frequenting our ports as may be required to counter-

Digitized by Google

vail any peculiar prohibitions and restrictions or duties laid upon British ships in the ports of such foreign Power.'

When the Ship Subsidy Bill was before the last United States Congress, Mr Charles H. Cramp, an American shipbuilder, wrote in one of the trade journals that

'Its object is primarily to secure for our country its legitimate share of the ocean carrying trade. That share is now held by Great Britain and Germany, and was obtained by those countries through Government aid, somewhat similar in scope to that called for in the Subsidy Bill. This aid was given both in Great Britain and Germany as a matter of broad public policy. Great Britain has followed the system since the beginning of ocean steam navigation, or about sixty years. In that time she has spent 240,000,000 dollars, or an average of 4,000,000 dollars a year. Germany has also fostered the ocean carrying trade for the last ten or twelve years with generous subsidies and by other methods. The result is that she is pressing Great Britain hard for first place. These profits have been paid to a large extent by the producers and consumers of the United States, our present yearly bill to Great Britain alone being 280,000,000 dollars. The same is true, in lesser degree, with regard to Germany. The Civil War was a great misfortune to American shipbuilders; it was a fortune to the English. From 1860 to 1875 Great Britain had her naval vessels built in private shipyards, and for them she paid a liberal price. The Government aimed to educate shipbuilders and mechanics, and ultimately to create large plants fully equipped for the construction of the greatest war-ships. The far-sighted purpose was, of course, to be in posture for war and preparation, if need came, at the shortest possible notice. But the plan had better and more far-reaching results. Those vessels sailed into every port in the world, and advertised the excellence of British handiwork. For thirty years—from 1860 to 1890—British shipyards were busy supplying the navies of all countries in the world, except France and the United States, with vessels of war.'

Mr Cramp, we fear, overestimates the foresightedness of any British Government. Our shipping has developed, not through any state aid, but in spite of a great many legislative restrictions and obstructions.

The extent to which British vessels take part in the coastal trade of the countries open to us is not recorded. But in the case of Germany there were 8,800,000 tons

Digitized by Google

entered and cleared in the coasting trade in 1901, of which 266,000 tons were British. Of the foreign tonnage, with cargoes engaged in the trade between the United Kingdom and the colonies, 24 per cent. was German and 48 per cent. Norwegian, while France and Russia each had 4 per cent. The total amount of entries and clearances annually in the trade between the United Kingdom and British colonies and possessions is about 13,250,000 tons, of which 11,750,000 tons are British. The entries in the trade between the colonies and other colonies and possessions amount annually to 24,750,000 tons, of which 21,500,000 tons, or 87 per cent., are British. Taking the two together, the total entries and clearances annually in the trade between all the parts of the British Empire are about 38,000,000 tons; and the British proportion of this total is over 33,000,000 tons, or about 88 per cent. Of the foreign tonnage sharing at present in the trade between the United Kingdom and British possessions, about 36 per cent. belongs to countries having oversea possessions; and of this amount 4 per cent. belongs to the two countries (America and Russia) which exclude, and 32 per cent. to the five countries which permit, the participation of British ships in their colonial trade.

This, while interesting, is insufficient. If, for instance, we had reciprocal arrangements with the United States, we should have a share of the enormous coasting trade between the two ocean seaboards of the Republic. The Customs figures do not show all the American tonnage entering and clearing our ports; for the vessels of the Morgan shipping 'combine,' although owned in America, are sailed and classified under the British flag. There is no treaty under which the right to share in the coasting trade of all our colonies and possessions is granted, though a few treaties concede to certain unimportant maritime countries this right with respect to the Crown colonies and some of the self-governing colonies; but all the treaties which do exist, entitling ships of a foreign country to share in the carrying trade within the British Empire, provide for the admission of British ships to reciprocal advantages. Why should not such an arrangement be universal, not exceptional?

A committee was appointed by the Admiralty in April

Digitized by Google

1903 to reconsider the principles on which subsidies are given to British steamship companies for the retention of merchant cruisers, and to report in what manner and at what cost vessels can be secured which (*a*) shall combine greater speed with a large radius of action, no subsidy being given for a lower speed than twenty knots; (*b*) shall be capable of carrying an armament of 4·7-inch guns; (*c*) shall be subdivided, as under the present system; (*d*) shall possess a steering gear below the water-line, if this does not entail too great a cost; (*e*) when once subsidised shall not be transferred to a foreign flag without the consent of the Board of Admiralty. This committee reports that a vessel which averages twenty knots, and which is capable of maintaining that speed for a considerable distance, say, for about three thousand nautical miles, must be of great size, of great length, of deep draught, and thereby virtually excluded from trading by the Suez Canal route. With regard to other conditions, they find that compliance with them will not lead to any material increase of cost of construction. Nearly all large mercantile vessels of high speed are structurally strong enough to carry and fight 4·7-inch guns, are subdivided up to present Admiralty requirements, and can be fitted with steering gear below the water-line without difficulty, at an expense of between 500*l.* and 1000*l.* per ship per annum, including interest on excess of first cost, depreciation, upkeep, etc. The initial cost of vessels possessing a speed of twenty knots, and up to twenty-six knots, and the amount of annual subsidy which would be required by a commercial company towards making good the loss which would be sustained in peace time by running such vessels, may be provided by the Admiralty guaranteeing a sum representing the first cost of each ship, and thus enabling a shipowner to raise the capital at 3 per cent. instead of 5 per cent.; or by the contribution on the part of the Admiralty of a lump sum towards the first cost of the ship; or by an annual payment extending over an agreed period of years. On the principle of an annual payment, the following table gives estimates of the first cost of ships having a speed of from twenty to twenty-six knots, and of the subsidy necessary

Digitized by Google

Average ocean speed.	First cost, building, etc.	Engine power.	Annual subsidy.
Knots.	£	I.H.P.	£
20	350,000	19,000	9,000
21	400,000	22,000	19,500
22	470,000	25,500	40,500
23	575,000	30,000	67,500
24	850,000	40,000	110,500
25	1,000,000	52,000	149,000
26	1,250,000	68,000	204,000

In the case of vessels of twenty knots speed, the figures of subsidy do not differ largely from the present payments to the Cunard and White Star lines for their fastest ships. Each additional knot is, however, obtained at a rapidly progressing increase of cost, progress from twenty to twenty-four knots doubling the initial cost and the engine power. With regard to providing security against the transfer of a subsidised vessel to a foreign flag, the committee were of opinion that the security might be obtained by a scheme according to which, during the term of subsidy, the Admiralty would be the registered owners of not less than $\frac{33}{64}$ of the vessel, the management and profits being left wholly to the company, and legal security being taken that all owners' obligations should appertain exclusively to the company. But this is not a feasible method.

Professor Biles, a member of this committee, while agreeing generally with his colleagues, expressed the opinion that the terms of reference admit of a much wider interpretation of the question than it has received. The scheme of subsidies indicated in the report can apply, under existing conditions, only to Atlantic ships. But inasmuch as speed is a desideratum upon other mail routes, it seems desirable to carry this inquiry further, and to consider the practicability of securing high-speed vessels on such mail routes.

'Fast steamers' (says Professor Biles) 'can be run in conjunction with a large fleet of vessels of lower speed with commercial advantage to the fleet as a whole, though individually the fast vessels may lose money; and in consequence it seems to be practicable to secure vessels such as are required by the Admiralty by inserting in all future mail contracts (which should run for a period of ten years) a

Digitized by Google

condition that a definite proportion of the ships of each contracting company should fulfil the Admiralty requirements as to speed and other essentials. The result of this would be to secure to the public service a well-distributed and adequate number of mercantile auxiliaries of high speed. The Government business in connection with subsidised steamers should be dealt with by a single department; and, as the chief service to be rendered would relate to mails, while the work of the mercantile auxiliaries for the Admiralty would be at most an incidental matter, except in war time, it seems that this business should be conducted by the Post Office.'

The advantage of subsidising merchant steamers for use as cruisers in war time is, however, extremely doubtful; and the practice is to be abandoned after the termination of existing contracts, except in the case of the two large Cunard steamers yet to be built.

It is important not to forget that British ships suffer from various disadvantages from which foreign vessels are free. In the United States taxes to the amount of 40,000*l.* per annum are imposed on British shipping entering American ports because American vessels are charged light dues in Great Britain. British vessels are subject to constant supervision by officials of the Board of Trade and Home Office. British vessels are subject to various more or less onerous regulations with regard to load-line, life-saving appliances, manning, etc., which do not apply to foreign vessels. The British regulations to secure the safety of passengers on emigrant ships are not enforced on foreign emigrant ships calling at British ports for passengers. A claim arising in this country for loss of life through negligence on board a foreign ship cannot be enforced. The method of measuring French vessels gives them considerable advantage over British vessels in the deductions from gross tonnage upon which dues are calculated. The theory upon which the cost of lighting the British coasts is levied upon shipowners is wholly wrong. These lights are not for the security of the ships alone, but of the cargoes and persons that they carry. The interests are national, not industrial; and the opposition of the Government to the recent proposal to nationalise the charges is entirely illogical. The light dues are a trade tax; and trade taxes are always objec-

Digitized by Google

tionable. Such an impost is not merely a tax on shipping, but a tax on everything that the ships carry. It is a tax on the raw materials of British trade. It is at once an import tax and an export tax, and combines the demerits of both. The provision of lighthouses is a national obligation, and should be borne by the nation, not by a section of the community. There is no necessity for imposing on the shipping industry a tax avoided by every other government in the world, except Turkey.

The committee on shipping subsidies reported that

'the granting of shipping subsidies at considerable pecuniary cost by foreign governments has favoured the development of competition against British shipowners and trade upon the principal routes of ocean communication, and assisted in the transfer from British to continental ports of some branches of foreign and colonial trade; but that, notwithstanding the fostering effect of subsidies upon foreign competition, British steam shipping and trade have, in the main, held their own, and under fair conditions British shipowners are able to maintain the maritime commerce of the country.' (Report, 385 (1902), p. xxv.)

This means that although foreign subsidies are hurtful they have not seriously injured us—as yet. But what of the future? France has increased her bounties by transferring the weight from sailing-ships to steamers; Germany will increase hers under the protective plan inaugurated by the new tariff; and the possibilities in the case of America are immeasurable. It is quite true that the direct subsidies granted in some countries have had no material effect on our shipping. But one cannot ignore the effect of the indirect subsidies, of which reservation of the coasting trade is one.

The extent to which the proportion of foreign tonnage in our ports has grown during the last half-century is shown in the following table of tonnage of steam and sailing vessels with cargoes and in ballast entered and cleared in the foreign trade at ports in the United Kingdom.

Digitized by Google

Flag.	In thousands of tons.				
	1902.	1890.	1880.	1870.	1860.
British	64,903	53,973	41,349	25,072	13,915
Norwegian	6,728	5,001	4,052	2,774	1,457
German	5,610	4,393	3,174	1,764	2,314
Swedish	3,640	1,576	1,509	685	450
Danish	3,564	1,854	1,385	753	760
Dutch	3,323	1,901	1,170	532	567
Spanish	2,951	1,276	636	312	143
French	2,820	1,687	1,743	1,106	913
Belgian	1,630	873	534	319	132
Russian	1,076	551	608	619	283
Italian	924	444	1,125	935	303
Austro-Hungarian . .	831	118	329	389	344
United States . . .	614	292	1,006	1,266	2,982
Other countries . . .	1,259	345	116	114	126
Total foreign . .	34,970	20,311	17,387	11,568	10,774
Percentage British . .	65·0	72·7	70·4	68·4	56·4
Percentage foreign . .	35·0	27·3	29·6	31·6	43·6

What is particularly noteworthy here is the decline in the British and the concurrent increase in the foreign proportion during the last twelve years. Some explanation is found in the large sales of second-hand British vessels to foreigners between 1900 and 1902; but that does not divert the stream of competition.

In addition to the fact that certain countries reserve their coastal trade to vessels flying their own flag, we must note instances of the way in which foreign nations subsidise their shipping to compete with British vessels. Russia, in addition to subsidising the Russian Volunteer Fleet and other lines, and repaying Suez Canal dues, has recently developed a scheme for granting to shipowners, among other financial facilities, interest-free loans for one half the cost of construction of vessels owned and built of native materials in Russia. Further, in order to facilitate the export of Russian goods in vessels of Russian construction, the Government will repay half the cost of the fuel consumed for working the engines if the fuel is of Russian origin. The new privileges granted are confined to shipowners of Russian nationality, to associations of which all the partners are Russians, and to public companies the nominative shares of which can be held only by Russian subjects.

Digitized by Google

France also heavily subsidises her mercantile marine. The law of April 7, 1902, grants to all sea-going steamers of over 100 tons gross, built in France, a navigation bounty of 1·70 franc per gross register ton per 1000 miles traversed for the first year, with slight annual decreases. This subsidy, on a steamer of 5000 tons gross, would amount to about 2300*l.* for the round voyage from Havre to New York and back. The Austrian Government subsidises vessels under its flag, and pays largely for each completed American round voyage. Italy pays its steamers 40 cents per gross ton per 1000 miles run, up to the fifteenth year. Japan subsidises foreign-going steamers under the Japanese flag. The Norddeutscher Lloyd receives 5*s.* per mile for its East Asian and Australian mail service, and 6*s.* 8*d.* per mile for its Australian mail service alone; the Messageries Maritimes is paid 8*s.* 4*d.* a mile for its Australian mail service; while the P. and O. Company only receives 2*s.* 7*d.* a mile for its Australian mail service. German mails are also subsidised by differential railway rates on cargo from inland places.

The following table shows the countries in which British shipping has declined under foreign competition.

TONNAGE UNDER THE BRITISH FLAG ENTERED AND CLEARED, WITH CARGOES AND IN BALLAST, IN THE FOREIGN TRADE OF THE PRINCIPAL MARITIME COUNTRIES (IN THOUSANDS OF TONS).

	1880.	1890.	1896.	1900.
Norway	472	781	709	672
Germany	4,984	7,466	8,560	7,855
Sweden	928	2,207	2,592	1,694
Holland	3,410	5,666	8,331	7,881
Spain	..	8,040	9,352	7,855
France	10,162	12,736	13,684	15,544
Belgium	4,223	6,167	7,739	7,564
Russia	..	6,423	9,380	6,297
Italy	3,377	7,036	6,887	7,769
United States	15,807	16,273	18,479	24,884
Portugal	3,622	5,656	8,231	11,343
Chile	1,917	2,702	4,034	3,003
Argentina	848	4,998	3,998	3,917
Total	49,750	86,151	101,976	106,278

The total is, of course, enormous and increasing; but the growing competition of Norway and Germany,

Digitized by Google

Holland and Russia, is marked. Cast into percentages this appears even more striking.

PERCENTAGE OF TONNAGE UNDER THE BRITISH FLAG TO THE TOTAL TONNAGE ENTERED AND CLEARED, WITH CARGOES AND IN BALLAST, IN THE FOREIGN TRADE OF THE PRINCIPAL MARITIME COUNTRIES.

	1880.	1890.	1896.	1900.
Norway	11·8	14·6	12·1	10·9
Germany	38·1	35·4	35·5	26·9
Sweden	13·5	20·5	18·4	9·9
Holland	49·8	52·3	53·4	41·7
Spain	..	33·6	33·4	27·6
France	40·6	44·0	45·6	40·6
Belgium	59·4	53·2	51·7	44·6
Russia	..	53·2	49·7	37.3
Italy	34·3	49·4	40·5	19·6
United States	51·7	52·8	52·4	52·8
Portugal	63·0	53·5	56·7	56·8
Chile	79·9	47·1	55·4	50·1
Argentina	37·8	42·2	26·3	29·3

The foregoing tables illustrate the trade of foreign countries; and it is refreshing to find more encouraging conditions within the Empire, where British shipping is in the ascendant and shows an increase, though one comparatively small. The following table shows the tonnage under the British flag at the principal colonial ports:—

TONNAGE UNDER THE BRITISH FLAG ENTERED AND CLEARED, WITH CARGOES AND IN BALLAST, IN THE FOREIGN TRADE OF THE PRINCIPAL COLONIES (IN THOUSANDS OF TONS).

	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
British India	..	..	..	6,340	7,290
Canada	..	3,942	4,438	5,326	8,647
Cape	388	314	1,377	2,599	8,539
Natal	26	40	356	927	2,546
New Zealand	201	499	719	1,147	1,542
Australian Commonwealth	2,154	3,414	7,280	12,480	20,205
Total	..	..	..	28,909	48,769

Not only is the amount of British shipping with the colonies increasing, but also the proportion to the whole.

Digitized by Google

PERCENTAGE OF TONNAGE UNDER THE BRITISH FLAG TO THE TOTAL TONNAGE ENTERED AND CLEARED, WITH CARGOES AND IN BALLAST, IN THE FOREIGN TRADE OF THE PRINCIPAL COLONIES.

	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
British India . . .	..	..	..	87·8	84.5
Canada.	..	77·5	65·4	51·6	61·0
Cape	71·2	85·1	85·6	87·9	89·8
Natal	89·2	82·7	88·3	93·4	90·2
New Zealand . . .	71·7	92·6	88·0	87·4	91·8
Australian Commonwealth .	80·2	92·2	94·1	87·6	85·2

In these figures neither the Lake trade of Canada nor the transport service with South Africa is included. They serve to prove that the trade of the mother-country with her possessions is a progressive one, notwithstanding the development of foreign maritime competition.

What, then, is a 'British ship'? It was originally a vessel owned by an inhabitant of the British Isles or by a British subject resident in the Plantations, if built there. By an Act of George III (1786) it was provided that British ships must be British built, British owned, and British navigated; but foreign-built ships which at the date of the Act belonged to British owners were allowed to retain the privileges of British ships until worn out. Such vessels, however, could not then engage in the coasting trade; nor could a foreigner be employed on a British ship engaged in the coasting trade. This Act also provided that no vessel registered as a British ship could import or export any goods from or to British ports unless navigated by British subjects. The law as it stands to-day may be best stated by a citation from the Merchant Shipping Act as consolidated in 1894.

'Part 1. (1) A ship shall not be deemed to be a British ship unless owned wholly by persons of the following description (in this Act referred to as persons qualified to be owners of British ships), namely—

'(*a*) Natural born British subjects:

'(*b*) Persons naturalised by or in pursuance of an Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom or by or in pursuance of an Act or ordinance of the proper legislative authority in a British possession:

'(*c*) Persons made denizens by letters of denization; and

Digitized by Google

'(*d*) Bodies corporate established under and subject to the laws of some part of her Majesty's dominions and having their principal place of business in those dominions:

'Provided that any person who either—

'(1) Being a natural born British subject, has taken the oath of allegiance to a foreign sovereign or state, or has otherwise become a citizen or subject of a foreign state; or

'(2) Has been naturalised or made a denizen as aforesaid; shall not be qualified to be owner of a British ship unless, after taking the said oath, or becoming a citizen or subject of a foreign state, or on or after being naturalised or made denizen as aforesaid, he has taken the oath of allegiance to her Majesty the Queen, and is, during the time he is owner of the ship, either resident in her Majesty's dominions or partner in a firm actually carrying on business in her Majesty's dominions.'

It is evident from these provisions that Mr J. Pierpont Morgan was not entitled as an individual to be registered under British law as owner or part owner of the vessels of the White Star line and of the other lines acquired by the so-called shipping 'combine,' officially known as the International Mercantile Marine Company of New Jersey, whose head offices are in New York. But, by a clever evasion of the navigation laws, the International Mercantile Marine Company did not become the registered owner of these British ships. It became the owner of the shares of the British registered companies, which in turn were registered at the Custom-house as the owners of the vessels. By a curious anomaly of British law the Companies Acts have been so framed as to permit any foreigner or body of foreigners to evade the provisions and violate the principles of the Merchant Shipping Act.

Thus, the International Navigation Company, Limited, of Liverpool, which holds 742 of the 750 shares of the White Star Company, has a capital of 700,000*l.* in 10*l.* shares, the whole of which shares, except seven, are held by Americans. The International Navigation Company, then, owns the White Star line; and the International Mercantile Marine Company of New Jersey owns the company which owns the Oceanic Company which owns the White Star boats. It is a mere fantasy of speech, therefore, to call the White Star line, or any

Digitized by Google

of the allied companies, a British company. Yet, as the law stands, if we again decree that our coasting trade shall be reserved to vessels of the British flag, these ships will be able to compete with ours, although owned by citizens of a nation which refuses to allow British vessels to take part in their coasting trade, or in the trade between their mainland ports and their oversea possessions. Even when not reserving our coasting and intra-imperial trade, we are, by permitting these vessels to fly the British flag, enabling Americans to compete with us in branches of maritime commerce into which they could not otherwise enter. The coasting and colonial trades are, it is true, open to any flag; but the cost of running vessels under the American flag is too great to admit of profitable competition with the British flag. Consequently, in thus permitting American owners the use of our flag, we are presenting them with a weapon against ourselves. Such is the law—whatever may be the profits. By remaining under the British flag, these American-owned ships are, no doubt, debarred from a share in the immense American coasting trade. But in no circumstances, according to the American navigation laws, could they engage in that trade, because they are all foreign built.

Sixty years ago this question of composite ownership arose. In the year 1846 the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, which was a corporation by charter, and included among its members several foreigners, applied through trustees to the Custom-house at Liverpool to register a newly-acquired ship, and was refused on the ground that the ship did not belong *wholly* to her Majesty's subjects. The company's secretary then demanded registry on behalf of the company as a 'corporate body,' and was again refused. Whereupon the corporation applied to the Court of Queen's Bench for a mandamus; and Lord Denman held that the corporation as such was the sole owner and that 'in no legal sense were the individual members the owners.' (*R.* vs. *Arnaud*, 9 Q.B. 806.) By this decision a British incorporated company, however composed, was recognised as a British subject for the purposes of the Registry Act. And it was in the light of this precedent, we understand, that the law officers of the Crown have held that the transfer

Digitized by Google

of the shares in the Oceanic Steam Navigation Company to aliens does not vitiate the British registry of the White Star steamers. In point of fact, although a foreigner cannot register as the individual owner or part owner of a British vessel, he can acquire all the shares of a joint-stock company registered as the owner of such a vessel and domiciled, as to its place of business, in this country. It is surely a fantastic abuse of legislation that one statute should furnish the means of evading the provisions of another statute affecting the greatest industry of the British Empire—that on which its sea-power and commercial supremacy depend.

The North Atlantic problem is of the foremost importance in shipping because, from the beginning of steam navigation, the best efforts of naval architecture and marine engineering have been devoted to the task of linking the Old and the New Worlds. Hardly anything in marine engineering or naval architecture exists which is not in some degree due to successes on the broad Atlantic. We have lost, for a time, the 'blue ribbon of the Atlantic' to the Germans. We have also seen the larger part of our Atlantic fleet pass into the control of an alien interest which may some day be antagonistic; and we have had presented to us dismal visions of the complete loss of our prestige at sea.

The new government agreement with the Cunard Company is designed to restore to us the blue ribbon. It is supported on the ground that, at any cost, Britain's supremacy in point of speed on the Atlantic must be maintained. It is true that fast vessels may lose money; and, if we want high-speed merchant cruisers, we must pay for them. The effect of the agreement is to constitute a partnership for national or imperial purposes between the British Government and the Cunard Company. No foreigners are to be allowed on the board of directors or on the list of shareholders or among the principal officers; and the directors may compel the transfer of any shares in which they have reason to believe that foreigners have any interest or control. A share is assigned to nominees of the Government, carrying a controlling vote on matters affecting the national relations of the company. In effect, the company, being aided by the advance of state money, is held bound to

Digitized by Google

remain absolutely and entirely British with all its fleet at the command of the Admiralty. In return for this national aid it must produce and maintain a couple of steamers, not merely to regain the blue ribbon of the Atlantic, but able to outsail, and therefore to overtake, the fastest merchant steamers now afloat capable of being turned into cruisers by any foreign Power. The arrangement is something more than a reply to the American 'combine.' It is an intimation to all the world that the British mercantile marine is a national heritage which, in case of need, will be guarded by the national arm, even in time of peace, not on economic, but on political grounds.

While the Cunard agreement is a commendable one in the circumstances, although it is not difficult to pick holes in it, one finds nothing to commend in the agreement made by the Admiralty and the Board of Trade with the International Mercantile Marine Company. This is a foolish and feeble arrangement, which can only be ascribed to the 'Morganisation' of the Departments by a 'combine' of reckless finance and overreaching politicalism. We do not propose to dwell on this unwise and useless agreement, but we call attention to the opening clauses, which simply legalise, or officially sanction, what is a direct violation of the principles of the Merchant Shipping Act. The companies are already British companies in name, though not in fact; and the American shareholders have no desire that they shall be anything else, so long as they can retain the British registry of the steamers. They have no desire or intention to transfer the ships to a foreign registry, because they can be sailed most cheaply and efficiently under the British flag. The vessels cannot, in any case, be transferred to the American register without a special Act of Congress—which there is now no hope of getting, whatever may have been anticipated when the combination was begun—because the vessels are foreign-built. But observe that these foreign-owned vessels under the British flag are obtaining the assistance of the British Government, by means of Admiralty subventions, to enable them to compete with unsubsidised British vessels, not only on the Atlantic, but also in any portion of the coasting and intra-imperial trade in which they may choose to embark. The Admiralty subventions will

Digitized by Google

terminate in a year or two; but meanwhile the arrangement is a monstrous one.

It has been customary to associate the enormous development of the mercantile marine of Great Britain with the repeal of the old navigation laws. The development certainly followed that repeal, and has been more or less continuous to the present time; but there have been other causes. So long as timber was the only material for the construction of ocean carriers, America had the advantage over us as a shipbuilder, notwithstanding the lower cost of equipment in this country and the superiority of English oak for distant voyages. But with the advent of iron we became the shipbuilder, not only for our own growing and pushing shipowners, but for all countries, while America sank into a subordinate place from which she is now endeavouring to emerge. Opinions may differ as to whether our maritime progress could have been so great as it has been were the restrictions of the old laws maintained; but the repeal of the laws did not create the change. No one now, perhaps, regrets the abolition of these laws; but it may be well to consider whether, in order to preserve the supremacy we have obtained, we should not debar the coasting trade of the Empire to all non-reciprocating carriers, even though at present such nations take but a small share of that trade. The issue does not become the less impressive with the prospect of Canada becoming the largest shipbuilder in the world, as her resources and industries develope. The preservation of our shipping is a national necessity and therefore a political duty.

Digitized by Google

Art. II.—THE ART OF THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE

1. *Jean Goujon: his life and work.* By Reginald Lister London: Duckworth, 1903.
2. *Le Primatice.* By L. Dimier. Paris: Leroux, 1900.
3. *French Painting in the Sixteenth Century.* By L. Dimier. London: Duckworth, 1904.
4. *Women and Men of the French Renaissance.* By Edith Sichel. Westminster: Constable, 1901.
5. *Les du Cerceau.* Par le Baron Henri de Geymüller. Paris: Librairie de l'Art, 1887.
6. *La Renaissance en France.* Par Léon Palustre. Three vols. Paris, 1879–1885.
7. *Les Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi.* Par le Marquis Léon de Laborde. Paris: T. Baur, 1877, 1880.

And other works.

THE sixteenth century is perhaps the most attractive period in the whole of French history; and a complete account of the art of the French Renaissance might naturally be looked for from French historians. Much excellent work has indeed been done by archæologists since the middle of the last century; but, as one of the ablest and latest of French writers remarks, the history of this period has yet to be written. Its study is in fact attended by peculiar difficulties. There are lamentable gaps in the evidence. France has suffered from wanton destruction far more than England. With the exception of Nonesuch, and a few other mansions that can be counted on one's fingers, nearly all our great historical houses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have survived to the present day; but in France probably half of the finest examples have either disappeared altogether, or have sunk to base uses which, more or less completely, obscure their original purpose.

The chief architectural effort of the Renaissance in France was concentrated on house-building; and great houses, as belonging to the privileged classes, were the first to suffer from the French revolutionaries. What is far less intelligible, however, is the callous indifference shown by the French aristocracy themselves long before the Revolution. They do not appear to have attached the slightest importance to their hereditary dwelling-

Digitized by Google

places. It was not merely that they pulled them down or 'cut them about' to make way for modern improvements, but that they were strangely ready to sacrifice any one of them that showed a reasonable prospect of conversion into cash. A prince of the great house of Condé destroyed, in 1799, the Château of Fère en Tardenois, probably an early work of Bullant. In 1780–82 the same nobleman had the entrance to Écouen pulled down, and sold the Château de Creil for old materials in order to save the cost of maintenance. So early as 1719 the Regent ordered the destruction of the Chapel of the Valois as the cheapest way of finishing it off. The demolition of the Château de St Maur, one of de l'Orme's principal works, was also due to the Condé family; and, though the Château de Madrid was in fact destroyed during the French Revolution, Louis XVI had actually ordered the sale of it for old materials in 1778, together with the Châteaux of Blois, Vincennes, and La Muette.

Another cause that contributed to the ruin of many of these palaces was the curious improvidence of the royal builders. They seemed to build for the sake of building, without care either for completion or maintenance. Francis I ordered a palace, or a hunting-box on a scarcely inferior scale, wherever his fancy took him, but he seems to have lost his interest in the building before the roof was on; and du Cerceau remarks that his buildings were often left to perish for want of a slater to patch the roofs. Catherine de Médicis was possessed by the same mania for building on an impossible scale. The Chapel of the Valois, in some ways the most monumental effort of French architecture of the sixteenth century, was never completed. After barely starting the Tuileries, she dashed off into the costly undertaking of the Hôtel de Soissons; but neither building was finished when she died. The Tuileries was destroyed by the Commune; and the only vestige of the Hôtel de Soissons is Jean Bullant's forlorn looking column attached to the wall of the Halle aux Blés.

After Catherine's death there was a lull for a time. The work that followed in the first half of the seventeenth century was admirable in quality, rather than abundant in quantity. France was holding its breath for the colossal enterprise of Louis XIV. If the country

Digitized by Google

had suffered from the caprice and uncertainty of Francis, it suffered no less from the inexhaustible vanity of the 'Roi Soleil'; and there was added to the national burdens the monstrous cost of Versailles. This seems to have terminated the royal efforts at building; and a hundred years later the French Revolution made a clean sweep of everything that it did not need for itself.

Had it not been for Alexandre Lenoir we should be even worse off than we are. When the French Revolution was at its height, Lenoir went about searching for such fragments of sixteenth century art as might have survived the storm, paying here, entreating there, doing a work of inestimable value to future generations. From an architect named Jullien he bought, for 440 francs, the column to Henry III, now at St Denis. He saved the frontispiece of Anet and the gateway of Gaillon, now in the École des Beaux-Arts; the fragments of the screen of St Germain l'Auxerrois; the altar of Écouen, now at Chantilly; what was left of the fountain of Diana at Anet, and other priceless fragments. Lenoir stored his salvage in a museum now occupied by the École des Beaux-Arts in the Rue des Petits Augustins; and from this museum the sculpture was subsequently transferred to the Louvre, and in certain cases to its legitimate owners. It is true that Lenoir put his fragments together in a fashion that somewhat resembles Wyatt's treatment of the tombs at Salisbury; nevertheless his name should be gratefully remembered as that of the man who had the courage to preserve these links with the past at a time of the most terrific iconoclasm the world has ever seen. In the galleries of the Hôtel Carnavalet there is a portrait of Lenoir, a shrewd, kindly face in suggestive proximity to the ill-omened countenances of Danton, Marat, and Robespierre.

An unfortunate phase followed the first Empire. Napoleon I wrote his hand in very legible letters on certain of the royal palaces; but, when the Bourbons returned, their object was to revive the associations of the old régime; and with this idea they embarked on a wholesale course of restoration, with the most unhappy results. The methods of French architects when engaged in restorations are painfully familiar. Their principal object seems to be to transform the growth of centuries

Digitized by Google

into a brand-new building of the style and character of what the architect arbitrarily selects as the original design. Viollet le Duc's work at Pierrefonds and elsewhere shows the extreme point of futility to which this theatrical instinct can be carried. Much of Fontainebleau is unreadable on account of the restoration made by M. Alaux to the taste of Louis Philippe. St Germain-en-Laye is still in the hands of the architect; and it has now been denuded of any artistic and historical interest that might have survived from an unfortunate past.

Thus, by the middle of the nineteenth century, however much interest was felt in the work of the earlier Renaissance in France, it was difficult to arrive at authentic historical facts. A good deal of plausible speculation was indulged in; large attributions to Italian artists were made; and the history of the period was written chiefly by guess-work. In 1842 Callet, an antiquary of some note, came across a MS. in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and published his new facts in a historical notice of the life and works of certain French architects; but, according to Berty, he drowned his facts in a deluge of his own invention, and his pamphlet is quite untrustworthy. The first serious effort towards a historical account of the French Renaissance was made by the Marquis Léon de Laborde in his 'Renaissance des Arts à la Cour de France' (1852–55). M. Berty published in 1860 his 'Grands Architectes Français de la Renaissance,' a rare and very useful little book, now out of print. Meanwhile, elaborately illustrated monographs, such as M. Pfnor's works on Anet and Fontainebleau, Reveil's 'Jean Goujon,' and others, appeared from time to time; but for the historical student the scientific study of this period dates from the issue in 1877–80 of the 'Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi, 1528–1571, suivis de documents inédits sur les châteaux royaux et les beaux-arts au XVI siècle.'

The evidence presented by these records is unassailable. Together with such records as the 'Comptes des dépenses du Château de Gaillon,' published by Deville in 1850, the works of du Cerceau and Philibert de l'Orme, and the comparative study of the buildings and monuments themselves, they form the chief materials available for the history of French art in the sixteenth century. The vague conjectures of earlier writers have given way to uncontro-

Digitized by Google

vertible facts; but, as will appear, the history of the French Renaissance is not yet sufficiently advanced for a final and authoritative statement. Serious differences of opinion exist between French critics. M. Dimier and M. Palustre, for instance, take exactly opposite views of the same group of facts. Much has yet to be done in the way of sifting and interpreting the evidence; and the very abundance of the material collected by the able French writers who have studied it makes the study of this period somewhat bewildering.

Since 1877 the chief efforts of the foremost French scholars have been directed to checking off the historical monuments of the Renaissance by the evidence of such documents as the 'Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi.' In 1879 M. Léon Palustre began the issue of his monumental work on the Renaissance in France. His scheme aimed at giving a complete account of the first hundred years, with illustrations drawn from every part of France. The first volume deals with the North and the Île de France; volume ii, published in 1881, completed the Île de France and Normandy; volume iii, issued in 1885, includes Brittany, Maine, Poitou, and Charente. At this point the work was broken off, and has not been resumed. That in a treatise of this magnitude there should be inaccuracies, and that some of the inferences drawn may be called in question, is inevitable. Yet, even in its unfinished state, the work remains a splendid undertaking. The vast area of research covered, the clearness with which M. Palustre marshalled his facts, and the acute and penetrating criticism brought to bear on the historical evidence, render his book a fine achievement of French scholarship on lines which have been singularly neglected by students in other countries.

In 1887 the Baron de Geymüller published his important work on the du Cerceau family, and in 1898, in German, his 'Architecture of the Renaissance in France. In 1900 M. Dimier published his essay on the life and work of Primaticcio, a learned and valuable book, which goes far beyond the limits of a biography, for the writer has considered it his duty to deal with every branch of contemporary art in France. M. Dimier's graceful scholarship and the lucidity of his style make his 'Life of Primaticcio' perhaps the most readable introduction to

Digitized by Google

the study of the French Renaissance that has yet appeared. On the whole, and in a desultory sort of way, there is a good deal of sound historical work to show, and yet there is less than one would expect. In France, as in England, during the last fifty years, there have been two streams of thought, entirely out of relation to each other, and indeed flowing in opposite directions; while M.M. Palustre, de Montaiglon, Courajod, and de Geymüller were steadily devoting genuine research to the study of the Renaissance, the interest of the larger part of the average architectural public was arrested by the theories of M. Viollet le Duc, and by his marvellous faculty of building up the most convincing history on the smallest possible basis of evidence. Large theories seem to have an irresistible attraction for the French intelligence; and Viollet le Duc's mediævalism, old-fashioned and absurdly insincere as it may seem to us now, attracted at the time a disproportionate amount of attention. There is evidence of a reaction from these histrionics; and the best French writers and their ablest artists are steadily recovering a great tradition which they ought never to have lost.

The study of architecture suffers much from the want of clear definitions. We talk of the Renaissance, but the Renaissance may mean very different things; and, when a writer says that the Renaissance in France dates from such and such a year, it is necessary to ask what he means by the word. From one point of view the presence of an Ionic capital in a Gothic screen would indicate the arrival of the Renaissance, and would carry the date back well into the fifteenth century; regarded from another point of view, that of an architect, such details would be mere accidents. The Renaissance cannot be said to have been introduced into a country until the designers and workmen of that country have grasped the constructive principles of Renaissance design—a stage of development which requires a generation, and cannot be limited to any particular year. This stage was not attained in France till nearly a hundred years after the first vague echo of the Italian Renaissance had found its way across the Alps.

Moreover, the French Renaissance differed widely from that of Italy. It is well known that the Italians never

Digitized by Google

absolutely lost touch of the Roman tradition. Their Gothic was an exotic; they never mastered the principles of this architecture of thrust and counter-thrust; hence the inferiority of Italian Gothic to French. On the other hand, they preserved, in a rudimentary way, their instinct for the column and the lintel, for the dead-weight construction of the Romans; and, when the revival of letters recalled their attention to classical civilisation, this dormant instinct was reawakened; and the extraordinary achievements of the great Italians in Neo-classic architecture seem to have been largely due to this inherited instinct. Even in France the classical instinct seems never to have wholly expired in those parts where Roman civilisation had taken strongest hold. Some of the earliest examples of Renaissance design appear at Avignon and Marseilles; and, though allowance must be made for the papal residence at Avignon, and the proximity of Marseilles to Italy, there is an unexplained residuum in the strongly marked Roman character of this early work, for instance, in the entrance to the ruins of the Tour d'Aigues (Vaucluse), which bears a close resemblance to the remains of imperial Roman architecture. Scarcely two hundred years, in fact, elapsed between the last efforts of Romanesque in the south of France and the first attempt at Neo-classic. The old tradition must have been close at hand in the 'subliminal consciousness' of the Provençal.

The state of things in other parts of France, at any rate in the Île de France and in the centre, was different. Here there had existed for centuries an architecture which had attained to a perfection of form and a mastery of technique within its own intention unrivalled at any rate since the great days of Byzantium. In its later phases technical ability in building outlived its original inspiration. The masons who could build the winding staircases of Blois and Chambord could hardly have been inferior in skill to the Gothic masons from whom they inherited their craft. De l'Orme, in his 'Livre d'Architecture,' dwells with much emphasis on the importance of the science of setting out masonry; he devotes to it a large part of his work, with many intricate diagrams, and enlarges abundantly on his own science. Yet he could hardly have taught anything in this regard to the

Digitized by Google

masons of Blois. There was, in fact, on the one hand, a considerable amount of technical building skill available, and on the other hand, among laymen, and what may be called the building public, a comparatively high degree of civilisation. The layman's ideas of refinement and his ideals in architecture were ahead of his powers of realisation. The problem at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century was to bring this building ability into line, to educate it into mastery of the new methods of expression, in other words, to teach it the architecture required by altered standards of knowledge and civilisation. The process, therefore, was not that of the development of latent powers along lines only half forgotten, as in Italy, but of the transformation and diversion of existing powers from one channel into another; and the slowness of this process, the repeated failure of the mason to grasp the new intention, may possibly account for the impatience, the fury of building which seems to have possessed Francis I and most of the great noblemen of his court. Yet a hundred years were hardly enough to displace the traditions of centuries.

The first symptoms of change appeared in the latter part of the fifteenth century. René of Anjou introduced certain Italian artists who worked for him at Aix, Angers, and Bar-le-duc. The next considerable importation occurred after Charles VIII's Italian expedition of 1495. The names of Fra Giocondo, of il Boccador, of Bernardino di Brescia, of Paganino, and others, occur in a patent of payment of 1498. Paganino, who was afterwards employed on the tomb of Charles VIII, and who is the 'Master Pageny' of the monument of Henry VII, is found again at Gaillon, after 1501. Il Boccador gave designs for the old Hôtel de Ville at Paris which were never carried out; and Fra Giocondo was at one time credited with the designs of numerous buildings in France.

The culminating point of this earlier Renaissance, a Renaissance essentially of craftmanship rather than of architecture, was reached at Gaillon, built for the great cardinal, George of Amboise, who lived so full a life that it was said that he barely left himself time to take to his bed and die. The glories of Gaillon are now represented by one poor fragment in the court of the École des Beaux-Arts. With all its sumptuous decoration, Gaillon was

Digitized by Google

far behind contemporary Italian work. Architecturally it was a poor conception, such indeed as we should expect from the master masons who had lost their bearings, and whose principal function was to provide masonry for the Italian artists to decorate. All the sculpture and ornament were executed by the Italians. Paganino made the medallions of emperors; Antonio Juste of Florence carved the statues in the chapel and the bas-reliefs in the court; and Richard of Carpi, perhaps the first of the 'menuisiers' of Carpi, inlaid the stalls with their beautiful *intarsia* work, now in the Abbey of St Denis. The architect did not exist; and all that was expected of the builder was that he should put up walls that would stand and that would give plenty of space for the Italian artists to work on. Gaillon is typical of the great French house of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, such as Azay le Rideau, Villers Cotterets, the older parts of Chenonceau, and the châteaux of the Loire valley. Beautiful as they are, these buildings are beautiful by their detail and decorations, by their 'travaux de choix'; they make their appeal, not through subtlety in proportion, or the splendid audacity of simple mass, but through the exquisite delicacy of their surface ornament. Stripped of the latter, they are rather rudimentary efforts in architecture, little more than the routine work of masons, chancing more or less unconsciously into happy accidents of outline.

In France, as in England, the first fifty years of the Renaissance were occupied with experiments in the details of ornament; but the difference is that, whereas in England the Italian influence disappeared at the death of Henry VIII and was too weak to establish a permanent footing at the time, in France the development of architecture proceeded steadily to its full maturity, with the result that, historically, France got the start of England by some fifty to seventy years—a lead which that country has never lost. The man who contributed most to this result was Francis I, an 'amateur du premier rang,' as M. Dimier calls him. Politically the Italian expeditions led to nothing but disaster for France; and severe remarks have been made by English historians touching the influence of the Italian Renaissance on French morality; but of the service that Italy rendered to France in the matter of culture there can be no sort of doubt.

Digitized by Google

France learnt from Italy, once for all, the lesson of humanism; and the readiest of French pupils was Francis himself. When Louis XII went into Italy he sacked and plundered, and returned unmoved by what he saw, to settle down in France as 'the father of his people.' But where his predecessors merely looked, Francis considered and learnt. Moreover, throughout his life he had the rare advantage of the guidance of his sister, Margaret of Navarre, 'la perle des Valois,' one of the most attractive minds of the sixteenth century. Miss Sichel, in her thoughtful and sympathetic studies, has traced the influence of this rare spirit on the intellectual life of the time; and perhaps it would not be too much to say that what was best in the French Renaissance was due to the sympathy and intelligence of Margaret quite as much as to the direct initiation of her brother.

Yet no king ever played the royal patron on a more lavish scale than Francis I. In his control of church patronage he found a ready means of rewarding his favourite artists without the least inconvenience to himself. Primaticcio was made Abbé of St Martin es Aires de Troyes; Pierre Lescot was a Canon of Notre Dame; and Philibert de l'Orme enjoyed the revenues of two or three abbeys in addition to a canonry at Notre Dame. From the first Francis used every effort to induce Italian artists to settle in France. The Justes of Florence were already there, and busy at Tours. Solario, the pupil of Leonardo da Vinci, had been at work in 1508; and Francis persuaded the great master himself to settle in France. But Leonardo was very old, and the experiment was probably a failure. Nor was the King more fortunate with Andrea del Sarto. Then came the disastrous defeat of Pavia; and it was not till 1527 that Francis was able to resume his schemes with another great importation of Italian artists. Work was started at Fontainebleau with the famous 'Devis' of 1528. Il Rosso came in 1531, and remained in control till his death in 1541 or 1542. Il Rosso was succeeded by Primaticcio, who, after routing Serlio and Cellini, became practically sole dictator of the arts at the court of France from 1541 till his death in 1570. The latter part of the reign of Francis I and the reign of Henry II form, in fact, a turning-point in the history of French art; and it is in regard to this period that the most serious differences of

Digitized by Google

opinion exist among French scholars. What were the relations of the old master-builders to the new architects? what was the part played by the Italians, and by Primaticcio in particular, in the reformation of French art? what was Primaticcio's own position, and what were his relations to his colleagues? On these and similar questions French writers maintain quite contrary opinions with a learning and ability which is the more bewildering in that it appears to be equally shared by the rival camps.

Of Primaticcio himself, by far the most complete account that has yet appeared is given in M. Dimier's 'Life' already referred to. That author has visited all the collections which are known to contain examples of Primaticcio, and he gives us a full 'catalogue raisonné' of Primaticcio's work. Whether there are further examples to be unearthed, for instance, from the Windsor collection of drawings, or not, is yet to be seen. There is a remarkable painting at Wollaton, assigned to Primaticcio by a good authority, which seems to have escaped M. Dimier; but his research has been extremely laborious. Although a large margin has to be allowed for M. Dimier's skilful manipulation of hypotheses, his book is probably authoritative in regard to Primaticcio's work, always excepting his account of that artist's pretensions in architecture.

The ascertained facts of Primaticcio's life are very few. He was born at Bologna, 1504–5, and began his career as a pupil of Innocent d Imola, and of Bartolommeo Bagnacavallo, a pupil of Raphael. In 1526 he was at work under Giulio Romano as painter and stucco-worker in the Palazzo del Tè at Mantua. In 1532 Romano selected him for the service of Francis I; and Primaticcio was working at Fontainebleau in 1533. In 1535 he appears in the 'Comptes' as 'conducteur et diviseur desdits ouvrages de stuqs et painture.' In 1540 he was sent to Rome to collect works of art for the King, and returned in 1542. Meanwhile il Rosso had died; and Primaticcio succeeded him in the conduct of the works at Fontainebleau, with the appointment of 'valet de chambre' to the King. In 1544 he was made Abbé of St Martin es Aires de Troyes. He was again at Rome in 1548. In 1559 he succeeded Philibert de l'Orme as controller of the royal buildings. He was at

Digitized by Google

Bologna in 1563, but returned in the same year to France, where he died in 1570.

For the last thirty years of his life Primaticcio was the most prominent artist at the court of France. M. Dimier says that not only were all the decorations of Fontainebleau in his hands—though de l'Orme directed at any rate some part of them before 1559—but that he practically controlled the royal manufactures and workshops. Of his actual contributions in this regard, an exhaustive analysis is given in M. Dimier's work. Primaticcio was an admirable and prolific draughtsman and a skilful man of affairs; and there can be no doubt that he exercised a predominant influence on the art of France. In the minor arts he was supreme. Du Cerceau drew on him for his arabesques; and in sculpture, at any rate, Goujon and Germain Pilon owed something of their manner to his designs. His influence, moreover, was largely personal and individual, in the sense that he directly controlled a large staff of assistants whose only business and means of livelihood were the execution of his designs.

M. Dimier points out that the famous school of Fontainebleau in no sense resembled the Gobelins school under Louis XIV; that is, it was not a school with common methods and traditions, in which the work of the different members might be more or less interchangeable. The school of Fontainebleau was such only in the sense of a common studio; and the Italians whom Primaticcio imported were, to use M. Dimier's phrase, 'troupes de circonstance'—mercenaries plying for hire, here one day and away the next. These men spread the influence of Primaticcio's manner in so far as they worked to his designs and sketches. It is at this point, however, that we have a serious difference of opinion with M. Dimier. He maintains that Primaticcio was not only a great painter, modeller, and designer of arabesques and patterns, but that he was also a great architect, and that he, in fact, designed buildings. In support of this he advances various plausible suggestions, but no evidence, except the patent of 1559, by virtue of which Primaticcio succeeded Philibert de l'Orme. That the appointment was due to a skilfully conducted court intrigue seems pretty certain. One of the first acts of Francis II was to dismiss de l'Orme and his brother in favour of Primaticcio. Six months later

Digitized by Google

Francis dismissed Bullant; and the only architect left in possession was Pierre Lescot at the Louvre—a good fortune which he probably owed to his being the only one of the three who could claim gentle birth. M. Dimier argues that Primaticcio's post of controller of the royal buildings implied real architectural capacity, though the evidence of the 'Comptes' makes it perfectly clear that it did not necessarily imply anything of the sort. But, not content with this assumption, M. Dimier asserts that Primaticcio rendered his most signal service to the art of France in rescuing its control from the architects and transferring it to the painters. The position appears somewhat contradictory; but, by way of clinching it, M. Dimier advances an extraordinary theory on the relations of architecture to the other arts—a theory which we regret to see has been swallowed whole by Mr Lister.

Nothing, says M. Dimier, is so disastrous to the arts as that their general control should fall into the hands of architects, as happened, for instance, in the case of Percier and Fontaine early in the nineteenth century. Compare their work, he says, with the work of Raphael, Giulio Romano, Rubens, and Lebrun, painters who controlled every branch of art, directing even the masons and supplying designs in every trade. This was the constant practice of Italy, and hence its superiority in the arts. As examples of the absolute control of the painter, M. Dimier gives the column of Henry III, now in St Denis, and the Three Graces of Germain Pilon in the Louvre; no architect, he says, would ever have thought of such things. This, by the way, is a little hard on Germain Pilon, who, after all, was a sculptor, and did, in fact, carve these adorable figures.

This theory is indeed startling. A favourite position in England, at any rate during the last generation, has been the unity of the arts, and their basis in architecture. Scarcely less important is the older—and more famous—law of the differentiation of the arts, ὕλῃ καὶ τρόποις μιμήσεως. Into the midst of these principles M. Dimier's pronouncement falls like a bomb-shell. Art, for M. Dimier, is summed up in painting; the other arts only deserve recognition in so far as they subserve the ends of the painter, and, as we may say, enable him to display his wares to the best advantage. Now one would admit at once that the

Digitized by Google

highest perfection of the arts has been reached when they all work serenely together; but it is a very different thing to insist that two of the three principal arts, as we may for convenience call them, should resign in favour of that one which is the furthest removed from reality.

As to MM. Percier and Fontaine, we may 'give them away' at once. Their work was mannered and extraordinarily tedious; but that only proves that MM. Percier and Fontaine were rather stupid architects, and worked for a public that enjoyed striking attitudes. Alter the name, and the position becomes untenable. Inigo Jones, for example, controlled both the design and the decoration of the double-cube room at Wilton; and the result was hardly a failure. Wren, again, produced some of the most charming interiors in the world, and, had he been allowed his own way, would have completed the decoration of St Paul's in a manner worthy of its glorious architecture; but the painter appeared on the scene in the person of Sir James Thornhill. As for the Italians, it is well known that they studied architecture as closely as other branches of art, and might, in certain cases, be just as well called architects as painters. In so far as men like Baldassare Peruzzi or Raphael dealt with architecture, they dealt with it as architects, not as painters; which at once separates their practice from the architectural efforts of a Rubens or a Lebrun.

It seems that M. Dimier underrates the function of architecture. He conceives of it as so much scene-painting realised in stone or bricks and mortar: that is, he is solely concerned with the frontispiece, with the decoration of the wall-surface inside and out. It does not seem to occur to him that a building is an elaborate organism of which each part has a certain definite relation to every other part; that these parts are interdependent and cannot be altered or removed without affecting the whole; and that their proportions and distribution are arrived at by working out the conditions and necessities of the problem as a whole. In his desire to exalt his hero, M. Dimier seems to have forgotten that the development of architecture finds itself in problems of construction, in the dome and its counterpoise, in the covering in of great spaces, in the meeting of enormous weights. The solution of these difficulties is, we suppose,

Digitized by Google

taken for granted by his dashing painter-architect, who leaves it to the builder, or to anybody else who is content to do such servile work. Yet it is the historical fact that it is to this servile work that we owe all that is really vital in architecture. The lintel and column, the arch, the dome, were not the invention of the decorator but of the constructor; and the work of the architect is not to invent decoration but to think out construction in its most perfect expression. This is a point that is often forgotten in modern architecture; and we regret that a writer of M. Dimier's ability should lend any countenance to such a disastrous fallacy.

M. Dimier, having treated architecture as merely a vehicle for decoration, has little difficulty in showing that the less of architecture and the more of decoration there is the better. In accordance with this view it appears to M. Dimier a simple thing for a painter to play the architect; all he has to do is to make a drawing of the front and entrust the execution of his design to somebody else. Primaticcio is presented as at least the equal of Philibert de l'Orme on the latter's own ground; and, in the teeth of the strongest evidence, it is stated that de l'Orme's animosity was directed, not against the Italian adventurer who supplanted him, but against the old master-masons of his own country. Yet de l'Orme, Bullant, and the elder du Cerceau made a strong point of the service they were rendering their country in showing that it was unnecessary to import foreign artists for work which could be done equally well by Frenchmen; and the whole weight of de l'Orme's irritable and amusing outbursts is aimed specifically at those

'donneurs de portraits (plans) et faiseurs de desseins, dont la plupart n'en sçauroient bien trasser où décrire aucun, si ce n'est par l'ayde et moyen des peintres, qui les sçavent plus tost bien farder, laver, ombrager, et colorer, que bien faire et ordonner avecque toutes leures mesures.'

De l'Orme's rage against these architectural impostors is so savage that, like Mr Morgan in 'Roderick Random,' he trips himself up in the very copiousness of his own invective. De l'Orme is for ever railing against the folly of princes and noblemen who are taken in by the specious address and pretty pictures of artists with about as

Digitized by Google

much knowledge of architecture as a lawyer's clerk. He insists, though his point is sometimes hidden by the intricacy of his style, that the essence of architecture is sound construction. It is significant of his theory that M. Dimier makes no claim on behalf of Primaticcio to knowledge of construction; and it seems to us that the whole of his appreciation of Primaticcio's position in regard to architecture is vitiated by a theory of æsthetics which is equally remote from the teaching of philosophy and the facts of history.

M. Dimier is on much safer ground when he discusses the influence of the Italian Renaissance on French art, and the relations of the master-masons of the older school to the architects of the new. M. Palustre devoted himself to the uncompromising advocacy of the claims of native artists as against the Italians. He held that Trinqueau, the Le Bretons, Chambiges, Castoret, and the master-masons were not only the builders of Fontainebleau, St Germain, and the other buildings on which they were employed, but that they were architects with as much title to the name as their successors, Bullant, Lescot, and de l'Orme. He made a strenuous attempt to reduce the work of Italian artists to an inconsiderable quantity, and had little difficulty in showing that their share in the achievements of French architecture has been much exaggerated. It is, however, pretty certain from the building accounts that the master-masons received payment only for labour and materials supplied, and were, in fact, in the position of contractors. This led M. Charvet and others to suppose that the master-masons were builders only, the names of the designers being still to seek, and that the accounts are incomplete in this regard. M. Dimier says boldly that there were no designers, and that, when a building was to be erected, the King himself gave his orders, and the master-mason had to carry them out as well as he could. For instance, at Fontainebleau the works were to be executed for the King 'ainsi qu'il a devisé et donné à entendre à son valet de chambre ordinaire' Florimond de Champeverne. De Champeverne acted as intermediary between the King and his builders, and controlled the business arrangements; but no such person as the modern architect as yet existed. In the famous 'Devis de 1528,' or

Digitized by Google

specification of works for Fontainebleau, no reference is made to any drawings at all; and it seems probable that Francis I was his own architect, at any rate in the earlier part of his reign. Du Cerceau says he was so well versed in building that 'on ne peult presque dire qu'autre que lui en fust l'architecte.' The first architect actually appointed at Fontainebleau was Serlio, who received this somewhat barren honour in 1541. Gilles le Breton, Pierre Girard, and Castoret, Trinqueau even, are reduced to the ranks; and as to Pierre Chambiges, on whose brilliant personality M. Palustre waxes eloquent, M. Dimier says that he was just a workman and no more.

On the whole the balance of evidence lies with M. Dimier; yet his account does not exactly square with the facts. That plans of a rough description were made is practically certain. The masons, no doubt, carried their trade in their head, and depended far less than a modern builder on elaborate working drawings; but they could not have set out Fontainebleau, still less an elaborate building such as Chambord, without a plan of some sort to work to. These rough plans they probably supplied themselves as part of their contract. By way of supplementing this, it appears to have been the practice to obtain elaborately finished pictures of the proposed building from painters about the court. It was the incompetence of the latter, together with the constant blunders made by the master-masons in setting out their work, that excited the wrath of Philibert de l'Orme. He, in fact, finally did away with the older method of building; for the happy-go-lucky practice of the master-mason he substituted the modern system of working to scale drawings. Such drawings were prepared for the builder's use by men who made it their business to design buildings but took no part in the operations themselves. Modern French architecture dates from Bullant and de l'Orme; and there is a wide gulf fixed between them and the master-masons.

The change has often been deplored. It has been urged that it was the beginning of a divorce between building and architecture that has been fatal to both; and there is a great deal of truth in the complaint. Yet such a change was inevitable. Architecture cannot be separated from the general progress of civilisation; and it was

Digitized by Google

impossible to force upon one stage of civilisation habits of life and conditions of thought which belong to another. The master-mason was not qualified to maintain his place among the sharper wits of the Renaissance, and so he had to fall back into the position of the executant of the designs of men of wider training. Moreover, the change made by such men as de l'Orme was something more than the nice manipulation of the orders. For the first time French architects learnt to study the finest models. The Baron de Geymüller has pointed out that Bullant and de l'Orme were the first to study their art in Rome instead of in Milan; and in Rome de l'Orme, at any rate, came under the influence of Bramante's later manner, with the result, in France, of what de Geymüller calls the style of Henry II, as opposed to that of Francis I.

But the real service that these men rendered to French architecture was in regard to plan and construction. De l'Orme thoroughly knew his business, and was a man of much ingenuity, with something of that faculty for engineering which the best French architects seem always to have possessed. Whether he improved the craft of masonry so much as he intended is open to doubt; but it is certain that he greatly contributed to the practical science of construction. Jean Bullant, again, was an artist of exceptional power and originality. There is a very modern feeling, in the best sense, in his classical compositions, such as his frontispiece at Écouen or the *châtelet* at Chantilly. Whether one likes the designs or not, there is here no blundering, no hesitation. Bullant had his craft at his fingers' ends. Of Pierre Lescot it is not easy to speak. His reputation practically rests on the fragment of the Louvre completed from his designs; and, as he never seems to have undertaken any work except in conjunction with Jean Goujon or Germain Pilon, his reputation rather merges in the fame of those most brilliant and consummate artists.

What Bullant and de l'Orme did for architecture, these men did for sculpture. That sculpture of a high degree of excellence existed both before and during their time is proved by the work of such men as Michel Colombe, the Justes of Tours (Florentines, by the way), Pierre Bontemps, and Paul Ponce. But in the work of Goujon,

Digitized by Google

and in that of his younger colleague Germain Pilon, we come upon a fresh and original strain, a perfection of technique and grace of fancy which belong to no one century but exist for all time.

The work of Jean Goujon is very well illustrated in Mr Lister's attractive book; the photogravures, indeed, are quite admirable. Mr Lister is in sympathy with his subject and his period; and, though it is somewhat irrelevant, we welcome the very interesting portrait of Diane de Poitiers, from Lord Spencer's collection, as a valuable piece of historical evidence. Miss Sichel has drawn a clever portrait of this great lady, representing her as a person of plain countenance with a head for affairs and a 'talent for education'; in fact, an earlier Madame de Maintenon, always excepting the immense respectability of the latter. M. Lemonnier,* a less enthusiastic critic, writes of her: 'elle était intelligente, elle a écrit, elle a aimé les arts; mais elle était, sous son aimable apparence, sèche, dure, avide.' That Diane de Poitiers possessed excellent good sense is extremely probable; but excellent good sense does not fascinate the world for a generation, and we have the key to the mystery in this delightful picture. This, on the face of it, is the true Diana of perennial youth and beauty, the Diana of splendid vitality who hunted in the woods and bathed in icy water. As Mr Lister puts it (p. 27),

'she had recaptured in her own person the joy of the early world, and that was her real religion. From a moral point of view we would not willingly hold her brief; but as an apostle of nature, of sunlight and the open air, no word of approbation is too high for her.'

In his eighth chapter Mr Lister gives the discovery made by Signor Tommaso Sandonini in regard to Goujon's death. That there never was any foundation for the legend of his death in the massacre of St Bartholomew has been known to competent French writers since, at any rate, 1860, when Adolphe Berty published his suggestive little essay on Goujon. The sculptor's name disappears from the Louvre accounts after September 1562,†

* 'Histoire de France,' ed. Lavisse, vol. v, p. 201.

† 'Compte des Bâtiments,' vol. ii, p. 63.

Digitized by Google

and the question was, what became of him after that date? Signor Sandonini, in searching among the registers of the suits instituted by the Inquisition at Modena, found one of the year 1568, in which the name of Jean Goujon occurs three times, as companion of a certain Laurent Penis, then on trial before the Inquisition. On comparison of the three references, it seems practically certain that Goujon died between 1564 and 1568 at Bologna. The evidence proves that he was living at Bologna in 1563; and the probability is that Goujon, in alarm at the growing danger incurred by those of his religion (a namesake of his was hanged for heresy in 1562, at Troyes), retired to Bologna, possibly with Primaticcio, as M. Sandonini suggested. It is known that Primaticcio visited Bologna towards the end of 1562. The discovery was of great value in regard to later work attributed to Goujon; and incidentally it gave a glimpse of the lurid background of romance and tragedy that lay behind the work of this great artist, driven, in the fullness of his renown, to seek an obscure refuge in Italy.

M. Sandonini's discovery was made so long ago as 1884, and his account of it was published in full by Anatole de Montaiglon in a study on Jean Goujon in the 'Gazette des Beaux-Arts' for January 1885. No reference is made to the article by M. de Montaiglon in Mr Lister's book; and it is significant of the backward state of architectural study in this country that facts which have been familiar to French students for the last eighteen years should be welcomed in England as a new discovery. Nor is this the only instance of inadvertence, to use no stronger word, in Mr Lister's book. Mr S. A. Strong, who contributed an introduction to the work, says that 'it is difficult to account for the neglect of Jean Goujon and his time on the part of critics and lovers of French art.' But French writers have not neglected him. Mr Strong and Mr Lister appear to have overlooked M. Pottier's 'L'Œuvre de Goujon,' with engravings by Reveil, which was published in 1844 and republished in 1868. They say nothing of M. Berty's study, and do not seem to have familiarised themselves with the constant references to this artist in the works of modern French writers. The fact is that, with the exception of the valuable discovery by M. Sandonini, and the conclusions that follow from it, nearly

Digitized by Google

all the facts ascertainable about the life of Jean Goujon have long been familiar to French students; and what has yet to be done will probably result from the comparison and critical appreciation of his works. The bas-reliefs of Anet, to which Mr Strong refers, as described in Mr Lister's book for the first time, were fully given by Reveil. Nor again can one accept 'a sort of invalid Don Quixote' as a felicitous summary of the person and character of Henry II. That king, whatever his faults, was a man of great personal strength and determined courage; and a lifelong devotion to a lady not his wife is hardly what one looks for in Don Quixote. Besides, there is always the figure on the tomb at St Denis to correct such fantastic impressions.

Mr Lister's monograph has no index, and suffers from a want of documentation. The appendices containing extracts from J. A. du Cerceau, Goujon's notes to Martin's Vitruvius, Lenoir's report on Anet, and a note on Lord Spencer's portrait of Diane de Poitiers, are useful contributions; but, with these exceptions, no references are made to authorities by chapter and verse. Moreover, there are some inaccuracies which require revision. On p. 10 Mr Lister says, 'After completing the tomb of the Cardinals of Amboise, Jean Goujon seems to have left Rouen for Paris.' In point of fact all that Goujon did was to make the figure of the younger George d'Amboise, which was destroyed ten years later. Nor, again, can we accept Mr Lister's account of the gates of St Maclou. The tradition assigning these doors to Goujon has always been doubtful. The doors were begun in the reign of Francis I, but were not finished at the time of the death of Henry II. Now Goujon left Rouen in 1541; and the evidence of the carving itself goes to show that, if Goujon took any part in the work, his share was infinitesimal. The strap-work, 'mysterious sphinxes, winged chimæras, and fantastic masks,' which appeal so strongly to Mr Lister, are widely remote from the manner of Jean Goujon, one of the purest of architectural sculptors since the days of Pheidias. They are later in date than 1541, and a little suggest the work of Pierre Bontemps on the urn of Francis I at St Denis. M. Palustre and M. de Montaiglon, both extremely competent critics in this matter, came to the conclusion that the only part of the work that could be assigned to

Digitized by Google

Goujon are the three figures in low relief on the opposite side of the door to that illustrated by Mr Lister.*

Mr Lister (p. 14) says that, 'about the year 1540, Montmorenci confided to Jean Bullant the building of a new castle' (at Écouen), and draws an engaging picture of a group of well-known artists at work on this great palace, including Bullant, Goujon, the Limousins, Bernard de Palissy, and Jean Cousin. The facts are otherwise. The work at Écouen is of two dates; and its peculiarity is that the newer classic has been unceremoniously clapped on to an older French Renaissance building. The earlier work was probably built about 1532–42 by a certain mason named Charles Baillard or Billard, also mentioned in connexion with Fontainebleau and St Germain; whereas the later work, the three-storey loggia on the terrace front, the great Corinthian frontispiece and the façade facing it inside the court, the gateway to the park, and some other details, were added by Bullant about 1550. Jean Goujon's work here is well authenticated. The windows now at Chantilly were not by Jean Cousin; the *grisailles* were probably by Jean le Pot of Beauvais, and the chapel windows by Nicholas, his brother, who made the magnificent windows in the choir of St Acceul at Écouen. The tile-paving in the chapel and Salle des Fêtes is dated Rouen, 1542, and was probably by a Rouen potter, Alabaquesne. In any case it was not made by Bernard Palissy, since it is known that the Constable had never heard of Palissy before the taking of Saintes in 1548.

These slips, however, are of no great importance. It is in regard to his critical estimate of Jean Goujon that we differ entirely from Mr Lister. He holds that Goujon's special claim to the gratitude and admiration of artists rests on his pronounced leaning towards pictorial treatment and effect, and on his having thereby rescued French art from the hateful grasp of architecture and restored it to the control of the painter; in other words, that, in the absence of any competent painter, Goujon, a sculptor, restored French art by the suppression of architecture. We have here a theory of the arts that only a Lessing could disentangle. Quoting M. Dimier,

* Palustre, 'La Renaissance en France,' ii, 264; A. de Montaiglon, 'Gazette des Beaux-Arts,' November 1884, January 1885.

Digitized by Google

Mr Lister says that 'nothing is more fatal to art than an architectural hegemony,' and he has the temerity to add that, 'in the artistic hierarchy the painter should dominate, the architect should merely carry out his orders.'

Mr Lister is here repeating, almost verbatim, M. Dimier's favourite thesis, which has been dealt with above. He annexes for the honour of Goujon a theory which M. Dimier seems to have invented expressly for the glorification of Primaticcio; but it is necessary to show how utterly wide of the mark this theory becomes when applied to the particular case of Jean Goujon. If there ever was a sculptor who had the architectural sense in its highest development, and who completely subordinated his sculpture to the necessary restraints of architecture, that man was Jean Goujon. Not even the Greeks excel him in this. Mr Lister himself remarks (p. 55): 'There is something eminently Greek . . . in the perfect adaptation of the figures to the spaces they were to occupy, to the structural lines which they were destined to adorn.' Now what does this mean except that Goujon was, in the strictest and fullest sense of the words, an architectural sculptor?

The most remarkable point in Goujon's genius is the completeness with which he turned his back on the elaborate pictorial sculpture which characterised the early French Renaissance, and which was itself the legacy of late Gothic art. The transition from the series of Gothic picture sculptures which surround the choir of Amiens to the high relief Renaissance carving on the south door of Beauvais is very slight; and, except for the refinement of low relief, there is no great progress from this to the bas-reliefs on the plinth of the tomb of Louis XII made by Antoine Juste. For any help they give to the general effect these crowds of little figures in action might almost as well be replaced by a vermiculated surface; but Goujon changed all this. To a mind of his intellectual distinction there must have been something intolerably wearisome in this multiplication of pictorial detail. He possessed those priceless qualities in a sculptor, the sense of scale and the sense of surface as well as of form, the power of conceiving of his work in relation to its surroundings, and in relation to the whole. It is by means of these qualities that he revolutionised French

Digitized by Google

sculpture and gave it the fine architectural quality that it has maintained to this day. There was no conflict in his mind between architecture and sculpture. The reform that he was making in his own art, Bullant and de l'Orme were making in theirs. All three men reached beyond the horizon of the ingenious ornamentalist; they were at length penetrating within the veil of that mystery of Italian art of which their predecessors had merely touched the fringe. The weight of Goujon's genius told at once. Within ten years of the date of the minute pictorial reliefs on the tomb of Francis I at St Denis, Frémin Roussel was carving the beautiful panel of Charity on the tomb of Henry II, with a style and largeness of manner not unworthy of Goujon himself, and with so modern a feeling that it might almost be the work of a living French sculptor.

It is perhaps a mistake to attempt to trace too closely the genesis of genius. The very essence of genius is that it takes a line of its own, selecting and assimilating to itself all that is best in the past; and of Goujon most of all this is true. Mr Lister, perhaps unconsciously clinging to his painter theory of art, lays no stress on the fact that Goujon is first heard of at Rouen as 'Maistre Jehan Goujon, masson,' and again as 'tailleur de pierres et masson'; and that in 1547 Jean Martin, in the dedication of his Vitruvius to Henry II, describes Goujon as 'naguère l'architecte de Monseigneur le Connétable et maintenant l'un des vôtres.' That, in fact, Goujon was very well versed in classical architecture is shown by his note to his readers on Martin's Vitruvius. Indeed there is some reason to think that Goujon was the 'ghost' who designed the work for which the Sieur de Clagny (Pierre Lescot), gentleman and councillor of Parliament, got the credit. It is a remarkable fact that Lescot associated Goujon with him in all his works; that Goujon was trained both practically and theoretically in architecture; and that Lescot is not known to have received any training at all. M. de Montaiglon admits 'il n'y a guère d'exemple d'une collaboration et d'un travail en commune aussi homogènes.' With such a man as Goujon behind him and the very able masons at his command, Lescot's work may have consisted chiefly of the management of the court.

In any case the evidence shows that Goujon began

Digitized by Google

his training in the builder's yard; and to this he partly owes the architectural quality of his work. That he was also very much influenced by the designs of that cleverest of artists, Primaticcio, in France, and by Parmigiano in Italy, there can be no doubt. The figure of St Luke in the bas-reliefs from the screen of St Germain l'Auxerrois reproduces the pose of the legs, even to the length and roundness of limb, of Parmigiano's Moses in the S. Maria della Steccata at Parma. Parmigiano's work was begun after 1531 and left unfinished at his death in 1540. Goujon may have seen drawings of it, but it seems at least probable that he saw this work in Italy between 1535 and 1540. It is hardly possible that Goujon could have executed these bas-reliefs unless he had seen in Italy the works of Michael Angelo and the antiques of Rome. Another source from which he certainly learnt is not mentioned by Mr Lister. By 1540 Primaticcio, as agent for Francis I, had collected one hundred and twenty-five statues, busts, and torsos, together with moulds for casting some of the most celebrated antiques, such as the Laocoon and others. In the same year he brought these to Paris; and castings were begun in 1540–41, under the superintendence of Vignola.

There can be little doubt that Goujon availed himself of these resources; but what he gave of his own outweighed all that he learnt from others. Mr Lister sums this up as 'taste.' Taste, in the sense of fine selection and of an intellectual distinction that habitually shrank from vulgarity and the banalities of commonplace art, Goujon possessed in the highest degree. His was essentially an 'esprit d'élite.' But taste alone is not genius; and Mr Lister leaves out of account the fire and vitality of Goujon's art, chastened as it was by an extraordinarily graceful and poetical fancy. The instinct of the thirteenth century Frenchman for pure form awoke again in Goujon to express itself in the lovelier and more gracious imagery of the Renaissance; and it is this which gives Goujon's work its strange individuality. Mr Lister, in an eloquent passage, compares him to Leonardo. In the work of both he finds

'the same haunting and elusive mystery . . . some cold immortal fascination which, while mocking the desire of the mortal, might lure him to his destruction.'

Digitized by Google

The smile of La Gioconda is not more subtle and disquieting than those divinely beautiful nymphs on the Fontaine des Innocents. In both there seems some strange enchantment not found in the work of other men, some quality that will always make its appeal to the deeper instincts of sensitive natures. Nothing could better attest the completeness of the French Renaissance than the fact that Goujon's genius was recognised at once. The permanence of his influence on French art is the most enduring tribute to his fame; for, indeed, 'Jean Goujon, masson and tailleur des pierres,' is one of the Immortals.

Goujon died about 1564, and his brilliant contemporaries did not long outlive him. De l'Orme died in 1570, Bullant and Lescot in 1578, and Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, the old engraver, scarcely less famous than the architects whose works he illustrated, soon after 1584. Indeed it seems probable that the elder du Cerceau should be included among the great architects of the French Renaissance. In 1569 he is called by a contemporary 'architecte du Roy, et de Madame la Duchesse de Ferrara'; and shortly after his death he was described as 'l'un des plus ingénieux et excellens architectes de son temps.' De Geymüller, in his learned but somewhat unreadable account of the du Cerceau family, gives very good reason for attributing to the elder du Cerceau not only certain work in the church and château of Montargis, but also the designs of the houses and grounds of Verneuil and Charleval, both of which are illustrated with unusual completeness in 'Les plus excellens Bastiments.' These buildings have utterly disappeared. The designs, as shown by du Cerceau, display an ability much in advance of contemporary work, and justify M. Palustre's opinion that these buildings, had they been completed, would probably have been the finest palaces built in France in the sixteenth century. Du Cerceau's capacity as an architect we have to take more or less on faith; and his reputation will probably always rest on his engraved work. The elder du Cerceau devoted himself to popularising Renaissance design. His engravings probably did more to spread the general knowledge of Neo-classic architecture in France than the work of any contemporary architect; and at the end of his long life he might have felt that his work was not in vain.

Digitized by Google

The hundred years that terminated with du Cerceau's death had indeed been memorable in the history of French art. They had witnessed the complete enfranchisement of French art from the fetters of late mediævalism; and, when du Cerceau died, French artists were fairly started in the path along which they have steadily travelled ever since. In sculpture the genius of Jean Goujon and of Germain Pilon set a standard to which, perhaps, succeeding generations have hardly attained; yet modern French sculpture needs no apology, and, ever since the days of Goujon, it has again and again produced the most admirable masterpieces. The development of French architecture has been in some ways steadier and in some ways more erratic than that of the sister art. France, the land pre-eminently of classical tradition, was quite as badly bitten by the Romantic movement as any other country in Europe; and the results, while curiously successful in painting, were somewhat disastrous in architecture; for amongst them has to be reckoned the unhappy episode of the Gothic revival, which itself has sunk to the lower level of 'l'art nouveau,' perhaps the most morbid phase of artistic effort that the world has ever witnessed. Yet, on the whole, French architecture has adhered to the classical tradition. The lines laid down by Bullant and de l'Orme were followed by the sons of old du Cerceau-Baptiste, who succeeded Lescot at the Louvre and Bullant at the Chapel of the Valois, and Jacques, who was employed in the Tuileries. Meanwhile, Solomon de Brosse, nephew of the engraver, had built the Luxembourg; and by 1645 Jean Androuet du Cerceau, in the third generation, had completed the fine Hôtel de Boulainvilliers that once stood at the southern end of the Île St Louis. The transition from such buildings as these to the architecture of Louis XIV is but slight; but we note an ever-increasing tendency to gigantic scale—a tendency which is doomed to defeat itself, but nevertheless proceeds from one of the greatest qualities of architecture, the desire to make the appeal to the imagination by boldness of idea and simplicity of form, rather than by the incessant multiplication of detail. Versailles led on to the colossal stables of Chantilly; and no architect could have mastered the scale of the new Gare d'Orléans who had not, to some

Digitized by Google

extent, inherited the instincts of the author of that stupendous composition.

Mr Strong, in his preface to Mr Lister's book, says that the French gift to the art of the world is taste. That the best French art has shown distinguished power of selection is certain; but taste is so largely a matter of personal temperament that it is difficult to attribute it to the art of any one country. In any other sense taste is apt to degenerate into pedantry, a vice from which the French are not entirely free, and one which is possibly more injurious to the development of art than the most callous indifference. Moreover, even French taste is not impeccable. That very quality which, to M. Dimier, seems so admirable, the painter-like quality of some of her sculpture and architecture, may seem to others to be precisely the point in which French taste is most at fault. The exuberant outline of the Palais d'Industrie, the aggressive and rather vulgar realism of the monument to Guy de Maupassant, even the 'La Haulmière' of Rodin in the Luxembourg, are a few modern instances which hardly testify to an unerring taste and a complete appreciation of beauty. Possibly M. Dimier may find the æsthetic anarchy which his soul desires in the confections of wood and ivory, bronze and precious stones, which yearly adorn the Paris salons. We should prefer to look elsewhere for the lesson of modern French art; and it is safer to find it in its distinction, its extraordinary technical accomplishment, its unfailing instinct for scale, and, not least of all, in its power of combining and co-ordinating all the arts, painting, sculpture, and architecture, so that they co-operate successfully without loss of balance, without ignoring and so far stultifying each other's labours. It is in this architectonic treatment of the arts that the French conspicuously excel; and, in spite of M. Dimier, we maintain that, as compared with other nations, the art in which France has always rendered her most brilliant service to the world is the art of architecture.

REGINALD BLOMFIELD.

Digitized by Google

Art. III.—GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO.

1. *The Triumph of Death.* Translated by Georgina Harding. London: Heinemann, 1898.
2. *Le Triomphe de la Mort.* Traduit de l'italien par G. Hérelle. Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1899.
3. *The Virgins of the Rocks.* Translated by Agatha Hughes. London: Heinemann, 1899.
4. *The Flame of Life.* Translated by Kassandra Vivaria. London: Heinemann, 1900.
5. *Gioconda.* Translated by Arthur Symons. London: Heinemann, 1901.
6. *Francesca da Rimini.* Translated by Arthur Symons. London: Heinemann, 1902.

And other works.

THE great feast-days of all, for the restless critic, are those much interspaced occasions of his really meeting a 'case,' as he soon enough learns to call, for his convenience and assistance, any supremely contributive or determinant party to the critical question. These are recognitions that make up for many dull hours and dry contacts, many a thankless, a disconcerted gaze into faces that have proved expressionless. Always looking, always hoping, for his happiest chance, the inquirer into the reasons of things—by which I mean especially into the reasons of books—so often misses it, so often wastes his steps and withdraws his confidence, that he inevitably works out for himself, sooner or later, some handy principle of recognition. It may be a rough thing, a mere home-made tool of his trade, but it serves his purpose if it keeps him from beginning with mistakes. He becomes able to note, in its light, the signs and marks of the possible precious identity, able to weigh with some exactitude the appearances that make for its reality. He ends, through much expenditure of patience, by seeing when, how, why, the 'case' announces and presents itself, and he perhaps even feels that failure and felicity have worked together to produce in him a sense for it that may at last be trusted as an instinct. He thus arrives at a view of all the candidates, frequently interesting enough, who fall short of the effective title, because he has, at need, perhaps even from afar, scented along the

Digitized by Google

wind the strongest member of the herd. He may perhaps not always be able to give us the grounds of his certainty, but he is at least never without knowing it in presence of one of the full-blown products that are the joy of the analyst. He recognises, as well, how the state of being full-blown comes above all from the achievement of consistency, of that last consistency which springs from the full enjoyment of freedom.

Many of us will, doubtless, not have forgotten how we were witnesses, a certain number of years since, to a season and a society that had found themselves of a sudden roused, as from some deep, drugged sleep, to the conception of the 'æsthetic' law of life; in consequence of which this happy thought had begun to receive the honours of a lively appetite and an eager curiosity, but was at the same time surrounded and manipulated by as many different kinds of inexpertness as probably ever huddled together on a single pretext. The spectacle was strange and finally was wearisome, for the simple reason that the principle in question, once it was proclaimed—a principle not easily formulated, but which we may conveniently speak of as that of beauty at any price, beauty appealing alike to the senses and to the mind—was never felt to fall into its place as really adopted and efficient. It remained for us a queer high-flavoured fruit from overseas, grown under another sun than ours, passed round and solemnly partaken of at banquets organised to try it, but not found, on the whole, really to agree with us, not proving thoroughly digestible. It brought with it no repose, brought with it only agitation. We were not really, not fully, convinced; for the state of conviction is quiet. This was to have been the state itself—that is the state of mind achieved and established—in which we were to know ugliness no more, to make the æsthetic consciousness feel at home with us, or learn ourselves, at any rate, to feel at home with *it*. That would have been the reign of peace, the supreme beatitude; but stability continued to elude us. We had mustered a hundred good reasons for it, yet the reasons but lighted up our desert. They failed to flower into a single concrete æsthetic 'type.' One authentic, one masterful, specimen would have done wonders for us, would at least have assuaged our curiosity. But we

Digitized by Google

were to be left, till lately, with our curiosity on our hands.

This is a yearning, however, that Signor D'Annunzio may at last strike us as supremely formed to gratify; so promptly we find in him, as a literary figure, the highest expression of the reality that our own conditions were to fail of making possible. He has immediately the value of giving us, by his mere logical unfolding, the measure of our shortcomings in the same direction, that of our timidities and penuries and failures. He throws a straighter and more inevitable light on the æsthetic consciousness than has, to my sense, in our time, reached it from any other quarter; and there is many a mystery that, properly interrogated, he may help to clear up for us, many an explanation of our misadventure that—as I have glanced at it—he may give. He starts with the immense advantage of enjoying the invoked boon by grace and not by effort, of claiming it under another title than the sweat of his brow and the aspiration of his culture. He testifies to the influence of things that have had time to get themselves taken for granted. Beauty at any price is an old story to him; art and form and style as the aim of the superior life are a matter of course; and it may be said of him, I think, that, thanks to these transmitted and implanted instincts and aptitudes, his individual development begins where the struggle of the mere earnest questioner ends. Signor D'Annunzio is earnest in his way, quite extraordinarily—which is a feature of his physiognomy that we shall presently come to and about which there will be something to say; but we feel him all the while in such secure possession of his heritage of favouring circumstance that his sense of intellectual responsibility is almost out of proportion. This is one of his interesting special marks, the manner in which the play of the æsthetic instinct in him takes on, for positive extravagance and as a last refinement of freedom, the crown of solicitude and anxiety. Such things but make, with him, for ornament and parade; they are his tribute to civility; the essence of the matter is meanwhile in his blood and his bones. No mistake was possible, from the first, as to his being of the inner literary camp—a new form, altogether, of perceptive and expressive energy; the question was settled by the intensity and variety,

Digitized by Google

to say nothing of the precocity, of his early poetic production.

Born at Pescara, in the Regno, the old kingdom of Naples, 'toward' 1863, as I find noted by a cautious biographer, he had, while scarce out of his teens, allowed his lyric genius full opportunity of scandalising even the moderately austere. He defined himself betimes very much as he was to remain, a rare imagination, a poetic, an artistic intelligence of extraordinary range and fineness concentrated almost wholly on the life of the senses. For the critic who simplifies a little to state clearly, the only ideas he urges upon us are the erotic and the plastic, which have for him about an equal intensity, or of which it would be doubtless more correct to say that he makes them interchangeable faces of the same figure. He began his career by playing with them together, in verse, to innumerable light tunes, and with an extraordinary general effect of curiosity and brilliancy. He has continued still more strikingly to play with them in prose; they have remained the substance of his intellectual furniture. It is of his prose only, however, that, leaving aside the 'Intermezzo,' 'L'Isottèo,' 'La Chimera,' 'Odi Navali,' and other such matters, I propose to speak, the subject being of itself ample for one occasion. His five novels and his four plays have extended his fame; they suggest by themselves as many observations as we shall have space for. The group of productions, as the literary industry proceeds among us to-day, is not large, but we may doubt if a talent and a temperament, if indeed, a whole 'view of life,' ever built themselves up as vividly, for the reader, out of so few blocks. The writer is even yet enviably young; but this solidity of his literary image, as of something already seated on time and accumulation, makes of him a rare example. Precocity is somehow an inadequate name for it, as precocity seldom gets away from the element of promise, and it is not exactly promise that blooms in the hard maturity of such a performance as 'The Triumph of Death.' There are certain expressions of experience, of the experience of the whole man, that are like final milestones, milestones for his possible fertility if not for his possible dexterity; a truth that has not indeed prevented 'Il Fuoco,' with its doubtless still ampler finality, from

Digitized by Google

following the work just mentioned. And we have had particularly before us, in verse, I must add, 'Francesca da Rimini,' with the great impression a great actress has enabled this drama to make.

Only, I must immediately, in this connexion, also add that Signor D'Annunzio's plays are, beside his novels, of decidedly minor weight; testifying abundantly to his style, his romantic sense and his command of images, but standing, in spite of their eloquence, only for half of his talent, largely as he yet appears in 'Il Fuoco' to announce himself, by implication, as an intending, indeed as a pre-eminent, dramatist. The example is interesting when we catch in the fact the opportunity for comparing with the last closeness the capacity of the two rival canvases, as they become for the occasion, on which the picture of life may be painted. The closeness is never so great, the comparison never so pertinent, as when the separate efforts are but different phases of the same talent. It is not, at any rate, under this juxtaposition that the infinitely greater amplitude of portrayal resident in the novel strikes us least. It in fact strikes us the more, in this quarter, for Signor D'Annunzio, that his plays have been, with one exception, successes. We must, none the less, take 'Francesca' but for a success of curiosity; on the part of the author, I mean, even more than on the part of the public. It is primarily a pictorial and ingenious thing and, as a picture of passion, takes, in the total collection, despite its felicities of surface and arrangement, distinctly a 'back seat.' Scarcely less than its companions, it overflows with the writer's plenitude of verbal expression, thanks to which, largely, the series will always prompt a curiosity, and even a tenderness, in any reader interested precisely in this momentous question of 'style in a play'—interested, in particular, to learn by what æsthetic chemistry a play would, as a work of art, propose to eliminate it. It is in any such connexion so inexpugnable that we have only to be cheated of it in one place to feel the thing crying aloud for it, like a sick man forsaken, in another.

I may mention, at all events, the slightly perverse fact that, thanks, on this side, to the highest watermark of translation, Signor D'Annunzio makes his best appeal to the English public as a dramatist. Of each of the three

Digitized by Google

English versions of other examples of his work whose titles are inscribed at the head of this paper, it may be said that they are adequate and respectable considering the great difficulty encountered. The author's highest good fortune has, nevertheless, been at the hands of his French interpreter, who has managed to keep constantly close to him—allowing for an occasional inconsequent failure of courage when the directness of the original *brave l'honnêteté*—and yet to achieve a tone not less idiomatic, and, above all, not less marked by 'authority,' than his own. Mr Arthur Symons, among ourselves, however, has rendered the somewhat insistent eloquence of 'La Gioconda' and the intricate and difficult verse of 'Francesca' with all due sympathy, and in the latter case especially—a highly arduous task—with remarkably patient skill. It is not his fault, doubtless, if the feet of his English text strike us as moving with less freedom than those of his original; such being the hard price paid always by the translator who tries for correspondence from step to step, tries for an identical order. Still less is he responsible for its coming still more home to us in a translation that the meagre anecdote, here furnishing the subject, and on which the large superstructure rests, does not really lend itself to these developments that make a full, or an interesting, tragic complexity. Behind the glamour of its immense literary association the subject of 'Francesca' is, for purposes of essential, of enlarged exhibition, delusive and 'short.'

These, however, are for the moment side-issues; what is more relevant is the stride taken by our author's early progress in his first novel and his second, 'Il Piacere' and 'L'Innocente'; a pair from the freshness, the direct young energy of which he was, for some of his admirers, too promptly and too markedly to decline. We may take it as characteristic of the intensity of the literary life in him that his brief career falls already thus into periods and supplies a quantity of history sufficient for those differences among students by which the dignity of history appears mainly to be preserved. The nature of his prime inspiration I have already glanced at; and we are helped to a characterisation if I say that the famous enthroned 'beauty' which operates here, so straight, as the great obsession, is not, in any perceptible degree, moral beauty. It would be difficult, perhaps, to find elsewhere, in the

Digitized by Google

same compass, so much expression of the personal life resting so little on any picture of the personal character and the personal will. It is not that Signor D'Annunzio has not, more than once, pushed his furrow in this latter direction; but nothing is, exactly, more interesting, as we shall see, than the seemingly inevitable way in which the attempt falls short.

'Il Piacere,' the first in date of the five tales, has, though with imperfections, the merit of giving us strongly, at the outset, the author's scale and range of view, and of so constituting a sort of prophetic summary of his elements. All that is done in the later things is more or less done here, and nothing is absent here that we are not afterwards also to miss. I propose, however, that it shall not be prematurely a question with us of what we miss; no intelligible statement of which, for that matter, in such considerations as these, is ever possible till there has been some adequate statement of what we find. Count Andrea Sperelli is a young man who pays, pays heavily, as we take it that we are to understand, for an unbridled surrender to the life of the senses; whereby it is primarily a picture of that life that the story gives us. He is represented as inordinately, as quite monstrously, endowed for the career that from the first absorbs and that finally is to be held, we suppose, to engulf him; and it is a tribute to the truth with which his endowment is presented that we should scarce know where else to look for so complete and convincing an account of such adventures. Casanova de Seingalt is of course infinitely more copious, but his autobiography is cheap loose journalism compared with the directed, finely-condensed, iridescent epic of Count Andrea.

This young man's years have run but half their course from twenty to thirty when he meets and becomes entangled with a woman more infernally expert even than himself in the matters in which he is most expert—and he is given us as a miracle of social and intellectual accomplishment—the effect of whom is fatally to pervert and poison his imagination. As his imagination is applied exclusively to the employments of 'love,' this means, with him, a frustration of all happiness, all comfortable consistency, in subsequent relations of the same order. The author's view—this is fundamental—is all of a world in which

Digitized by Google

relations of any other order whatever mainly fail to offer themselves in any attractive form. Andrea Sperelli, loving, accordingly—in the manner in which D'Annunzio's young men love, and to which we must specifically return—a woman of good faith, a woman as different as possible from the creature of evil communications, finds the vessel of his spirit itself so infected and disqualified that it falsifies and dries up everything that passes through it. The idea that has virtually determined the situation appears, in fact, to be that the hero *would* have loved in another manner, or would at least have wished to, but that he had too promptly put any such fortune, so far as his capacity is concerned, out of the question. We have our reasons, presently manifest, for doubting the possibility itself; but the theory has, nevertheless, given its direction to the fable.

For the rest, the author's three sharpest signs are already unmistakable: first, his rare notation of states of excited sensibility; second, his splendid visual sense, the quick generosity of his response to the message, as we nowadays say, of aspects and appearances, to the beauty of places and things; third, his ample and exquisite style, his curious, various, inquisitive, always active employment of language as a means of communication and representation. So close is the marriage between his power of 'rendering,' in the light of his imagination, what he sees and feels, that we scarce escape a clumsy confusion in speaking of his form as a thing distinct from the matter submitted to it. The fusion is complete and admirable, so that, though his work is nothing if not 'literary,' we see at no point of it where literature, or where life, begins or ends; we swallow our successive morsels with as little question as we swallow food that has, by proper preparation, been reduced to singleness of savour. It is brought home to us afresh that there is no complete creation without style any more than there is complete music without sound; also that when language becomes as closely applied and impressed a thing as, for the most part, in the volumes before us, the fact of artistic creation is, so to speak, registered. It is never more present than in the thick-sown illustrative images and figures that fairly bloom under D'Annunzio's hand. I find examples in 'Il Piacere,' as elsewhere, by simply turning the pages. 'His will'—

Digitized by Google

of the hero's weakness—'useless as a sword of base temper, hung at the side of a drunkard or a dullard.' Or of his own southern land in September: 'I scarce know why, looking at the country in this season, I always think of some beautiful woman after childbirth, who lies back in her white bed, smiling with a pale, astonished, inextinguishable smile.' Or the incision of this: 'Where for him now were those unclean, short-lived loves that left in the mouth the strange acidity of fruit cut with a steel knife?' Or the felicity of the following, of a southern night seen and felt from the terrace of a villa. 'Clear meteors, at intervals, streaked the motionless air, running over it as lightly and silently as drops of water on a diamond plate.' 'The sails on the sea,' he says of the same look-out by day, 'were as pious and numberless as the wings of cherubim on the gold grounds of old Giottesque panels.'

But it is above all here for two things that his faculty is admirable; one of them his making us feel, through the windows of his situation, or the gaps, as it were, of his flowering wood, the golden presence of Rome, the charm that appeals to him as if he were one of the pilgrims from afar, save that he reproduces with an authority in which, as we have seen, the pilgrims from afar have mainly been deficient. The other is the whole category of the phenomena of 'passion,' as passion prevails between his men and his women—and scarcely anything else prevails; the states of feeling, of ecstasy and suffering engendered, the play of sensibility from end to end of the scale. In this direction he has left no dropped stitches for any worker of like tapestries to pick up. We shall here have made out that many of his 'values' are much to be contested, but that where they are true they are as fresh as discoveries; witness the passage where Sperelli, driving back to Rome after a steeplechase in which he has been at the supreme moment worsted, meets nothing that does not play with significance into his vision and act with force on his nerves. He has, before the race, had 'words,' almost blows, on the subject of one of the ladies present, with one of the other riders, of which the result is that they are to send each other their seconds; but the omens are not for his adversary, in spite of the latter's success on the course.

Digitized by Google

'From the mail-coach, on the return, he overtook the flight toward Rome of Giannetto Rutolo, seated in a small two-wheeled trap, behind the quick trot of a great roan, over whom he bent with tight reins, holding his head down and his cigar in his teeth, heedless of the attempts of policemen to keep him in line. Rome, in the distance, stood up dark against a zone of light as yellow as sulphur; and the statues crowning St John Lateran looked huge, above the zone, in their violet sky. *Then it was that Andrea fully knew the pain he was making another soul suffer.*'

Nothing could be more characteristic of the writer than the way what has preceded flowers into that last reality; and equally in his best manner, doubtless, is such a passage as the following from the same volume, which treats of the hero's first visit to the sinister great lady whose influence on his soul and his senses is to become as the trail of a serpent. She receives him, after their first accidental meeting, with extraordinary promptitude and the last intimacy, receives him in the depths of a great Roman palace, which the author, with a failure of taste that is, unfortunately for him, on ground of this sort, systematic, makes a point of naming. 'Then they ceased to speak. Each felt the presence of the other flow and mingle with his own, with her own, very blood; till it was *her* blood at last that seemed to have become his life, and his that seemed to have become hers. The room grew larger in the deep silence; the crucifix of Guido Reni made the shade of the canopy and curtains religious; the rumour of the city came to them like the murmur of some far-away flood.' Or take for an instance of the writer's way of showing the consciousness as a full, mixed cup, of touching us ourselves with the mystery at work in his characters, the description of the young man's leaving the princely apartments in question after the initiation vouchsafed to him. He has found the great lady ill in bed, with remedies and medicine-bottles at her side, but not too ill, as we have seen, to make him welcome. 'Farewell,' she has said. 'Love me! Remember!'

'It seemed to him, crossing the threshold again, that he heard behind him a burst of sobs. But he went on, a little uncertain, wavering like a man who sees imperfectly. The odour of the chloroform clung to his sense like some fume of

Digitized by Google

intoxication; but at each step something intimate passed away from him, wasting itself in the air, so that, impulsively instinctively, he would have kept himself as he was, have closed himself in, have wrapped himself up, to prevent the dispersion. The rooms in front of him were deserted and dumb. At one of the doors "Mademoiselle" appeared, with no sound of steps, with no rustle of skirts, standing there like a ghost. "This way, signor conte. You won't find it." She had an ambiguous, irritating smile, and her curiosity made her grey eyes more piercing. Andrea said nothing. The woman's presence again disconcerted and troubled him, affected him with a vague repugnance, stirred, indeed, his wrath.'

Even the best things suffer by detachment from their context; but so it is that we are in *possession* of the young man's exit, so it is that the act interests us. Fully announced from the first, among these things, was D'Annunzio's signal gift of never approaching the thing particularly to be done, the thing that so presents itself to the painter, without consummately doing it. Each of his volumes offers thus its little gallery of episodes that stand out like the larger pearls occurring at intervals on a string of beads. The steeplechase in 'Il Piacere,' the auction sale of precious trinkets in Via Sistina on the wet afternoon, the morning in the garden at Schifanoia, by the southern sea, when Donna Maria, the new revelation, first comes down to Andrea, who awaits her there in the languor of convalescence from the almost fatal wound received in the duel in which the altercation on the race-course has involved him—the manner of such things as these has an extraordinary completeness of beauty. But they are, like similar pages in 'Il Trionfo' and 'Il Fuoco,' not things for adequate citation, not things that lend themselves as some of the briefer felicities. Donna Maria, on the September night at Schifanoia, has been playing for Andrea and their hostess certain old quaint gavottes and toccatas.

'It lived again wondrously beneath her fingers, the eighteenth-century music, so melancholy in its dance-tunes—tunes that might have been composed to be danced, on languid afternoons of some St Martin's summer, in a deserted park, among hushed fountains and pedestals without their statues, over carpets of dead roses, by pairs of lovers soon to love no more.'

Digitized by Google

Autobiographic in form, 'L'Innocente' sticks closely to its theme; and though the form is, on the whole, a disadvantage to it, the texture is admirably close. The question is of nothing less than a young husband's relation to the illegitimate child of his wife, born confessedly as such, and so born, marvellous to say, in spite of the circumstance that the wife adores him, and of the fact that, though long grossly, brutally false to her, he also adores the wife. To state these data is sufficiently to express the demand truly made by them for superiority of treatment; they require certainly two or three almost impossible postulates. But we of course never play the fair critical game with an author, never get into relation with him at all, unless we grant him his postulates. His subject is what is given him—given him by influences, by a process, with which we have nothing to do; since what art, what revelation, can ever really make such a mystery, such a passage in the private life of the intellect, adequately traceable for us? His treatment of it, on the other hand, is what he actively gives; and it is with what he gives that we are critically concerned. If there is nothing in him that effectually induces us to make the postulate, he is then empty for us altogether, and the sooner we have done with him the better; little as the truly curious critic enjoys, as a general thing, being seen publicly to throw up the sponge.

Tullio Hermil, who finally compasses the death of the little 'innocent,' the small intruder whose presence in the family life has become too intolerable, retraces with a master's hand each step of the process by which he has arrived at this sole issue. Save that his wife dumbly divines and accepts it, his perpetration of the deed is not suspected, and we take the secret confession of which the book consists as made for the relief and justification of his conscience. The action all goes forward in that sphere of exasperated sensibility which Signor D'Annunzio has made his own so triumphantly that other story-tellers strike us, in comparison, as remaining at the door of the inner precinct, as listening there but to catch an occasional faint sound, while he alone is well within and moving through the place as its master. The sensibility has again, in itself, to be qualified; the exasperation of feeling is ever the essence of the intercourse of some man

Digitized by Google

with some woman who has reduced him, as in 'L'Innocente' and in 'Il Trionfo,' to homicidal madness, or of some woman with some man who, as in 'Il Fuoco,' and also, again, by a strange duplication of its office, in 'L'Innocente,' causes her atrociously to suffer. The plane of the situation is thus, visibly, a singularly special plane; that, always, of the more or less insanely demoralised pair of lovers, for neither of whom is any other personal relation indicated either as actual or as conceivably possible. Here, it may be said on such a showing, is material rather alarmingly cut down as to range, as to interest and, not least, as to charm; but here precisely it is that, by a wonderful chance, the author's magic comes effectively into play.

Little, in fact, as the relation of the erotically exasperated *with* the erotically exasperated, when pushed on either side to frenzy, would appear to lend itself to luminous developments, the difficulty is surmounted each time in a fashion that, for consistency no less than for brilliancy, is all the author's own. Though surmounted triumphantly as to interest, that is, the trick is played without the least falsification of the luckless subjects of his study. They remain the abject victims of sensibility that his plan has originally made them; they remain exasperated, erotic, hysterical, either homicidally or suicidally determined, cut off from any personal source of life that does not poison them; notwithstanding all of which they neither starve dramatically nor suffer us to starve with them. How, then, is this seemingly inevitable catastrophe prevented? We ask it but to find, on reflection, that the answer opens the door to their historian's whole secret. The unfortunates are deprived of any enlarging or saving personal relation, that is of any beneficent reciprocity; but they make up for it by their relation both to the *idea*, in general, and to the whole world of the senses, which is the completest that the author can conceive for them. He may be described as thus executing on their behalf an artistic *volte-face* of the most effective kind, with results wonderful to note. The world of the senses, with which he surrounds them—a world, too, of the idea, that is, of a few ideas admirably expressed—yields them such a crop of impressions that the need of other occasions to vibrate and respond, to act

Digitized by Google

or to aspire, is superseded by their immense factitious agitation. This agitation runs its course in strangely brief periods—a singular note, the brevity, of every situation; but the period, while it lasts, is, for all its human and social poverty, quite inordinately peopled and furnished. The innumerable different ways in which his concentrated couples are able to feel about each other and about their enclosing cage of golden wire, the nature and the art of Italy—these things crowd into the picture and pervade it, lighting it scarcely less, strange to say, because they are things of bitterness and woe.

It is one of the miracles of the imagination; the great shining element in which the characters flounder and suffer becomes rich and beautiful for them, as well as in so many ways for us, by the action of the writer's mind. They not only live in his imagination, but they borrow it from him in quantities; indeed without this charitable advance they would be poor creatures enough, for they have in each case almost nothing of their own. On the aid thus received they start, they get into motion; it makes their common basis of 'passion,' desire, enchantment, aversion. The essence of the situation is the same in 'Il Trionfo' and 'Il Fuoco' as in 'L'Innocente'; the temporarily united pair devour each other, tear and rend each other, wear each other out, through a series of erotic convulsions and nervous reactions that are made interesting—interesting to *us*—almost exclusively by the special wealth of their consciousness. The medium in which they move is admirably reflected in it; the autumn light of Venice, the afterglow of her past, in the drama of the elderly actress and the young rhetorician of 'Il Fuoco'; the splendour of the summer by the edge of the lower Adriatic in that of the two isolated erotomaniacs of 'Il Trionfo,' indissolubly linked at last in the fury of physical destruction into which the man drags the woman by way of retribution for the fury of physical surrender into which she has beguiled him.

As for 'L'Innocente,' again, briefly, there is perhaps nothing in it to match the Roman passages of 'Il Piacere'; but the harmony of the general, the outer, conditions pervades the picture; the sweetness of the villeggiatura life, the happiness of place and air, the lovability of the enclosing scene, all at variance with the sharpness

Digitized by Google

of the inner tragedy. The inner tragedy of 'L'Innocente' has a concentration that is like the carrying, through turns and twists, upstairs and down, of some cup filled to the brim, of which no drop is yet spilled; such cumulative truth rules the scene after we have once accepted the postulate. It is true that the situation, as exhibited, involves for Giuliana, the young wife, the vulgarest of adventures; yet she becomes, as it unfolds, the figure, of the whole gallery, in whom the pathetic has at once most of immediate truth and of investing poetry. I much prefer her, for beauty and interest, to Donna Maria in 'Il Piacere,' the principal other image of faith and patience sacrificed. We see these virtues as still supreme in her even while she faces, in advance, her ordeal, in respect to which it has been her hope, in fact her calculation, that her husband will have been deceived about the paternity of her child; and she is so truthfully touching when this possibility breaks down that even though we rub our eyes at the kind of dignity claimed for her we participate without reserve in her predicament. The origin of the infant is, frankly, ignoble, whereas it is on the nobleness of Giuliana that the story essentially hinges; but the contradiction is wonderfully kept from disconcerting us altogether. What the author has needed, for his strangest truth, is that the mother shall feel exactly as the husband does, and that the husband shall, after the first shock of his horror, feel, intimately and explicitly, with the mother. They take in this way the same view of their woeful excrescence; and the drama of the child's advent and of the first months of his existence, his insistent and hated survival, becomes for them, in respect to the rest of the world, a drama of silence and dissimulation, of every step of which we feel the terror.

The effect, I may add, gains more than one kind of intensity from that almost complete absence of *other* contacts to which D'Annunzio systematically condemns his creatures; introducing here, however, just the two or three that more completely mark the isolation. It may, doubtless, be conceded that our English-speaking failure of insistence, of inquiry and penetration, in certain directions springs partly from our deep-rooted habit of dealing with man, dramatically, on his social and gregarious side, as a being the variety of whose intercourse

Digitized by Google

with his fellows, whatever forms his fellows may take, is positively half his interesting motion. We fear to isolate him, for we remember that, as we see and know him, he scarce understands himself save in action, action which inevitably mixes him with his kind. To see and know him, like Signor D'Annunzio, almost only in passion is another matter, for passion spends itself quickly in the open, and burns hot, mainly, in nooks and corners. Nothing, too, in the picture is more striking than the manner in which the merely sentimental abyss—that of the couple brought together by the thing that might utterly have severed them—is consistently and successfully avoided. We should have been certain to feel it in many other hands yawning but a few steps off. We see the dreadful facts in themselves, and are brought close to them, with no interposing vaguenesses or other beggings of the question, and are forcibly reminded how much more this 'crudity' makes for the communication of tenderness—what is aimed at—than an attitude conventionally more reticent. We feel what the tenderness can be when it rests on *all* the items of a constituted misery, not one of which is illogically blinked.

For the pangs and pities of the flesh in especial D'Annunzio has in all his work the firmest hand—those of the spirit exist with him, indeed, only as proceeding from these; so that Giuliana, for instance, affects us, beyond any figure in fiction we are likely to remember, as living and breathing under our touch and before our eyes, as a creature of organs, functions and processes, palpable, audible, pitiful physical conditions. These are facts, many of them, of an order in pursuit of which many a spectator of the 'picture of life' will instinctively desire to stop short, however great in general his professed desire to enjoy the borrowed consciousness that the picture of life gives us; and nothing, it may well be said, is more certain than that we have a right, in these matters, to our preference, a right to choose the kind of adventure of the imagination we like best. No obligation whatever rests on us in respect to a given kind—much light as our choice may often throw, for the critic, on the nature of our own intelligence. There, at any rate, we are disposed to say of such a piece of penetration as 'L'Innocente,' there is a particular adventure, as large

Digitized by Google

as life, for those who can bear it. The conditions are all present; it is only the reader himself who may break down. When, in general, it may be added, we see readers do so, this is truly more often because they are shocked at really finding the last consistency than because they are shocked at missing it.

'Il Trionfo della Morte' and 'Il Fuoco' stand together as the amplest and richest of our author's histories, and the earlier, the more rounded and faultless thing of the two, is not unlikely to serve, I should judge, as an unsurpassable example of his talent. His accomplishment here reaches its maximum; all his powers fight for him; the wealth of his expression drapes the situation represented in a mantle of voluminous folds, stiff with elaborate embroidery. The 'story' may be told in three words: how Giorgio Aurispa meets in Rome the young and extremely pretty wife of a vulgar man of business, her unhappiness with whom is complete, and, falling in love with her on the spot, eventually persuades her—after many troubled passages—to come and pass a series of weeks with him in a 'hermitage' by the summer sea, where, in a delirium of free possession, he grows so to hate her, and to hate himself for his subjection to her, and for the prostration of all honour and decency proceeding from it, that his desire to destroy her, even at the cost of perishing with her, at last takes uncontrollable form, and he drags her, under a pretext, to the edge of a sea-cliff and hurls her, interlocked with him in appalled resistance, into space. We get at an early stage the note of that aridity of agitation in which the narrator has expended treasures of art in trying to interest us. 'Fits of indescribable fury made them try which could torture each other best, which most lacerate the other's heart and keep it in martyrdom.' But they understand, at least the hero does; and he formulates for his companion the essence of their *impasse*. It is not her fault when she tears and rends.

'Each human soul carries in it for love but a determinate quantity of sensitive force. It is inevitable that this quantity should use itself up with time, as everything else does; so that when it *is* used up no effort has power to prevent love from ceasing. Now it's a long time that you have been loving me; nearly two years!'

Digitized by Google

The young man's intelligence is of the clearest; the woman's here is inferior, though in 'Il Fuoco' the two opposed faculties are almost equal; but the pair are alike far from living in their intelligence, which only serves to bestrew with lurid gleams the black darkness of their sensual life. So far as the intelligence is one with the will, our author fundamentally treats it as cut off from all communication with any other quarter—that is with the senses arrayed and encamped. The most his unfortunates arrive at is to carry their extremely embellished minds with them, through these dusky passages, as a kind of gilded glimmering lantern, the effect of which is merely fantastic and ironic—a thing to make the play of their shadows more monstrous and sinister. Again, in the first pages of 'Il Trionfo,' the glimmer is given.

'He recognised the injustice of any resentment against her, because he recognised the fatal necessities that controlled them alike. No, his misery came from no other human creature; it came from the very essence of life. The lover had not the lover to complain of, but simply love itself. Love, toward which his whole being reached out, from within, with a rush not to be checked, love was of all the sad things of this earth the most lamentably sad. And to this supreme sadness he was perhaps condemned till death.'

That, in a nutshell, is D'Annunzio's subject-matter; not simply that his characters see in advance what love is worth for them, but that they nevertheless need to make it the totality of their consciousness. In 'Il Trionfo' and 'Il Fuoco' the law just expressed is put into play at the expense of the woman, with the difference, however, that in the latter tale the woman perceives and judges, suffers in mind, so to speak, as well as in nerves and in temper. But it would be hard to say in which of these two productions the inexhaustible magic of Italy most helps the effect, most hangs over the story in such a way as to be one with it and to make the ugliness and the beauty melt together. The ugliness, it is to be noted, is continually *presumed* absent; the pursuit and cultivation of beauty—that fruitful preoccupation which, above all, as I have said, gives the author his value as our 'case'—being the very ground on which the whole thing rests.

Digitized by Google

The ugliness is an accident, a treachery of fate, the intrusion of a foreign substance—having for the most part in the scheme itself no admitted inevitability. Against it every provision is made that the most developed taste in the world can suggest; for, ostensibly, transcendently, Signor D'Annunzio's *is* the most developed taste in the world—his and that of the ferocious, yet so contracted, *conoscenti*, his heroes, whose virtual identity with himself, affirmed with a strangely misplaced complacency by some of his critics, one would surely hesitate to take for granted. It is the wondrous physical and other endowments of the two heroines of 'Il Piacere,' it is the joy and splendour of the hero's intercourse with them, to say nothing of the lustre of his own person, descent, talents, possessions, and of the great general setting in which everything is offered us—it is all this that makes up the picture, with the constant suggestion that nothing of a baser quality for the æsthetic sense, or, at the worst, for a pampered curiosity, might hope to so much as live in it. The case is the same in 'L'Innocente,' a scene all primarily smothered in flowers and fruits and fragrances and soft Italian airs, in every implication of flattered, embowered, constantly-renewed desire, which happens to be a blighted felicity only for the very reason that the cultivation of delight—in the form of the wife's luckless experiment—has so awkwardly overleaped itself. Whatever, furthermore, we may reflectively think either of the Ippolita of 'Il Trionfo' or of her companion's scheme of existence with her, it is enchanting grace, strange, original, irresistible in kind and degree, that she is given us as representing; just as her material situation with her young man during the greater part of the tale is a constant communion, for both of them, with the poetry and the nobleness of classic landscape, of nature consecrated by association.

The mixture reaches its maximum, however, in 'Il Fuoco,' if not perhaps in 'The Virgins of the Rocks'; the mixture, I mean, of every exhibited element of personal charm, distinction and interest, with every insidious local influence, every glamour of place, season and surrounding object. The heroine of the first-named is a great tragic actress, exquisite of aspect, intelligence and magnanimity, exquisite for everything but for being, unfortunately,

Digitized by Google

middle-aged, battered, marked, as we are constantly reminded, by all the after-sense of a career of promiscuous carnal connexions. The hero is a man of letters, a poet, a dramatist of infinite reputation and resource, and their union is steeped to the eyes in the gorgeous medium of Venice, the moods of whose melancholy and the voices of whose past are an active part of the perpetual concert. We see the persons introduced to us yearn and strain to exercise their perceptions and taste their impressions as deeply as possible, conspiring together to interweave them with the pleasures of passion. They 'go in,' as the phrase is, for beauty at any cost—for each other's own to begin with; their creator, in the inspiring quest, presses them hard, and the whole effect becomes for us that of an organised general sacrifice to it and an organised general repudiation of everything else. It is not idle to repeat that the value of the Italian background has, to this end, been inestimable, and that every spark of poetry it had to contribute has been struck from it—with what supreme felicity we perhaps most admiringly learn in 'The Virgins of the Rocks.' To measure the assistance thus rendered, and especially the immense literary lift given, we have only to ask ourselves what appearance any one of the situations presented would have made in almost any Cisalpine or 'northern' frame of circumstance whatever. Supported but by such associations of local or of literary elegance as *our* comparatively thin resources are able to furnish, the latent weakness in them all, the rock, as to final effect, on which they split, and of which I shall presently speak, would be immeasurably less dissimulated. All this is the lesson of style, by which we here catch a writer in the very act of profiting in a curiously double way. D'Annunzio arrives at it both by expression and by material—that is, by a whole side of the latter; so that with such energy at once and such good fortune it would be odd indeed if he had not come far. It is verily in the very name and interest of beauty, of the lovely impression, that Giorgio Aurispa becomes homicidal in thought and finally in act.

'She would in death become for me matter of thought, pure ideality. From a precarious and imperfect existence she would enter into an existence complete and definitive, forsaking forever the infirmity of her weak, luxurious flesh. Destroy

Digitized by Google

to possess—there is no other way for him who seeks the absolute in love.'

To these reflections he has been brought by the long, dangerous past which, as the author says, his connexion with his mistress has behind it—a past of recriminations of which the ghosts still walk. 'It dragged behind it, through time, an immense dark-net, all full of dead things.' To quote here at all is always to desire to continue, and 'The Triumph of Death' abounds in the illustrative episodes that are ever made so masterfully concrete. Offering in strictness, incidentally, the only exhibition, in all the five volumes, of a human relation other than the acutely sexual, it deals admirably enough with this opportunity when the hero pays his visit to his provincial parents before settling with his mistress at their hermitage. His people are of ancient race and have been much at their ease; but the home in the old Apulian town, overdarkened by the misdeeds of a demoralised father, is on the verge of ruin, and the dull, mean despair of it all, lighted by outbreaks of helpless rage on the part of the injured mother, is more than the visitor can bear, absorbed as he is in impatiences and concupiscences which make everything else cease to exist for him. His terror of the place and its troubles but exposes, of course, the abjection of his weakness, and the sordid squabbles, the general misery and mediocrity of life that he has to face, constitute precisely, for his personal design, the abhorred challenge of ugliness, the interference of a call other than erotic. He flees before it, leaving it to make shift as it can; but nothing could be more 'rendered,' in detail, than his overwhelmed vision of it.

So with the other finest passages of the story, notably the summer day spent by the lovers in a long, dusty, dreadful pilgrimage to a famous local miracle-working shrine, where they mingle with the multitude of the stricken, the deformed, the hideous, the barely human, and from which they return, disgusted and appalled, to plunge deeper into consoling but too temporary transports; notably also the incident, masterly in every touch, of the little drowned contadino, the whole scene of the small, starved, dead child on the beach, in all the beauty

Digitized by Google

of light and air and view, with the effusions and vociferations and grimnesses round him, the sights and sounds of the quasi-barbaric life that have the relief of antique rites portrayed on old tombs and urns, that quality and dignity of looming larger which a great feeling on the painter's part ever gives to small things. With this ampler truth the last page of the book is above all invested, the description of the supreme moment—for some time previous creeping nearer and nearer—at which the delirious protagonist beguiles his vaguely but not fully suspicious companion into coming out with him toward the edge of a dizzy place over the sea, where, suddenly, he grasps her for her doom, and the sense of his awful intention, flashing a light back as into their monstrous past, makes her shriek for her life. She dodges him at the first betrayal, panting and trembling.

'"Are you crazy?" she cried with wrath in her throat. "Are you crazy?" But as she saw him make for her afresh in silence, as she felt herself seized with still harsher violence and dragged afresh toward her danger, she understood it all in a great sinister flash which blasted her soul with terror. "No, no, Giorgio! Let me go! Let me go! Another minute —listen, listen! Just a minute! I want to say——!" She supplicated, mad with terror, getting herself free and hoping to make him wait, to put him off with pity. "A minute! Listen! I love you! Forgive me! Forgive me!" She stammered incoherent words, desperate, feeling herself overcome, losing her ground, seeing death close. "Murder!" she then yelled in her fury. And she defended herself with her nails, with her teeth, biting like a wild beast. "Murder!" she yelled, feeling herself seized by the hair, felled to the ground on the edge of the precipice, lost. The dog meanwhile barked out at the scuffle. The struggle was short and ferocious, as between implacable enemies who had been nursing to this hour in the depth of their souls an intensity of hate. And they plunged into death locked together.'

The wonder-working shrine of the Abruzzi, to which they have previously made their way, is a local Lourdes, the resort from far and wide of the physically afflicted, the evocation of whose multitudinous presence, the description of whose unimaginable miseries and ecstasies, grovelling struggles and supplications, has the mark of a pictorial energy for such matters not inferior to that of

Digitized by Google

Émile Zola—to the degree even that the originality of the pages in question was, if I remember rightly, rather sharply impugned in Paris. D'Annunzio's defence, however, was easy, residing as it does in the fact that to handle any subject successfully handled by Zola (his failures are another matter) is quite inevitably to walk more or less in his footsteps, in prints so wide and deep as to leave little margin for passing round them. To which I may add that, though the judgment may appear odd, the truth and force of the young man's few abject days at Guardiagrele, his *casa paterna*, are such as to make us wish that other such corners of life were more frequent in the author's pages. He has the supremely interesting quality in the novelist that he *fixes*, as it were, the tone of every cluster of objects he approaches, fixes it by the consistency and intensity of his reproduction. In 'The Virgins of the Rocks' we have also a *casa paterna*, and a thing, as I have indicated, of exquisite and wonderful tone; but the tone here is of poetry, the truth and the force are less measurable and less familiar, and the whole question, after all, in its refined and attenuated form, is still that of sexual pursuit, which keeps it within the writer's too frequent limits. Giorgio Aurispa, in 'Il Trionfo,' lives in communion with the spirit of an amiable and melancholy uncle who had committed suicide and made him the heir of his fortune, and one of the nephew's most frequent and faithful loyalties is to hark back, in thought, to the horror of his first knowledge of the dead man's act, put before us always with its accompaniment of loud southern resonance and confusion. He is in the place again, he is in the room, at Guardiagrele, of the original appalled vision.

'He heard, in the stillness of the air and of his arrested soul, the small shrill of an insect in the wainscot. And the little fact sufficed to dissipate for the moment the extreme violence of his nervous tension, as the puncture of a needle suffices to empty a swollen bladder. Every particular of the terrible day came back to his memory: the news abruptly brought to Torretta di Sarsa, toward three in the afternoon, by a panting messenger who stammered and whimpered; the ride on horseback, at lightning speed, under the canicular sky and up the torrid slopes, and, during the rush, the sudden faintnesses that turned him dizzy in his saddle; then the

Digitized by Google

house at home, filled with sobs, filled with a noise of doors slamming in the general scare, filled with the strumming of his own arteries; and at last his irruption into the room, the sight of the corpse, the curtains inflated and rustling, the tinkle on the wall of the little font for holy water.'

This young man's great mistake, we are told, had been his insistence on regarding love as a form of enjoyment. He would have been in a possible relation to it only if he had learned to deal with it as a form of suffering. This is the lesson brought home to the heroine of 'Il Fuoco,' who suffers indeed, as it seems to us, so much more than is involved in the occasion. We ask ourselves continually why; that is, we do so at first; we do so before the special force of the book takes us captive and reduces us to mere charmed absorption of its successive parts, without question of its moral sense. Its defect is, verily, that it has no moral sense proportionate to the truth, the constant high style of the general picture; and this fact makes the whole thing appear given us simply because it has happened, because it was material that the author had become possessed of, and not because, in its almost journalistic 'actuality,' it has any large meaning. We get the impression of a direct transfer, a 'lift,' bodily, of something seen and known, something not really produced by the chemical process of art, the crucible or retort from which things emerge for a new function. Their meaning here, at any rate, extracted with difficulty, would seem to be that there is an inevitable leak, as it were, of felicity when a mistress happens to be considerably older than her lover; but even this interesting, yet not unfamiliar, truth loses itself in the great poetic, pathetic, psychologic ceremonial.

That matters little indeed, as I say, while we read; the two sensibilities concerned bloom, in all the Venetian glow, like wondrous water-plants, throwing out branches and flowers of which we admire the fantastic growth even while we remain, botanically speaking, vague. They are other sensibilities than those with which we ourselves have community—one of the main reasons of their appearing so I shall presently explain; and, besides, they are isolated, sequestrated, according to D'Annunzio's constant view of such cases, for an exclusive, an intensified

Digitized by Google

and arid development. The mistress has, abnormally, none of the protection, the alternative life, the saving sanity, of other interests, ties, employments; while the hero, a young poet and dramatist with an immense consciousness of genius and fame, has, for the time at least, only those poor contacts with existence that the last intimacies of his contact with his friend's person, her poor *corpo non più giovane*, as he so frequently repeats, represent for him. It is not for us, however, to contest the relation; it is in the penetrating way again in which the relation is rendered that the writer has his triumph; the way, above all, in which the world-weary, interesting, sensitive woman, with her infinite intelligence, yet with her longing for some happiness as yet, among all her experiments, untasted, and her genius, at the same time, for familiar misery, is marked, featured, individualised for us, and, with the strangest art in the world—one of those mysteries of which great talents alone have the trick—at once ennobled with beauty and desecrated by a process that we somehow feel to be that of exposure, to spring from some violation of a privilege. '"Do with me," says the Foscarina on a certain occasion, '"whatever you will"; and she smiled in her offered abjection. She belonged to him like the thing one holds in one's fist, like the ring on one's finger, like a glove, like a garment, like a word that may be spoken or not, like a draught that may be drunk or poured on the ground.' There are some lines describing an hour in which she has made him feel as never before 'the incalculable capacity of the heart of man. And it seemed to him, as he heard the beating of his own heart, and divined the violence of the other beside him, that he had in his ears the loud repercussion of the hammer on the hard anvil where human destiny is forged.' More than ever here the pitch of the personal drama is taken up by everything else in the scene—everything else being, in fact, but the immediate presence of Venice, her old faded colour and old vague harmonies, played with, constantly, as we might play with some rosy, fretted, faintly-sounding sea-shell.

It would take time to say what we play with in the silver-toned 'Virgins of the Rocks,' the history of a visit paid by a transcendent young man—always pretty much the same young man—to an illustrious family whose

Digitized by Google

fortunes have tragically shrunken with the expulsion of the Bourbons from the kingdom of Naples, and the three last lovely daughters of whose house are beginning to wither on the stem, undiscovered, unsought, in a dilapidated old palace, an old garden of neglected pomp, a place of fountains and colonnades, marble steps and statues, all circled with hard, bright, sun-scorched volcanic scenery. They are tacitly candidates for the honour of the hero's hand, and the subject of the little tale, which deals with scarce more than a few summer days, is the manner of their presenting themselves for his admiration and his choice. I name this exquisite composition, decidedly, as my preferred of the series; for if its tone is thoroughly romantic, the romance is yet of the happiest kind, the kind that consists in the imaginative development of observable things, things present, significant, related to us, and not in a weak false fumble for the remote and the disconnected.

It is indeed the romantic mind itself that makes the picture; and there could be no better case of the absolute artistic vision. The mere facts are soon said; the main fact, above all, of the feeble remnant of an exhausted race waiting, in impotence, to see itself cease to be. The father has nothing personal left but the ruins of his fine presence and of his old superstitions, a handful of silver dust; the mother, mad and under supervision, stalks about with the delusion of imperial greatness (there is a wonderful page on her parading through the gardens in her rococo palanquin, like a Byzantine empress, attended by sordid keepers, while the others are hushed into pity and awe); the two sons, hereditarily tainted, are virtually imbecile; the three daughters, candidly considered, are what we should regard in our Anglo-Saxon world as but the stuff of rather particularly dreary and shabby, quite unutterably idle, old maids. Nothing, within the picture, occurs; nothing is done or, more acutely than usual, than everywhere, suffered; it is all a mere affair of the rich impression, the complexity of images projected upon the quintessential spirit of the hero, whose own report is what we have—an affair of the quality of observation, sentiment and eloquence brought to bear. It is not too much to say, even, that the whole thing is, in the largest sense, but a theme for style, style of substance as well as

Digitized by Google

of form. Within this compass it blooms and quivers and shimmers with light, becomes a wonderful little walled garden of romance. The young man has a passage of extreme but respectful tenderness with each of the sisters in turn, and the general cumulative effect is scarcely impaired by the fact that 'nothing comes' of any of these relations. Too little comes of anything, I think, for any very marked human analogy, inasmuch as, if it is interesting to be puzzled, to a certain extent, by what an action, placed before us, is designed to show or to signify, so we require for this refined amusement at least the sense that some general idea *is* represented. We must feel it present.

Therefore if, making out nothing very distinct in 'Le Vergini' but the pictorial idea, and yet cleaving to the preference I have expressed, I let the anomaly pass as a tribute extorted by literary art, I may seem to imply that a book may have a great interest without having a perfect sense. The truth is, doubtless, that I am in some degree beguiled and bribed by the particularly intense expression given in these pages to the author's æsthetic faith. If he is so supremely a 'case,' it is because this production has so much to say for it, and says it with such a pride of confidence, with an assurance and an elegance that fairly make it the last conceivable word of such a profession. The observations recorded have their origin in the narrator's passionate reaction against the vulgarity of the day. All the writer's young men react; but Cantelmo, in the volume before us, reacts with the finest contempt. He is, like his brothers, a *raffiné* conservative, believing really, so far as we understand it, only in the virtue of 'race,' and in the grand manner. The blighted Virgins, with all that surrounds them, are an affirmation of the grand manner—that is, of the shame and scandal of what, in an odious age, it has been reduced to. It consists, indeed, of a number of different things, which I may not pretend to have completely fitted together, but which are, with other elements, the sense of the supremacy of beauty, the supremacy of style, and, last not least, of the personal will, manifested for the most part as a cold insolence of attitude—not manifested as anything much more edifying. What it really appears to come to is that the will is a sort of romantic ornament,

Digitized by Google

the application of which, for life in the present and the future, remains rather awkwardly vague, though we are always to remember that it has been splendidly forged in the past. The will, in short, *is* beauty, is style, is elegance, is art—especially in members of great families and possessors of large fortunes. That of the hero of 'Le Vergini' has been handed down to him direct, as by a series of testamentary provisions, from a splendid young ancestor for whose memory and whose portrait he has a worship, a warrior and virtuoso of the Renaissance, the model of his spirit.

'He represents for me the mysterious meaning of the power of style, not violable by any one, and least of all ever by myself in my own person.'

And elsewhere:—

'The sublime hands of Violante [the beauty and interest of hands play a great part, in general, in the picture], pressing out in drops the essence of the tender flowers and letting them fall bruised to the ground, performed an act which, as a symbol, corresponded perfectly to the character of my style; this being ever to extract from a thing its very last scent of life, to take from it all it could give and leave it exhausted. Was not this one of the most important offices of my art of life?'

The book is a singularly rich exhibition of an inward state, the state of private poetic intercourse with things, the kind of current that, in a given personal experience, flows to and fro between the imagination and the world. It represents the æsthetic consciousness, proud of its conquests and discoveries, and yet trying, after all, as with the vexed sense of a want, to look through other windows and eyes. It goes all lengths, as is, of course, indispensable on behalf of a personage constituting a case. 'I firmly believe that the greatest sum of future dominion will be precisely that which shall have its base and its apex in Rome'—such being, in our personage, the confidence of the 'Latin' spirit. Does it not really all come back to style? It was to the Latin spirit that the Renaissance was primarily vouchsafed; and was not, for a simplified statement, the last word of the Renaissance the question of taste? That is the æsthetic question; and when the Latin spirit, after many misadventures, again clears

Digitized by Google

itself, we shall see how all the while this treasure has been in its keeping. Let us as frankly as possible add that there is a whole side on which the clearance may appear to have made quite a splendid advance with Signor D'Annunzio himself.

But there is another side, which I have been too long in coming to, yet which, I confess, is for me much the more interesting. No account of our author is complete unless we really make out what becomes of that æsthetic consistency in him which, as I have said, our own collective and cultivated effort is so earnestly attempting and yet so pathetically, if not so grotesquely, missing. We are struck, unmistakably, early in our acquaintance with these productions, by the fact that their total beauty somehow extraordinarily fails to march with their beauty of parts, and that something is all the while at work undermining that bulwark against ugliness which it is their obvious theory of their own office to throw up. The disparity troubles and haunts us just in proportion as we admire; and our uneasy wonderment over the source of the weakness fails to spoil our pleasure only because such questions have so lively an interest for the critic. We feel ourselves somehow in presence of a singular incessant *leak* in the effect of distinction so artfully and copiously produced, and we apply our test up and down in the manner of the inquiring person who, with a tin implement and a small flame, searches our premises for an escape of gas. The bad smell has, as it were, to be accounted for; and yet where, amid the roses and lilies and pomegranates, the thousand essences and fragrances, can such a thing possibly be? Quite abruptly, I think, at last (if we have been much under the spell) our test gives us the news, not unaccompanied with the shock with which we see our escape of gas spring into flame. There is no mistaking it; the leak of distinction is produced by a positive element of the vulgar; and that the vulgar should flourish in an air so charged, intellectually speaking, with the 'aristocratic' element, becomes for us straightway the greatest of oddities and, at the same time, critically speaking, one of the most interesting things conceivable.

The interest, then, springs from its being involved for us in the 'case.' We recognise so many suggested consequences if the case is really to prove responsible for it.

Digitized by Google

We ask ourselves if there be not a connexion—we almost tremble lest there shouldn't be; since what is more obvious than that, if a high example of exclusive æstheticism—as high a one as we are likely ever to meet—is bound sooner or later to spring a leak, the general question receives much light? We recognise here the value of our author's complete consistency: he would have kept his bottom sound, so to speak, had he not remained so long at sea. If those imperfect exponents of his faith whom we have noted among ourselves fail to flower, for a climax, in any proportionate way, we make out that they are embarrassed not so much by any force they possess as by a force—a force of temperament—that they lack. The anomaly I speak of presents itself thus, at any rate, as the dilemma in which Signor D'Annunzio's consistency has inexorably landed him; and the disfigurement breaks out, strikingly enough, in the very forefront of his picture, at the point where he has most lavished his colour. It is where he has most trusted and depended that he is, as they say, most given away; the traitor shares, certainly, his tent and his confidence. What is it that, in the interest of beauty, he most elaborately builds on if not on the love-affairs of his heroes and heroines, if not on his exhibition of the free play, the sincere play, the play closely studied and frankly represented, of the sexual relation? It is round this exercise, for him, that expressible, communicable, workable beauty prevailingly clusters; a view, indeed, as to which we all generously go with him, subject to the reserve, for each of us, of our own interpretation and demonstration of it. It is his interpretation and demonstration that break down, his discrimination that falls short, and thereby the very kind of intellectual authority most implied by their pretension. There is, according to him, an immense amenity that can be saved —saved by style—from the general wreck and welter of what is most precious, from the bankruptcy determined more and more by our basely democratic conditions. As we watch the actual process, however, we see, alas, the lifeboat itself founder. The vulgarity into which he so incongruously drops is, I will not say the space he allots to love-affairs, but the weakness of his sense of 'values' in depicting them.

We begin to ask ourselves at an early stage what this

Digitized by Google

queer passion may be in the representation of which the sense of beauty ostensibly finds its richest expression, and which is yet attended by nothing else at all—neither duration, nor propagation, nor common kindness, nor common consistency with other relations, common congruity with the rest of life—to make its importance good. If beauty is the supreme need, so let it be; nothing is more certain than that we can never get too much of it if only we get it of the right sort. It is, therefore, on this very ground—the ground of its own sufficiency—that Signor D'Annunzio's invocation of it collapses at our challenge. The vulgarity comes from the muddle really made with values, as I have called them; made—that we should have to record so abject a catastrophe!—with taste, impeccable taste, itself. The truth of this would come out fully in copious examples, now impossible; but it is not too much to say, I think, that in every principal situation presented the fundamental weakness causes the particular interest to suffer inordinately in quality.

I must not, I know, make too much of 'Il Piacere'—one of those works of promising youth with which criticism is always easy—and I should, indeed, say nothing of it if it were also a work of less ability. It really, however, to my mind, quite gives us the key, all in the morning early, to our author's general misadventure. Andrea Sperelli is the key; Donna Maria is another key of a slightly different shape. They have neither of them the æsthetic importance, any more than the moral, that their narrator claims for them, and in his so elaborate insistence on which he has so hopelessly lost his way. If they *were* important—by which I mean if they showed in any other light than that of their particular erotic exercise—they would justify the pretension made for them with such superior art. They have no general history, since their history is only, and immediately and extravagantly, that of their too cheap and too easy romance. Why should the career of the young man be offered us as a case of pathetic, of tragic, of edifying corruption?—in which case it might indeed be a subject. The march of corruption, the insidious influence of propinquity, opportunity, example, the weakness of false estimates, and the drama of sterilising passion—all this is a thinkable theme, thinkable especially in the light of a great talent. But for Andrea Sperelli

Digitized by Google

there is not only no march, no drama, there is not even a weakness to give him the semblance of dramatic, of plastic, material; he is solidly, invariably, vulgarly strong, and not a bit more corrupt at the end of his adventures than at the beginning. His erudition, his intellectual accomplishments and elevation, are too easily spoken for; no view of him is given in which we can feel or taste them. Donna Maria is scarcely less signal an instance of the apparent desire on the author's part to impute a 'value,' defeated by his apparently not knowing what a value is. She is, apparently, an immense value for the occasions on which the couple secretly meet; but how is she otherwise one? and what becomes, therefore, of the beauty, the interest, the pathos, the struggle, or whatever else, of her relation—relation of character, of judgment, even of mere taste—to her own collapse? The immediate physical sensibility that surrenders in her is, as throughout, exquisitely painted; but as nothing operates for her, one way or the other, *but* that familiar faculty, we are left casting about us almost as much for what else she has to give as for what, in any case, she may wish to keep.

The author's view of the whole matter of durations and dates, in these connexions, gives the scale of 'distinction' by itself a marked downward tilt; it confounds all differences between the trivial and the grave. Giuliana, in 'L'Innocente,' is interesting because she has had an adventure, and she is exquisite in her delineator's view because she has repented of it. But the adventure, it appears, was a matter of but a minute; so that we oddly see this particular romance attenuated on the ground of its brevity. The exquisite being in question, the attenuation should surely be sought in the very opposite quarter; since, where these remarkable affections are concerned, how otherwise than by the element of comparative duration do we obtain the element of comparative good faith, on which we depend for the element, in turn, of comparative dignity? Andrea Sperelli becomes, in the course of a few weeks in Rome, the lover of some twenty or thirty women of fashion—the number scarce matters; but to make this possible his connexion with each has but to last a day or two; and the effect of that, in turn, is to reduce to nothing, by vulgarity, by frank grotesque-

Digitized by Google

ness of association, that romantic capacity in him on which his chronicler's whole appeal to us is based. The association rising before us more nearly than any other is that of the manners observable in the most mimetic department of any great menagerie.

The most serious relation depicted—in the sense of being in some degree the least suggestive of mere zoological sociability—is that of the lovers in 'Il Fuoco,' as we also take this pair for their creator's sanest and most responsible spirits. It is a question between them of an heroic affection, and yet the affection appears to make good for itself no place worth speaking of in their lives. It holds but for a scant few weeks; the autumn already reigns when the connexion begins, and the connexion is played out (or, if it be not, the ado is about nothing) with the first flush of the early Italian spring. It suddenly, on our hands, becomes trivial, with all our own estimate of reasons and realities and congruities falsified. The Foscarina has, on professional business, to 'go away,' and the young poet has to do the same; but such a separation, so easily bridged over by such great people, makes a beggarly climax for an intercourse on behalf of which all the forces of poetry and tragedy have been set in motion. Where then, we ask ourselves, is the weakness? —as we ask it, very much in the same way, in respect to the vulgarised aspect of the tragedy of Giorgio Aurispa. The pang of pity, the pang that springs from a conceivable community in doom, is in this latter case altogether wanting. Directly we lift a little the embroidered mantle of that hand for appearances which plays, on Signor D'Annunzio's part, such tricks upon us, we find ourselves put off, as the phrase is, with an inferior article. The inferior article is the hero's poverty of life, which cuts him down, for pathetic interest, just as the same limitation in 'Il Piacere' cuts down Donna Maria. Presented each as victims of another rapacious person who has got the better of them, there is no process, no complexity, no suspense, in their story; and thereby, we submit, there is no æsthetic beauty. Why *shouldn't* Giorgio Aurispa go mad? Why shouldn't Stelio Effrena go away? We make the inquiry as disconcerted spectators, not feeling in the former case that we have had any communication with the wretched youth's sanity, and not seeing in the

Digitized by Google

latter why the tie of all the passion that has been made so admirably vivid for us should not be able to weather change.

Nothing is so singular with D'Annunzio as that the very basis and subject of his work should repeatedly go aground on such shallows as these. He takes for subject a situation that is substantially none—the most fundamental this of his mistaken values, and all the more compromising that his immense art of producing illusions still leaves it exposed. The idea, in each case, is superficially specious; but it is *where* it breaks down that makes all the difference. 'Il Piacere' would have been a subject only if a provision had been made in it for some adequate 'inwardness' on the part either of the nature disintegrated or of the other nature to which this poisoned contact proves fatal. 'L'Innocente,' of the group, comes nearest to justifying its idea; and I leave it unchallenged, though its meaning surely would have been written larger if the attitude of the wife toward her misbegotten child had been, in face of the husband's, a little less that of the dumb detached animal suffering in her simplicity. As a picture of such suffering, the pain of the mere dumb animal, the work is indeed magnificent; only its connexions are poor with the higher dramatic, the higher poetic, complexity of things.

I can only repeat that to make 'The Triumph of Death' a subject, we should have been able to measure the triumph by its frustration of some conceivable opportunity, at least, for life. There is a moment at which we hope for something of this kind, the moment at which the young man pays his visit to his family, who have grievous need of him, and toward whom we look to see some one side or other of his fine sensibility turn. But nothing comes, for the simple reason that the personage is already dead—that nothing exists in him but the established *fear* of life. He turns his back on everything but a special sensation, and so completely shuts the door on the elements of contrast and curiosity. Death really triumphs, in the matter, but over the physical terror of the inordinate woman; a pang perfectly communicated to us, but too small a surface to bear the weight laid on it, which accordingly affects us as that of a pyramid turned over on its point. It is throughout one of D'Annunzio's

Digitized by Google

strongest marks that he treats 'love' as a matter not to be mixed with life, in the larger sense of the word, at all—as a matter all of whose other connexions are dropped; a sort of secret game that can go on only if each of the parties has nothing to do, even on any *other* terms, with any one else.

I have dwelt on the fact that the sentimental intention in 'Il Fuoco' quite bewilderingly fails, in spite of the splendid accumulation of material. We wait to the end to see it declare itself, and then are left, as I have already indicated, with a mere meaningless anecdote on our hands. Brilliant and free, each freighted with a talent that is given us as incomparable, the parties to the combination depicted have, for their affection, the whole world before them—and not the simple terraqueous globe, but that still vaster sphere of the imagination in which, by an exceptionally happy chance, they are able to move together on very nearly equal terms. A tragedy is a tragedy, a comedy is a comedy, when the effect, in either sense, is *determined* for us, determined by the interference of some element that starts a complication or precipitates an action. As in 'Il Fuoco' nothing whatever interferes—or nothing, certainly, that need count for the high spirits represented—we ask why such precious revelations are made us for nothing. Admirably made in themselves, they yet strike us as, æsthetically speaking, almost cruelly wasted.

This general remark would hold good, as well, of 'Le Vergini,' if I might still linger, though its application has already been virtually made. Anatolia, in this tale, the most robust of the three sisters, declines marriage in order to devote herself to a family who have, it would certainly appear, signal need of her nursing. But this, though it sufficiently represents *her* situation, covers as little as possible the ground of the hero's own, since he, quivering intensely with the treasure of his 'will,' inherited in a straight line from the *cinque-cento*, only asks to affirm his sublimated energy. The temptation to affirm it erotically, at least, has been great for him in relation to each of the young women in turn; but it is for Anatolia that his admiration and affection most increase in volume; and it is, accordingly, for her sake that, with the wonderful moral force behind him (kept

Digitized by Google

as in a Florentine casket), we most look to see him justified. He has a fine image—and when has the author not fine images?—to illustrate the constant readiness of this possession. The young woman says something that inspires him, whereupon, 'as a sudden light playing over the dusky wall of a room causes the motionless sword in a trophy to shine, so her word drew a great flash from my suspended *volontà*. There was a virtue in her,' the narrator adds, 'which could have produced portentous fruit. Her substance might have nourished a superhuman germ.' In spite of which it never succeeds in becoming so much as a question that his affection for her shall *act*, that this grand imagination in him shall operate, that he himself is, in virtue of such things, exactly the person to come to her aid and to combine with her in devotion. The talk about the *volontà* is amusing much in the same way as the complacency of a primitive man, unacquainted with the uses of things, possessed, by some accident, of one of the toys of civilisation, a watch or a motor-car. And yet, artistically, for our author, the will *has* an application, since without it he could have done no such vivid work.

Here, at all events, we put our finger, I think, on the very point at which his æsthetic plenitude meets the misadventure that discredits it. We see just where it 'joins on' with vulgarity. That sexual passion from which he extracts such admirable detached pictures insists on remaining for him *only* the act of a moment, beginning and ending in itself and disowning any representative character. From the moment it depends on itself alone for its beauty it endangers extremely its distinction, so precarious at the best. For what it represents, precisely, is it poetically interesting; it finds its extension and consummation only in the rest of life. Shut out from the rest of life, shut out from all fruition and assimilation, it has no more dignity than—to use a homely image—the boots and shoes that we see, in the corridors of promiscuous hotels, standing, often in double pairs, at the doors of rooms. Detached and unassociated, these clusters of objects present, however obtruded, no importance. What the participants do with their agitation, in short, or even what it does with them, *that* is the stuff of poetry, and it is never really interesting save

Digitized by Google

when something finely contributive in themselves makes it so. It is this absence of anything finely contributive in themselves, on the part of the various couples here concerned, that is the open door to the trivial. I have said, with all appreciation, that they present the great 'relation,' for intimacy, as we shall nowhere else find it presented; but to see it related, in its own turn, to nothing in the heaven above or the earth beneath, this undermines, we definitely learn, the charm of that achievement.

And so it is, strangely, that our æsthetic 'case' enlightens us. The only question is whether it be the only case of the kind conceivable. May we not suppose another with the elements differently mixed? May we not, in imagination, alter the proportions within or the influences without, and look with cheerfulness for a different issue? *Need* the æsthetic adventure, in a word, organised for real discovery, give us no more comforting news of success? Are there not, so to speak, finer possible combinations? are there not safeguards that, in the example before us, were but too presumably absent? To which the sole answer probably is that no man can say. It is Signor D'Annunzio alone who has really sailed the sea and brought back the booty. The actual case is so good that all the potential fade beside it. It has for it that it exists, and that, whether for the strength of the original outfit or for the weight of the final testimony, it could scarce thinkably be bettered.

HENRY JAMES.

Digitized by Google

Art. IV.—RECENT ÆSTHETICS.

1. *Raumaesthetik und Geometrisch-optische Täuschungen.* By Theodor Lipps. Leipzig: Barth, 1893–97.
2. *Einfühlung und Association in der neueren Aesthetik.* By Paul Stern. Hamburg: Voss, 1897.
3. *Einleitung in die Aesthetik. Der aesthetische Genuss.* By Karl Groos. Giessen, 1892, 1902.
4. *Die Spiele der Menschen.* By Karl Groos. Jena, 1899.
5. *L'esthétique du Mouvement. La suggestion dans l'Art.* By P. Souriau. Paris: Alcan, 1889, 1893.
6. *Pain, Pleasure and Æsthetics.* By H. Rutgers Marshall. London: Macmillan, 1894.
7. *The Origins of Art.* By Yrjö Hirn. London: Macmillan, 1900.
8. *Die Anfänge der Kunst.* By Ernst Grosse. Freiburg, 1894. (Translation: New York, 1897.)
9. *Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien.* By Ernst Grosse. Tübingen, 1900.

In an article published in the 'Quarterly Review' for April 1900, dealing with Tolstoi's 'What is Art?' I had occasion to allude to a new science of æsthetics, which, in my opinion, could already dispose of some of the great Russian's arguments, and indicate a reconciliation between art and life different from his ascetic conclusions. It is the object of the following pages to give some account of these new æsthetics, to define the various problems which they are gradually seeking to resolve, and to point out the tracks of study along which they may eventually attain a solution.

I have said that these æsthetics are new, and I should add that they are still rudimentary, full of hypotheses admitting as yet of no demonstration, and of collections of facts requiring to be brought into intelligible connexion. Nor could it be otherwise. Whereas the æsthetics of the past were, in the main, a branch of purely constructive philosophy, concerned rather with logical coherence than with verification, and therefore systematic and dogmatic; the æsthetics of to-day are, on the contrary, not so much what is actually expounded by any single writer as what results from the unintentional concord-

Digitized by Google

ance of various students, and the convergence, rather inevitable than actual, of several kinds of study. For the problems concerning beauty and ugliness, and concerning those artistic activities which increase the one and diminish the other—the problems of æsthetics—are being approached from two sides, and by two sets of investigators, who are often ignorant of each other's existence and, oftener still, ignorant of the very questions which they and their unknown collaborators are between them narrowing into definite existence.

These unconnected studies, thus unconsciously converging in the new science of æsthetics, are themselves recent and immature. They are, respectively, the science of mind which, under the name of psychology, has only lately detached itself from general philosophy; and the various sciences dealing with the comparison, the origin and the evolution of artistic form, and which are still dependent on ethnography and anthropology on the one hand, on archæology and what is called connoisseurship on the other. Thus it is significant that whatever materials for an eventual science of æsthetics have been left us by the past exist as fragmentary facts, partial observations, and lopsided hypotheses, scattered in the works of philosophers, Plato and Aristotle, Kant, Schiller, Schopenhauer, Spencer, on the one hand, and, on the other, in the works of specialists of some definite branch of art like Winckelmann and Morelli, or pleaders in the cause of some definite artist, like Ruskin in 'Modern Painters,' and Nietzsche in the 'Wagner Case.' There remains, besides, a large amount of fact and theory eventually applicable to æsthetics in books on children, savages, and lunatics, and the whole literature admirably dealt with by Professors Ernst Grosse and Yrjö Hirn. And the methods to be employed, the analogies to be followed, nay, the underlying reasons of the phenomena under consideration, will be learned mainly from biologists, psychologists, students of bodily and mental evolution, who, for the most part, misunderstand or disdain the very existence of æsthetics.

The object of the present paper is to show some of the points on which all these separate studies are tending to converge, in the hope that an attempt to map out the vague field of æsthetics may contribute to the defini-

Digitized by Google

tion of its boundaries and its tracks, and eventually to its thorough systematic cultivation.

The first problem of æsthetics involves a definition of the adjective from which this study takes its name; and of the study itself. We need not trouble ourselves, any more than with other historical questions, with the adventures of the word 'æsthetic' and its transformation from the philosophical adjective connected with perception, to its current connexion with art and the beautiful. But it is important to decide whether the word, thus misapplied, should be considered as the adjective referring to art or the adjective referring to beauty; the alternation between the two meanings having, with most writers, contributed not a little to confuse these already rather inextricable inquiries. For, if 'æsthetic' means 'that which has to do with art,' and also 'that which has to do with beauty,' there arises a tendency to identify the two notions, and a consequent series of self-contradictions. No one, for instance, can deny that the drama, the novel, poetry in general, are of the nature of art. But no one can deny that in all of them, besides appeals to our desire for beauty, there are appeals to quite different demands of the human soul, such as the demand for logical activity, for moral satisfaction, and for all manner of emotional stimulation, from the grossest to the most exalted; let alone the demand for self-expression, for construction, and for skilful handicraft. All these demands, involved in every form of art, are of course demands for pleasure, but some of them are consistent with the production and perception not of beauty but of ugliness.

Now, if 'æsthetic' is made synonymous with 'artistic' and brings the connotation also of 'beautiful,' the pleasure taken in art will be confused with the pleasure derived from beauty; and we shall be landed in that casuistry which admits of beauty dependent on logical clearness, or mechanical skill, or practical fitness, or moral legitimacy, or scientific exactitude, or dramatic interest—in fact, beauty which has every quality except that of not being ugly. Thus, the formula of Keats—'beauty is truth, truth beauty'—either limits the meaning of truth, or extends the meaning of beauty to include a great many

Digitized by Google

very unbeautiful items. The application of the word 'beautiful' to whatever peculiarity an æsthetician recognises with satisfaction in a work of art, has therefore been the chief reason why the problem of beauty and ugliness has been defrauded of any study commensurate to its importance and its difficulty. It is therefore urgent, as a first step in all æsthetics, that separate expressions should be reserved for 'that which has to do with art,' and 'that which has to do with the beautiful'; and since we already possess the perfectly intelligible adjective 'artistic,' there is every reason that the other adjective 'æsthetic' should be reserved for the designation of the phenomenon of beauty and its correlative ugliness, instead of complicating already intricate enquiries by the shifting of meanings or the introduction of unfamiliar words.

The foregoing discussion may seem a mere dispute about terms. But we shall find that this is not the case, and that the definition of the word 'æsthetic' provides a clue to the whole question, 'What is art, and what has the beautiful to do with art?' For we shall find that it is the demand for beauty which qualifies all the other demands which may seek satisfaction through art, and thereby unites together, by a common factor of variation, all the heterogeneous instincts and activities which go to make up the various branches of art.

This view is nowadays almost universally replaced by some version of the theory, first broached by Schiller in his letters on æsthetics, and revived by Mr Herbert Spencer, according to which art is differentiated from other employments of human activity by being a kind of play. The 'play' theory takes up all the various branches of art, insisting especially on the literary ones and neglecting, as a rule, those where beauty is united to utility, and connects them by the common characteristic of disinterested contemplation, that is to say, the fact, true or false, that they serve no practical aim and constitute a kind of holiday in life. To Schiller's theory of art being a kind of play, and valuable in virtue of its freedom from care, Mr Spencer added the notion that art, like all other forms of play, was the result of stored up energy which found no other modes of venting itself. But this hypothesis of a specific 'play instinct,' of

Digitized by Google

which art was merely one embodiment, overlooked the fact that nearly all efficient, and certainly all creative work, however much directed to practical ends, must depend upon some surplus of energy, and is, in nearly every case, attended by the pleasure special to the measured doling out of such superabundance.

Professor Groos, not merely one of the most remarkable of living æstheticians but the greatest authority on play as such, has, moreover, been obliged to admit, in his masterly volumes on the play of men and of animals, what is a very damaging fact to his own theory of art, namely, that it is incorrect to speak of any 'play-instinct' as such, and that playing is not a specific activity, but merely one of the modes in which many or most human activities may spend themselves. Professor Groos has therefore rejected Mr Spencer's formula of the 'Art-as-play' theory; but having eliminated the Spencerian notion of the 'surplus energy,' he has merely returned to Schiller's theory that the pleasurableness of art is due to the characteristic of all other kinds of play, namely, the sense of freedom or of holiday.

But this is surely an inversion of the true order of facts. We do not take pleasure in playing because playing makes us feel free; but, on the contrary, we get greater and more unmixed pleasure while playing, because we are free to leave off and alter—in fact, to do what we cannot do while working, accommodate our activity to our pleasure. Professor Groos has himself, in a memorable formula which we shall meet anon, connected the special pleasurableness sought for by art with an activity totally different from play as such. And I hope to show that Schiller's opposition between the serenity of art and the severity of life is very far from fundamental. I hope, assisted thereto by some of Professor Groos's own hypotheses, to suggest that the æsthetic condition is, on the contrary, the outcome of nearly all healthfully constant and repeated acts of attention; and that art, so far from delivering us from the sense of really living, merely selects, intensifies, and multiplies those states of serenity of which we are given the sample, too rare, too small, and too alloyed, in the course of our normal practical life.

And here we find ourselves once more in presence of

Digitized by Google

the distinction between 'artistic' and 'æsthetic,' and the necessity of reserving the second of these terms for our impressions of beauty and ugliness. For, after having found that the artistic employment of certain faculties cannot be differentiated by calling it play, we shall find that the very finest works of art have been produced by the expressive, constructive, logical, and other activities, when most practically employed, and to the exclusion even of all decoration, which might be explained as a parasitic excrescence of play upon work. There is no playing when a potter or an architect alters the shape of a vessel or a building until it become what we call beautiful; nor when a writer arranges his sentences or a stone-cutter his lettering in such a manner that we shall not merely learn but be pleased in the course of learning. And if a freedom from practical considerations is undoubtedly implied in such making of necessary things beautiful, that freedom is not the aim of this artistic process, but its necessary condition, since we do not act freely in order to take pleasure in freedom, but please ourselves because we happen to be free to do so.

If, therefore, we give the name of art to every such attempt to add another quality beside that of utility to useful things or useful acts, there is a common character which differentiates art from all other activities, whether working or playing. And this common character, which makes sometimes play and sometimes work artistic, and whose absence removes play and work alike from out of the category of art, is precisely that character, absolutely *sui generis*, for which I desire to reserve the word 'æsthetic.' For if we examine all the categories of art, we shall find, whatever their primary object—whether the construction of something useful, the expounding or recording of something significant, the expression of an emotion or the satisfaction of a craving, the doing of something whether practical or unpractical, useful or mischievous—whatever this primary object may be, its attainment is differentiated by the attempt to avoid as much ugliness and to attain as much beauty as the particular circumstances will admit. The required building or machine may be inevitably awkward in parts; the person to be portrayed may be intrinsically ugly; the fact to be communicated may be disgusting;

Digitized by Google

the instinct to be satisfied may be brutal or lewd; yet, if the building or machine, the portrait, the description, the dance, the gesture, the dress, is to affect us as being artistic, it must possess, in greater or lesser degree, the special peculiarity of being beautiful. And where, on the contrary, this demand for beauty has not been manifest, where there has been no attempt to substitute beautiful for ugly arrangements of line, space, colour, sound, words or movements, there the word 'artistic' is inapplicable in contradistinction to the phrases technically ingenious, logically reasonable, practically appropriate, sensually agreeable, emotionally exciting, morally commendable, or any of the other qualifications of human work or human play. Art, therefore, is the manifestation of any group of faculties, the expression of any instincts, the answer to any needs, which is to any extent qualified, that is to say, restrained, added to, altered, or deflected, in obedience to a desire totally separate from any of these, possessing its own reasons, its own standards and its own imperative, which desire is the æsthetic desire. And the quality answering to this æsthetic desire is what we call Beauty; the quality which it avoids or diminishes is Ugliness.

We have now come to the second main problem of æsthetics: what is Beauty? Is it a specific quality, more or less universally sought for and recognised? or is it the mere expression of certain variable relations, of suitability, novelty, tradition, and so forth? That beauty is visible adaptation to an end, human or divine, continues to be brought forward as a whole or partial explanation by a number of æstheticians. The notion is implicit, for instance, in Ruskin's insistence on the merely constructive and practical necessities of architecture. Yet this explanation has little philosophical credit, and was thoroughly refuted already by Kant, whose 'Urtheilskraft' is, by the way, an important contribution to æsthetics. Another explanation of beauty confuses it with the technical skill or the logical clearness necessary for its manifestation; another notion recurs in a subtler form in the recent tendency to make ease of perception not a condition, but an equivalent to beauty, the identification, for instance, of such simplifying of lines and planes as makes a picture or statue easily apprehended with such arranging of

Digitized by Google

them as makes it repay our apprehension of it. And this erroneous view is extremely difficult to avoid, and, in the present day, often goes with the greatest subtlety of artistic perception among æstheticians.

The alternative notion, that to be beautiful implies a relation entirely *sui generis* between visible and audible forms and ourselves, can be deduced from comparison between the works of art of different kinds, periods, and climates. For such comparison will show that given proportions, shapes, patterns, compositions, have a tendency to recur whenever art is not disturbed by a self-conscious desire for novelty. Such comparison will show that mankind has normally preferred its visible goods and chattels, for instance, to embody certain peculiarities of symmetry and asymmetry, balance and accent; and has invariably, when acting spontaneously and unreflectingly, altered the shapes afforded by reality or suggested by practical requirements until they have conformed to certain recurrent types. Such comparative study as this, just beginning in our days (thanks in some measure to mechanical facilitation like casting and photography), should become the very core of all æsthetic science. For only the study of the work of art itself can reveal what answers to the name of beauty, and on what main peculiarities of form this quality of beauty depends. And until we know this we shall continue the vague or even fruitless speculations of former philosophers as to how and why beauty affects us at all, and the random guesses of art critics as to the manner in which such beauty has been obtained.

This comparative study of art—the comparison of category with category, work with work, detail with detail—has depended, hitherto, mainly on the attempts to ascertain the authorship of individual works of art, on the part, for instance, of archæologists of the type of Furtwängler and Wickow, and of connoisseurs of painting of the Morelli school. And, on the other hand, it has been greatly helped by the studies and demonstrations of a small number of practical artists, like the sculptor Hildebrand in his book on Sculptural Form, and like Ruskin himself, not merely in his writings, but in the diagrams and illustrations with which he supplemented them. This study of the real constitution of the work of art will

Digitized by Google

probably sooner or later be enriched by the methodical comparison, not merely of form as it exists in art—art of the weaver, the potter, the armourer as much as of the architect or painter—and as it exists in superior and inferior work, but by the comparison also of form in real objects and form as modified, 'stylised,' by art. In the finest sculpture, antique and mediæval, the play of muscles, for instance, is not given as it is mechanically inevitable in reality; and many facts of bodily structure are deviated from in the search after agreeable surface and mass. Similarly, the perspective, the composition, of great pictures is at variance with that of real landscape; and in pattern as such, animal and vegetable shapes have been made congruous, symmetrical, rhythmical, so as to suit an æsthetic imperative recognisable equally in the basket-work of savages and the carvings of Gothic stonemasons.

I have used more than once the expression *æsthetic imperative*. Such an imperative is implicit, of course, in all artistic tradition, and directs the practice of every craftsman and every school. Nay, could we but translate into logical terms, into intelligible words, the unspoken and unformulated preferences which every artist, great or small, obeys, we should know very accurately what is and what is not beautiful, and wherein resides the essential quality of every work and every school of art. But as artistic practice is its own and only expression, and the reasons determining the craftsman are necessarily unconscious—in so far as we identify consciousness with logic and words—the study of what beauty is can be carried on only by the scientific methods of comparison and elimination. And we can symbolise as well as exemplify this method as applied to visual art, by taking the photograph of a real object and that of the same object artistically rendered; effacing, adding to, altering each until the two have become similar; pursuing the same system of practical analysis and synthesis with works of different kinds and degrees of merit; determining by such elimination and integration what constitutes what we call 'beauty'; and then verifying our conclusions by statistically treated comparison of recurrent artistic forms, of which the uniformity of recurrence would prove the universal acceptability.

Digitized by Google

But why should we thus prefer certain arrangements of lines, colours, surfaces and sounds—let alone of words? The psychological side of æsthetics, and its interdependence with all other questions of mental science, begins with this question, of which the scientific statement would be as follows: What facts of consciousness in the first place, what physiological processes in the second, appear to underlie or to accompany the satisfaction in certain forms as being beautiful, and the dissatisfaction in certain other forms as being ugly?

This problem, whose final solution is naturally conditioned by the general advance of psychology, of course repeats itself with reference to every kind of art, and every craft involving questions of beauty and ugliness. But in literature the question is immensely complicated by other interests, logical, emotional, and practical, which make up the bulk of what is only partially fine art; and it is obscured by detail questions like those of the direct action of words, none of which have been properly examined as yet. The æsthetics of music are, if possible, in a still more backward condition, owing to the special difficulty of self-observation and the hopeless confusion of the terms employed. So that, despite the value of men like Stumpf, Hanslick, and Dauriac, I am not aware of any progress since the masterly analysis of the late Edmund Gurney, whose great work on 'The Power of Sound' refuted all existing explanations without substituting any new ones. But the arts appealing to the eye have proved less refractory to psychological investigation; as they have, moreover, thanks to connoisseurs, archæologists, and anthropologists, been far more scientifically examined. So with regard to them it is already possible to show the chief tracks along which observation and hypothesis are moving, the direction in which all categories of art philosophy will be bound to go.

One of the most valuable negative results of modern æsthetics—a result to which the various students, connoisseurs, archæologists, historians, psychologists have co-operated without fully appreciating its importance—is the distinction between the qualities of a visible figure, pattern, or, more summarily, 'form,' and the qualities suggested by the identification of this form as representing a given object. For each of these sets of qualities can

Digitized by Google

affect us independently, even sometimes contradictorily; and the manner of perceiving them is not similar. Thus it is possible that a given form, that is, a given arrangement of lines, planes, and colours, may affect us as being what we call ugly, although the object represented, that is, the thing which we are made to think of, affects us as being what we call beautiful.

Take, for instance, certain painted or carved garlands: they give us the pleasure of thinking of the beauty, freshness, sweetness, etc., of flowers and the pleasantness of concomitant circumstances; yet they give us, at the same time, the displeasure of their broken lines and irregular bulgings, of confusion and lack of harmony; the flowers suggested were delightful, but the pattern suggesting them was wretched. Or take a portrait, say by Van Eyck or Rembrandt. It may strike us as ugly when we recognise it as the face of a human being, and endow it with its associated peculiarities of disagreeable texture, poor health, and bad temper or sensuality. But it may at the same time strike us as beautiful if we attend to its intrinsic peculiarities as a visible form, the manner in which it fills up space, the movement of lines and surfaces, the total harmony of its appearance.

This difference between the thing seen and the thing suggested explains why crowds will be interested by pictures which lovers of art reject utterly; and why, on the other hand, æsthetic persons will be fascinated by patterns on stuffs and shapes of utensils which the man bent on practical or literary interest passes by without a glance; and, similarly, why so many 'works of art,' illustrations to books or portraits for instance, will be thrown aside as eyesores after a moment's keen interest; whereas quite unobtrusive things, barely commented on at first, a cornice, a chair, a table, a pot, may work their way into our affections and cause positive distress by their defacement.

This difference between what is commonly designated as form and subject (though it were clearer to say 'form and object') corresponds with that between seeing and recognising. When a sportsman sees a hare previous to firing at it, he does not, he cannot, see the whole shape of the animal; but he notices, he detects, some peculiarity which, given the surroundings, suggests the notion of a

Digitized by Google

hare. Neither more nor less than the notion of a hare, that is to say, a synthesis of various qualities, is suggested to his dog by a certain scent. What are wrongly called optical delusions, by which we misjudge sizes, directions and shapes, and occasionally take one thing for another, a flat surface for a bossy one, smoke for water, a bush for a man, are a proof that the supposed act of seeing is, nine times out of ten, the mental construction of an object upon one or two visual indications.

This abbreviated way of seeing is usual whenever we have to decide what a fact of sight probably represents in order to adapt our action or to pass on to some other similar interpretation; it is the way of seeing characteristic either of rapid change in the world around us or of rapid shifting of our own attention. But the thorough and, so to say, real seeing, the perception of the visible form in its detail and its whole, takes place whenever we are brought long or frequently before the same external things, and have occasion to grow familiar with their aspect: it is in this manner that we see the rooms we inhabit, the country we live in, the clothes we wear, the tools we handle, the persons that we take interest in; the characteristic of this seeing, as distinguished from recognising, being the survival, in our memory, of an image, more or less vivid, of that thing's visible presence. Therefore, as already hinted, we may tolerate ugliness when we merely recognise, that is, detect a characteristic and follow a train of suggestion; but we demand beauty whenever our attention recurs to a form, lingers on its details, or is confronted steadily with its image in memory. And conversely, we avoid and forget the ugly facts of reality, while we seek to see once more, or to remember, all sights which have affected us as being beautiful. And whereas, of course, attractiveness of suggestion is the extrinsic quality of works of art, and the quality liable to change and to wearing out, this enduring fascination, this intrinsic merit, consists in the attractiveness, which we call beauty, of their form.

Now, the thorough seeing of form, the dwelling of our attention upon its intrinsic peculiarities, the realisation, in fact, of form as such, implies upon our part a special activity which, according to the case, is accompanied by satisfaction or dissatisfaction. This special activity is the

Digitized by Google

interpretation of form according to the facts of our own inner experience, the attribution to form of modes of being, moving and feeling similar to our own; and this projection of our own life into what we see is pleasant or unpleasant because it facilitates or hampers our own vitality.

The discovery of this projection of our inner experience into the forms which we see and realise is the central discovery of modern æsthetics. It had been foreshadowed by various psychologists, and is implied in the metaphor of many poets. But it owes its first clear statement and its appropriate designation to Lotze, who, fifty years ago, wrote in his 'Mikrokosmos' a passage destined to become classic in mental science, which I quote, because it presents this rather intricate psychological phenomenon in very familiar and intelligible instances.

'Our fancy meets with no visible shape so refractory that the former cannot transport us into it and make us share its life. Nor is this possibility of entering into the vital modes of what is foreign to us limited to creatures whose kind and ways approximate to ours; to the bird, for instance, who sings joyously in his flight. We participate just as well in the narrow existence of the mollusc, realising in imagination the monotonous well-being got by the opening and shutting of its shell. We project ourselves not merely into the forms of the tree, identifying our life with that of the slender shoots which swell and stretch forth, feeling in our soul the delight of the branches which droop and poise delicately in mid-air. We extend equally to lifeless things these feelings which lend them meaning. And by such feelings we transform the inert masses of a building into so many limbs of a living body, a body experiencing inner strains which we transport back into ourselves.' (Book v, cap. 2.)

'To imagine things as they are for themselves,' writes M. Souriau, a most suggestive psychologist, whose æsthetics would have been extraordinarily valuable if only he had added a knowledge of contemporary German thought to his own investigations on the subject:

'to imagine things as they are for themselves, is tantamount to imagining what they would be if they had an obscure consciousness of their own existence. Now we have only one way of thus imagining things from inside, and that is, to put ourselves inside them.'

Digitized by Google

For this 'putting ourselves inside' the things to which we attribute modes of feeling and acting similar to ours the German language has afforded a most fortunate expression; it calls it *Einfühlung*, literally 'feeling ourselves into.' Such projection of ourselves into external objects, such interpretation by our own experience of their modes of existence, such 'Einfühlung,' is not merely manifest throughout all poetry, where it borders on and overlaps moral sympathy, but is at the bottom of numberless words and expressions whose daily use has made us overlook this special peculiarity. We say, for instance, that hills roll and mountains rise, although we know as a geological fact that what they really do is to suffer denudation above and thickening below. Also that arches spring, cupolas soar, belfries point, although the material buildings obey simply the laws of gravitation. Nay, we attribute movement to motionless lines and surfaces; they move, spread out, flow, bend, twist, etc. They do, to quote M. Souriau's ingenious formula, what we should feel ourselves doing if we were inside them. For we *are* inside them; we have 'felt ourselves,' projected our own experience, into them. And here, before going deeper into this subject, and coming into the presence of the greatest discoverer in this field of æsthetics, let me ask the reader to think over the last sentence in my quotation from Lotze: 'We transform by such feelings the inert masses of a building into so many limbs of a living body.' That is the text, suggestive, but still very fragmentary. Here is the commentary, full, clear, and of the most far-reaching application, as given us by Theodor Lipps in his great work on 'Spatial Æsthetics and Optical Illusions':

'When the Doric column lifts itself, what precisely is it that does the lifting? Is it the mass of stone of which the column is made? . . . It is not the column, but the spatial image presented us by the column, which does this lifting. It is the lines, the surfaces, the bodily shapes, not the material masses embodying the surfaces, bounded by the lines, filling out a figured space; it is the lines, surfaces and shapes which bend or wind, which expand or contract. They also, and they alone, are for our æsthetic contemplation the loading element. It is not the roof of a building which presses down; it is the visible surface of the roof which presses down or

Digitized by Google

obeys a downward tendency. . . . The material masses combine, in the measure requisite to their material existence, their material weight, cohesion, carrying power, etc.; or combine them according as is most conducive to the material existence of the whole. The forms combine in the manner of their æsthetic character or in such manner as shall be æsthetically significant. Such significant combination o æsthetic relations is given in idea [i.e. to our imagination]. The arrangement of material masses constitutes the technical creation; but only this combination of æsthetic relations for our imagination constitutes a work of art. As in every other case, so here also the essential of the work of art is an imaginary world unified and self-contained ["eine und in sich zwar geschlossene ideelle Welt"].'

This phenomenon of æsthetic 'Einfühlung' is therefore analogous to that of moral sympathy. Just as when we 'put ourselves in the place' or more vulgarly 'in the skin' of a fellow creature, we are, in fact, attributing to him the feelings we should have in similar circumstances, so, in looking at the Doric column, for instance, and its entablature, we are attributing to the lines and surfaces, to the spatial forms, those dynamic experiences which we should have were we to put our bodies into similar conditions. Moreover, just as sympathy with the grief of our neighbours implies in ourselves knowledge of the conflicting states—hope, resignation, pain, and the efforts against pain—which constitute similar grief in our own experience; so this æsthetic attribution of our own dynamic modes to visible forms implies the realisation in our consciousness of the various conflicting strains and pressures, of the resistance and the yielding which constitute any given dynamic and volitional experiences of our own. When we attribute to the Doric column a condition akin to our own in keeping erect and defying the force of gravitation, there is the revival in our mind of a little drama we have experienced many millions of times, and which has become registered in our memory, even like that less common drama of hope, disappointment and anguish which has been revived in the case of our neighbour's grief and attributed to him.

But modern psychology, ever since the early work of Wundt, has inclined to teach us that a revival in memory is a repetition, however much blurred and

Digitized by Google

weakened, of a past process. So that when we project into the soul of our bereaved neighbour such feelings as we have ourselves experienced on similar occasions; when we interpret the forms of architecture in the terms of our own muscular pressures and strains, of our own volitional yielding and resistance, and of those combinations thereof which we designate as *rhythm*; we are in both cases, however seemingly different, producing in ourselves that particular dynamical experience which we attribute to the person we have sympathised with, to the form 'into which we have felt ourselves.' The projection of our experience into the *non-ego* involves the more or less vivid revival of that experience in ourselves; and that revival, according to its degree of vividness, is subject to the same accompaniment of satisfaction or dissatisfaction as the original experience. So, when this attribution of our modes of life to visible shapes and this revival of past experience is such as to be favourable to our existence and in so far pleasurable, we welcome the form thus animated by ourselves as 'beautiful'; and when all these processes of attribution and revival of our dynamic experiences are, on the contrary, unfavourable to us we avoid that form as 'ugly.'

Such, roughly stated and deduced out of the many examples and repetitions in his paper, appears to be the central hypothesis of Professor Lipps' 'Spatial Æsthetics.' Exclusively interested as he is in the problems of consciousness as such, averse from the materialistic tendencies of psycho-physics, and suspicious of all attempts at reducing ideas and emotions to bodily conditions, Professor Lipps proceeds no further in his examination of this question. Considered as an activity of the soul, *Einfühlung* cannot be denied existence. We irrefutably do possess dynamic experience; we revive it and derive satisfaction or dissatisfaction from its projection into what we call visible form.

This is all that Professor Lipps has cared to teach; and the teaching of this is enough for the unrivalled greatness of a single philosopher. But other æstheticians, unable to attain to Lipps' satisfactoriness of explanation, have pushed the problem of *Einfühlung* a good deal further. And here we come once more into the presence of Professor Karl Groos, who is, after Lipps,

Digitized by Google

decidedly the most important of contemporary German writers on these questions. Already in his earlier introduction to æsthetics, in 1892, he had insisted on a variety of æsthetic *Einfühlung* to which he had given the somewhat misleading name of 'Inner Mimicry'; and he has returned in his 'Spiele der Menschen,' and his second volume of æsthetics, to the notion that—

'in complete æsthetic enjoyment there are present motor phenomena of an imitative character, and that these show the sympathy in question (*Miterleben*) to be a bodily participation.'

The dynamic experience invoked by Lipps is referable, after all, to original movements. Does not its revival imply a renewal of some, at least, of the bodily phenomena constituting those movements? Professor Groos reminds us that feelings of muscular strain have been recognised, ever since the studies of Lotze and Fechner, to accompany in many persons the sight, or even the recollection, of fencing or billiard matches; that similar sensations in the vocal organs have been even more commonly remarked to attend the hearing or thinking of musical intervals; that there are such physical accompaniments to almost all emotional states, and that they have been disputed over, as universal or as limited to Charcot's 'motor type,' by physiologists quite innocent of æsthetics, like Professor Stricker and Dr Ballet. Moreover, Professor Groos has pointed out the sense of bodily excitement and well-being accompanying all strong æsthetic emotion, of which innumerable expressions in ordinary language are witness.

That æsthetic *Einfühlung* is based upon, or universally accompanied by, actual bodily changes, Professor Groos seems unwilling as yet to assert in the teeth of Lipps' hostility to such a notion. But having admitted that bodily accompaniments of æsthetic conditions may exist only among the large class of what are called 'motor individuals,' as distinguished from 'visualisers' and 'auditives,' he boldly claims that thorough æsthetic realisation, or what he calls 'inner mimicry' and consequent vivid æsthetic satisfaction, is limited exactly to the individuals of more or less 'motor' type, to those, in fact, presenting such bodily accompaniments to æsthetical conditions.

Digitized by Google

'It is probable' (he writes) 'that it may appear presumptuous on the part of us individuals of the motor type, if we believe ourselves to be capable of æsthetic enjoyment more intense than that of such others as are without all similar bodily resonance. But this view is only natural; the difference between us and them is just in the summation of present sensations with past ones, that is to say, in a more complete condition than theirs is.'*

Contemporaneously with the speculations of Lipps and of Groos, and in complete ignorance of both, an attempt was being made, by two English students of art history, to carry the same ideas still further in the direction of psycho-physical parallelism. In an essay on 'Beauty and Ugliness,' published in the 'Contemporary Review' (Oct. 1897), the æsthetic seeing, the 'realisation,' of form, was connected by C. Anstruther-Thomson and the present writer with bodily conditions, motor phenomena, of a most complex and important kind. It was claimed by these writers that a long course of special training had magnified not only their powers of self-observation, but also most probably the normally minute, nay, so to speak, microscopic and imperceptible bodily sensations accompanying the action of eye and attention in the realisation of visible form. Among these habitually disregarded or completely fused sensations, there could be distinguished, with certain individuals at least, not merely the 'muscular strains,' already noticed by Lotze and Fechner, and the vaguer organic perturbations referred to by Groos, but definite 'sensations of direction' (tensions corresponding to *up*, *down*, *through*, *alongside*, similar to those remarked upon by William James in his 'Psychology') and sensations of modification in the highly subtle apparatus for equilibrium; and finally, sensations of altered respiration and circulation sufficient to account for massive conditions of organic well-being and the reverse.

These observations, whether they deal with mere individual idiosyncrasy, with peculiarities (as Professor

* I have had to extend this sentence for greater clearness. Professor Groos' view has been borne out by the answers I have been able to get to a paper of questions. Out of fifty answers there is a remarkable agreement between the existence of æsthetic feelings and certain other characteristics of the 'motor type,' and *vice versâ*.

Digitized by Google

Groos suggests) of the 'motor type,' or whether they prove of more general character, were welded into a theory of æsthetic pleasure and pain by the perhaps hasty acceptance of what is known in recent psychology as the 'Lange-James Hypothesis.' Professors Lange and William James had, it should be explained, independently of one another, suggested that the conditions of bodily change, e.g., the reddening and shrinking of shame, the constriction, turning cold and white, the semi-paralysis of fear, which had hitherto been accepted as after-effects of various emotions, were, on the contrary, the contents of that 'feeling,' in fact, constituted, together with the idea of the feeling's objective cause, the whole of that feeling, say of shame or of fear. By an obvious analogy, the feeling of the various muscular strains, changes of equilibrium and respiratory and circulatory changes, might be considered as constituting the special æsthetic emotion, varying with every form contemplated, and agreeable or disagreeable according as these changes were or were not favourable to life as a whole. The hypothesis advanced in the 'Contemporary Review' sinned first by building upon the Lange-James theory, of which itself would be one of the strongest proofs; and secondly, by misapprehending the still most difficult problem whether pleasure and pain are separate emotions or merely modalities of all emotion. But, despite these and many other faults, the essay on 'Beauty and Ugliness' has an undeniable importance—that of originating not in psychological speculations, but in study of the individual work of art and its individual effects; and thereby attacking the central problem of æsthetics, and arriving at the fact of *Einfühlung*, from sides other than those whence Lipps, Groos and their followers have started.

If the authors of that essay were to restate their views after study of contemporary German æstheticians, and after additional observation and meditation on their own part, the result might be summed up, and the theory of *Einfühlung* rounded off as follows: All visual perception is accompanied by interpretation of the seen shapes in terms of previous experience. When attention shifts rapidly for the sake of practical adaptation or expression, the shape is seen in the most summary and

Digitized by Google

partial manner, barely sufficient to awaken the idea of peculiarities which may be associated with it, as texture, weight, temperature, position, smell, taste, use, etc., and to initiate, in most cases, some series of movements by which we adapt ourselves to these peculiarities. This process is that of recognising, naming; and it becomes an ever-shortened and more automatic act of guessing from a minimum of data at the real nature of the seen object and at our proper reactions towards its presence. Such is visual perception considered as recognition. But when, instead of such perfunctory shifting, the attention deals long or frequently (in actual present fact or in memory) with any visible shape, there sets in another kind of interpretation; and other data of experience become fused with those of sight. There become attributed to that shape not objective qualities with which it has previously been found accompanied, but modes of activity of our own evoked in the realisation of the relations of that shape's constituent elements; and, instead of adjusting to movements destined to react upon the seen object, our motor activities rehearse the tensions, pressures, thrusts, resistances, efforts, the volition, in fact, the life, with its accompanying emotions, which we project into the form and attribute to it.

Such is the *Einfühlung* of Lipps. Now this projection of our own dynamical and emotional experience into the seen form, implies a reviviscence of those particular dynamical and emotional experiences. If, as there is reason to think, revival in memory is tantamount to actual repetition of an inner process, this attribution of our life to seen shapes will, just in proportion to its intensity, imply or induce an activity in the bodily systems involved in the original dynamical or emotional experiences thus received and thus projected outside ourselves. And, whether through direct connection with the original dynamic experience, or owing to their greater or lesser facility, other bodily conditions, alterations, for instance, in the respiration and circulation, will also come into play, and add their particular quality and force to the total phenomenon of consciousness. According as this total condition, bodily or mental, is favourable or not to life, pleasure or displeasure will result; and, in all probability, this pleasure or displeasure

Digitized by Google

will itself provoke fresh organic alterations adding, in their turn, new doses of satisfaction or dissatisfaction to the existing mass.

Thus, whether we accept the Lange-James theory and view the revived dynamical conditions and their associated organic changes as constituting the æsthetic emotion; or whether we rest satisfied with the statement that the revived dynamic conditions are the cause, and the organic changes the result, of this æsthetic emotion; whichever alternative we choose, we should yet possess an hypothesis explaining why the realising in attention of a visible shape produces a feeling of pleasure or displeasure—a feeling sometimes filling the whole soul and occasionally marked by unmistakeable bodily sensations. Thus the logical development of the notion of æsthetic *Einfühlung*, its conception as a deep-reaching and intricate complexus of action and reaction of what we distinguish as body and soul, would explain how beauty has come to be associated with all our notions of order, of goodness, of health, and of more complete life; and ugliness, on the contrary, with everything by which the life of body and soul is diminished and jeopardised.

After thus analysing the presumable nature of the æsthetic phenomenon, it is perhaps well to remind the reader that, by the very constitution thereof, such analytical knowledge of it is denied us during its duration. For, in the first place, the dynamic conditions generated by constant repetition, and therefore bearing no sort of 'local marks,' are, by the act of 'Einfühlung,' projected out of ourselves and attributed to the seen shapes, much in the same way as changes in the eye and optic nerve are not localised in them, but projected, as the attribute colour, into the objects originally producing them. And, in the second place, the accompanying organic changes are also divested of definite 'local marks' and fused into a complex emotional quality (well-being, *malaise*, high or low spirits) which must be disintegrated before its components can be picked out. Hence, whatever the processes into which the æsthetic phenomenon be analysed by methods of special observation or reasoning, the phenomenon as such remains a dualism expressible only as follows: 'This form is beautiful'; and 'I like seeing this form.' Moreover, as both Professor

Digitized by Google

Lipps and the authors of the essay on 'Beauty and Ugliness' insist, the æsthetic phenomenon is individual, and varies with every single individual form; and, since it consists in the attribution of an individual and varying complexus of dynamic (and perhaps organic) conditions, it must always, in real experience, bear the character of the individual form by which it is elicited. There is, in reality, no such thing as 'the beautiful.' There are only separate and different beautiful forms.

The acceptance of some such explanation of the preference for beauty and the aversion to ugliness will make it evident why the æsthetic instinct, instead of calling any art into existence, in reality regulates the various formative, imitative, and expressive impulses which variously combine in the production of art; imposing upon these activities a 'how,' an imperative as categoric as the one which the moral sense imposes on the practical impulses of existence. Considered, moreover, as such a regulating instinct, æsthetic preference is evidently concerned with a field far wider than that of art. And, indeed, study of the crafts and manfactures whose evolution has not been (as in our transitional civilization) abnormally rapid, shows that all objects and all rites on which the attention dwells frequently or long, have taken that æsthetic character which we now-a-days associate, most falsely, with notions of uselessness or play. Indeed it is historically demonstrable (as Ruskin and Morris guessed) that the production of 'works of art' as such, and independent of ulterior purposes, is a mark of æsthetic decay or anarchy; for no form can be either fully perfected by the craftsman or appreciated by the public unless it be familiar; that is to say, unless its complete 'Einfühlung' be secured by repetition in every variety of application, as we find it the case with the forms of Egyptian, Hellenic, or mediæval art, which exist equally in the most exalted and the most humble applications. And similarly the separation of a class of 'artists (with its corresponding class of 'art-lovers') from ordinary craftsmen and average mankind, has always brought about æsthetic uncertainty, since this independent class has invariably tended to what is called 'art for art's sake,' that is to say, art in which technical skill, scientific

Digitized by Google

knowledge, desire for novelty or self-expression have broken with those traditions resulting from the unconscious sway of spontaneous æsthetic preference.

These traditions, representing the satisfaction of the æsthetic instinct through universal and long practice, are the stuff of every artistic style. The individual artist, however great, merely selects among the forms habitual in his youth and alters them, even as the mechanical inventor or the philosopher alters and developes the appliances or the systems of his predecessors. One of the earliest results of the historical and critical work of archæologists and 'connoisseurs' has been the recognition of the kinship between the masterpiece and the 'school-work' from which it arises and which arises from it; how many persons could tell a Giorgione, for instance, from a Cariani, or a Botticelli from a Bottacini? And the far harder problem of what difference of individual temperament lends to the masterpiece its irresistible vividness and harmony, its inexhaustible richness—this, the problem of artistic genius, allows us to guess (though itself unsolved) that the greatest innovator does not create out of nothing, but transmutes already existing forms into something possessing the familiarity of the old and the fascination of the new.

Hence we see that the most sovereign art has always arisen when genius has not been wearied in the search for novelty nor wasted in the making of things appealing only to the idle and superfine. We must not be misled, like Tolstoi, by the æsthetic anarchy resulting from that rush of inventions and reforms, that confusion of historically and geographically alien habits and standards, which has marked the last hundred years. Such moments of ferment and disintegration are necessarily rare and passing; and their artistic chaos or sterility is abnormal and of little consequence. The history of art shows, on the contrary, that even barbarism has not atrophied or interfered with the æsthetic instinct. We see that in any civilisation which was widespread, homogeneous and stable, the most consummate works of art could be enjoyed by every one, because the forms embodied in, say, the Egyptian temple or the Gothic cathedral, the Greek statue or Japanese painting, were the forms familiar in every craft, through an unbroken succession of kindred works of every degree

Digitized by Google

of excellence. Applying the conceptions of recent æstheticians, we perceive that the art of any time or country was the common property of all the men thereof, simply because the craftsmen had the habit not merely of those general relations of proportion and dimension whose *Einfühlung* is agreeable to the normal human being, but also of those more special forms into which the men of different places and periods have been wont to project, by æsthetic sympathy, the modes of acting and willing most favourable to their well-being.

That such æsthetic well-being, whatever its precise psychological and physiological explanation, is of a very deep-seated, highly-organised and far-spreading kind, has been, I trust, made evident to the reader of these pages. Dependent on all our habits of movement, of resistance, and of effort; commensurate with our experience of balance and volition; irradiated through our innermost bodily life, it is no wonder that æsthetic well-being should be associated with our preference for order, temperance, for aspiring and harmonious activity; or that philosophers, from Plato to Schopenhauer, should have guessed that the contemplation of beauty was one of the moral needs of the human creature.

Evolutional speculation may indeed add that this harmonious vitalising of the soul, this rhythmical co-operation of so many kinds of feeling and doing, this sympathising projection of man's modes into nature, and this repercussion of nature's fancied attributes in man's own life, have answered some utility by unifying consciousness and rhythmically heightening vitality. And, in the light of these theories, the irresistible instinct will be justified, by which all times and peoples, despite the doubts of philosophers and the scruples of ascetics, have invariably employed art as the expression of religion and bowed before beauty as a visible manifestation of the divine.

Such are the main problems which the new science of æsthetics has undertaken to solve; and such a few of the answers which it is already enabled to foreshadow.

VERNON LEE.

Digitized by Google

Art. V.—RETALIATION AND SCIENTIFIC TAXATION.

1. *Tariff Reform.* I. Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade. II. Speech delivered at Sheffield (October 1, 1903). III. Speech delivered at Bristol (November 13, 1903), together with Letter to the Rt Hon. J. Chamberlain, M.P. (September 16, 1903). By the Rt Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P. London: Longmans, 1904.
2. *Imperial Union and Tariff Reform.* Speeches delivered from May 15 to November 4, 1903, by the Rt Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P.; with an Introduction. London: Grant Richards, 1903.
3. *Trade and the Empire.* Four Speeches by the Rt Hon. H. H. Asquith, K.C., M.P. London: Methuen, 1903.
4. *The Prime Minister's Pamphlet.* By Julian Sturgis. London: Longmans, 1903.
5. *Elements of the Fiscal Problem.* By L. G. Chiozza Money. London: King, 1903.
6. *The Fiscal Dispute made Easy.* A Book for both Parties. By W. H. Mallock. London: Nash, 1903.
7. *The Free Trader.* Published for the Free Trade Union. Numbers 1–35. London, 1903–4.
8. *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times.* By W. Cunningham, D.D. Two vols. Part I: The Mercantile System. Part II: Laissez-faire. Cambridge: University Press, 1903.
9. *National Progress in Wealth and Trade since* 1882. By A. L. Bowley. London: King, 1904.
10. *Fifty Years of Progress and the New Fiscal Policy.* By Lord Brassey. London: Longmans, 1904.
11. *British Industries.* Edited by W. J. Ashley. London: Longmans, 1903.
12. *Imperial Preferential Trade from a Colonial Point of View.* By Adam Shortt. Toronto: Morang, 1904.

Now that Mr Chamberlain has allowed colonial preference to fall into the background, and has committed to his Tariff Commission the duty of formulating a model protectionist budget, the most immediately important thing before the country in the fiscal controversy is to understand the position of the Prime Minister. In the early days of Mr Chamberlain's new propaganda, and even at the time of his later speeches, the desire to ascertain

Digitized by Google

the precise extent to which Mr Balfour accompanied, or might be expected ultimately to accompany him, pushed aside any effort that might otherwise have been made to ascertain what Mr Balfour's own convictions and policy were. For this, no doubt, his declaration that he was without settled convictions—though recently explained as made in a restricted sense—was largely responsible. This phase has, however, now passed away; Mr Balfour has developed decided convictions, and it is well that the country should understand what they really are.

Mr Balfour limits his official policy to negotiation and retaliation, and in propounding the doctrine of retaliation he proceeds on distinctive lines. At Sheffield he limited retaliation to cases of outrageous unfairness towards British trade on the part of foreign nations. At Bristol he advanced considerably beyond his Sheffield lead; and on March 7, in Parliament, he incorporated in the exposition of his views not only all that he said at Bristol, but also the more comprehensive acceptance of colonial preference, retaliation, and the principle of taxing food embodied in his speech in the House of Commons on May 28, 1903. In his 'Economic Notes' Mr Balfour argued that international commerce ought to flow in a volume proportionate to the growing numbers and wealth of the population, but that hostile tariffs had prevented it from doing so; and he wanted to know whether we were to be permitted to take our fair share in the growing industrial progress of the world. His answer was:—

'I see no satisfactory symptoms. The highly developed industrial countries, like Germany, America, and France, give no sign of any wish to relax their protectionist system. The less developed protectionist communities, like Russia, and some of our own self-governing colonies, are busily occupied in building up protected interests within their borders—a process which is doubtless costly to them, but is not on that account the less injurious to us.'

At Bristol Mr Balfour returned to this aspect of the situation, and put a series of questions to opponents of fiscal reform. 'Are we to see,' he asked, 'one neutral country after another absorbed in the general stream of protection, while we are not to lift a finger to prevent it?' With regard to the consumer, he inquired whether his

Digitized by Google

interests are 'promoted by permitting a form of foreign bounty-fed competition by which the capital of our manufactures and the skill of our workmen are alike threatened?' In this description, it may be assumed, dumping is included. His next inquiry was whether opponents of tariff reform do not 'think it worth while, even at the possible cost of a temporary rise of price to the consumer, to save home industries, which it is easy to destroy but not easy to build up?' Next he inquired whether 'taxation is never, under any circumstances, to be imposed except for revenue purposes?'—a proposition that no sane human being has ever made. Finally, he asked, 'If our colonies give us preferential treatment, do they [the opponents of fiscal reform] or do they not mean to allow them to be penalised for their patriotism by any foreign power?' The Government, Mr Balfour said, answered all these questions in one way.

Such is Mr Balfour's expansion of the Sheffield 'lead.' Retaliation is to be a weapon not merely against 'outrageous unfairness' by high-tariff countries; it is to be used against neutral countries that propose to build up industries behind tariffs, and, for anything that appears to the contrary, against colonies that adopt such a policy; it is to be used against all forms of bounty—exceptional railway rates or shipping rates, as well as direct bounties, and the manipulations of Kartells and Trusts; it is to be employed against Germany or any other Power that differentiates against colonies that give the mother-country a preference; and it is not to remain unused merely because it may involve 'the possible cost of a temporary rise of price to the consumer.' This is not the Sheffield policy, nor anything like it. The idea underlying it is revealed in the 'Economic Notes.'

'The effect of any artificial stimulus to manufactures in a country like the United States of America, or Russia, or Canada, is to antedate the period when their food supplies will be required for internal consumption. Protection of manufactures diverts the supply of capital and labour from agriculture to manufactures. It diminishes the relative number of those who grow corn, and increases the relative number of those who eat it without growing it.'

In the interests of cheap food Mr Balfour wishes to keep foreign countries and colonies out of manufacturing

Digitized by Google

businesses as much as possible, and to retard their industrial development, so that they may provide abundance of food and raw material, for which we may exchange our manufactures. His case is that, if they become manufacturers themselves, and cease to have food and raw material to sell, they will no longer need to buy manufactures from us, and that therefore, no matter what our present wealth and progress and prosperity may be, we should no longer be able to exchange manufactures for food, and our trade would be ruined.

Mr Balfour's stand is taken without regard to existing facts or figures. These, whether indicative of prosperity or retrogression, in no way affect his apprehensions for the future. He despairs of complete success in fighting against all foreign industrial development; but it seems to him to be 'little short of national lunacy,' to be 'stark staring folly not to take what steps we can to prevent the growth of influences which augur so little good for the future industries of the country.' His fear of a collapse in trade because all foreign-grown food will be consumed abroad, is very far-fetched; and the idea that international commerce can be imperilled by the industrial progress of other nations is contrary to the experience of all civilised states. It would be possible only under a system of Chinese exclusiveness. Between commercial nations business must necessarily always be regulated by mutual indebtedness, necessity, and price; and in a food-buying competition the worst that could happen to us would be that we should have to buy at the cost of an increased exportation of our own products. This would mean that British manufactures and produce would decline in value, as measured by food, and the volume of exports would become larger but less profitable, until all the world would again grow food with which to purchase our cheap goods. Food prices would then fall, and the economic situation would have readjusted itself. All this, except the last point—as to which he is silent—is admitted by Mr Balfour himself in his speech of May 28.

Mr Balfour's policy, then, is an aggressive policy that challenges the whole world, and draws no distinction between colonies and foreign countries, or between competing and neutral nations. To be able to trade with all nations on the same terms as others does not satisfy him.

Digitized by Google

This may be secured by the most-favoured-nation clause; but he scorns advantages coming to us in so casual a way. When foreign Powers negotiate treaties they, he argues, look mainly after special interests of their own; and the concessions they secure are consequently of little value to us. This may be so, but the converse is equally true: if concessions secured by a foreign country do not concern us, they can do us no harm. If, on the other hand, their interests are ours too, we get all the advantages conceded to them. But, manifestly, though Great Britain is thus placed on an equal footing with all competitors, Mr Balfour's peculiar demands are not met. Other nations are not likely to negotiate commercial treaties that will enable British manufacturers to prevent the development of manufacturing industries in colonies and foreign countries, keep down the food-eating, and increase only the food-producing populations of the world. It is not any ordinary Protectionist policy that he pursues. Mr Chamberlain's 10 per cent. tax may be all very well as a means of introducing food-taxes and protecting capitalists and workmen against any disadvantages arising from our Factory Acts, sanitary regulations, labour laws, etc., from which foreign competitors are said to be free;* but it does not touch even the fringe of Mr Balfour's great ambition. He is bent upon extending the area of free trade; and, though he admits that complete success is beyond his reach, he is ready, when he gets his mandate, to tax food, raw materials, manufactures, or anything else, at the 'possible cost of a temporary rise in price to the consumer,' if only by so doing he can induce competing colonies and countries to toe his special tariff line. This is not the policy of a namby-pamby tariff reformer. It may stop temporarily at this point or that, but the ultimate object Mr Balfour has in view involves combat.

To attempt to retard the industrial development of other nations by retaliation must involve tariff wars. 'Does this country, then,' Mr Balfour fiercely asks, 'exist on sufferance?' The question is wholly irrelevant. What has to be determined is whether tariff wars are worth their cost, and whether it is wise to provoke them. Look

* Mr J. Tennant has shown, in a paper in the 'Monthly Review' for last March, that the advantages supposed to be enjoyed by foreign manufacturers, owing to the absence of such restrictions, are mostly non-existent.

Digitized by Google

at the 'Reports on Tariff Wars between certain European States,' issued last February. Incidentally, all these reports show the absurdity of Mr Chamberlain's allegation that foreign tariffs are directed specially against this country, and the crudity of Mr Balfour's idea that the most-favoured-nation clause is of no value to us. Mr Leech, of the embassy at Rome, points out that, in the Italian tariff of 1887,

'the categories chiefly affected, both as regards increased duties and new classification, were chemical products, yarns and tissues of flax, hemp, jute, cotton and wool, metals, iron and steel manufactures, earthenware, glass, and fancy hardware.'

Great Britain is interested in all these articles, and the most-favoured-nation clause applies to them all. The grounds for these increased duties were officially reported to be the necessity for protection for national industry, for assisting the national treasury, and 'for possessing weapons wherewith to fight France, Austria-Hungary, and Switzerland, in the then impending treaty negotiations.' Here, then, is the very policy that we are invited to adopt. The tariff war began on March 1, 1888. It continued eleven years, and cost Italy and France about 60,000,000*l.* each. It brought most benefit to Germany and Great Britain; but Spain, Portugal, and Algeria also profited by it.

'The application of the differential tariffs took from the French the custom of Italy for her colonial products, and notably reduced the traffic in silk and woollen goods, porcelain, glass, wrought iron, machinery, and hosiery, to the advantage of other manufacturing countries, especially Germany'; while 'differential duties had almost ruined the Italian export trade to France, as well as the import trade from that country. . . . What is, however, not shown outwardly, is the depression created in the import trade of the whole country by these differential duties, which favour fraudulent declarations of origin and smuggling to a very considerable extent, and thus vitiate the whole tone of general commerce, to the great detriment of public finance.'

Finally, Italy found the war unendurable.

'They did not know whether their example would be followed, but the time had come when the interests of the great mass

Digitized by Google

of consumers in the country must be taken into consideration. Having tried the effects of a war tariff, they proposed in their own interests to do away with it, lest it should become permanent. In doing so they were convinced that they would put new life into their international commerce, and that increased exportation would follow its repeal.'

Retaliation was ruinous; it failed and forced on the Italian Government and nation some appreciation of free trade principles. In February 1899—eleven years after the tariff war began—a commercial arrangement was concluded; but,

'in spite of the new commercial treaty, Franco-Italian trade has not shown any permanent indication of improvement since the war of tariffs—the total volume not exceeding the half of what it was before.'

Not much encouragement for a retaliation policy here! Very much the same results, though not to so disastrous an extent, attended the Franco-Swiss tariff war. Both countries lost heavily, and trade was diverted to Germany and Belgium, Spain, Austria, and in a small degree to England and the United States. And, though the war ended in the autumn of 1895, 'the trade relations between France and Switzerland have not even yet recovered the prosperity of thirteen years ago.'

The tariff war between Germany and Russia did not last long enough to cause any permanent diversion of trade into new channels, but some of the details in the reports respecting it are important. Short as it was, Mr Spring-Rice, secretary of the embassy at St Petersburg, says that,

'in the opinion of both Governments a continuation of the war would have led to very serious consequences—some of a political character—and there appears to have been great relief when peace was concluded.'

It is clear that the war was the product of the high-tariff policy of the two Powers concerned. Moreover, according to Mr Buchanan of the Berlin embassy,

'the example set by Germany was soon followed by other nations, until the barriers by which German trade was excluded from foreign markets counterbalanced the protection which it enjoyed in its own. By the year 1890 matters had

Digitized by Google

reached such a pitch that a continuation of the system then obtaining on the Continent seemed bound to lead to a general tariff war.'

Negotiation of commercial treaties therefore became a necessity to Germany; and that country's weapon was a tax on food. In the words of Mr Spring-Rice,

'Germany was guided by the wish to secure her food supply by obtaining a market for her manufactures; that is, to give a free market for food-stuffs in exchange for a free market for finished goods.'

This is Mr Chamberlain's policy; we are to tax food to secure a market for our manufactures. It is a policy that is bitterly opposed by the German agrarians, who insist upon high food taxes for the benefit of agriculture, while the Socialists are in favour of cheap food. In the war with Russia the policy of bartering with food taxes was effective; but this is not a policy that Mr Balfour as yet ventures to recommend here; and it is not apparent that German and Russian commercial intercourse would not have enjoyed equal prosperity under tariffs that would not have led to war.

On the whole, then, it appears that excessively high tariffs disturb international relations; that, at best, tariff wars are of doubtful efficacy; and that the experience of France, Italy, and Switzerland is that they divert trade to the advantage of competing countries, and inflict enormous loss upon the combatants themselves, without bringing any adequate compensation in return. And there is no evidence that tariff wars help in the slightest degree to extend the area of free trade.

While Mr Balfour bases his policy on the assumption that dynamic forces are menacing British trade, Mr Chamberlain originally, at all events, based his upon the alleged decay of British commerce, especially with protected countries, and upon the supposed greater progress in recent years of foreign protected states. But his statistics have broken down. 'My figures,' he says, 'have been questioned; not that it has been denied that the figures themselves were correct, but it has been suggested that other figures might be produced which would tell a different tale.' Other figures have been produced

Digitized by Google

and have not been refuted. At Newcastle Mr Chamberlain complained that his opponents looked only at what he might call positive statistics, 'and never look to comparative statistics, which are a very important part of this argument.' Before he spoke at Birmingham his statistics, positive and comparative, had been convincingly refuted. Then his declaration was that if trade declines or does not increase, 'I do not care what may be the truth as to comparative figures.' He has therefore left figures to the Tariff Commission, and so gets rid of Lord Goschen, Mr Ritchie, Lord Brassey, and all other antagonists who attach value to actual facts of trade as revealed by an analysis of statistics. If figures were regarded, there are none better or more dispassionately and candidly analysed than those of Mr A. L. Bowley in 'National Progress in Wealth and Trade'; but Mr Chamberlain elects to push his policy on the ground that he sees signs portending the decadence of British trade and the ultimate disruption of the Empire.

He complains that our exports of manufactures to foreign countries are declining and those of raw material increasing; that we are shut out of foreign countries by high tariffs, while foreigners dump their surplus products here, and are assailing our position all over the world. But these are the stock complaints of the last hundred years. There has never been any long period in which they have not been heard. They were investigated by the Fair Trade Commission in 1884–5, with results too well known to need recapitulation. A quarter of a century earlier, on November 29, 1859, a large and influential meeting of shipowners was held at the London Tavern 'to take into consideration the present ruinous condition of British shipping.' Representatives from all parts of the country were there. Spain had just negotiated a commercial treaty with the United States; and Mr Bramley Moore, whose name is perpetuated in the Bramley-Moore Dock at Liverpool, said

'that was the way this country should act. It could beat the world on fair terms, but there was such a thing as being overweighted and overburdened. He was an entire and thorough-going free trader; but his view of free trade was that if he bought from a trader he expected the privilege of selling to him as well. He would deal with a nation as he

Digitized by Google

would deal with an individual. . . . Last year we imported from France fourteen millions in value of their manufactures, on which an enormous amount of labour had been expended, and had left an immense profit to the French nation. In the same time France had taken from us four millions in value; and that was composed almost entirely of unmanufactured articles on which no labour had been expended. Our exports consisted only of raw materials taken from the bowels of the earth and other sources, but in which no manufacturing labour had been expended. Surely it would not be too much to ask France to receive, on some definite and moderate duties, our crockery, woollens, and other manufactures. All this would tend to increase and ensure the peace of the world, and that prosperity of the shipping interest of both nations, to a degree that each had never before known.'

A few years later British trade was advancing by 'leaps and bounds.' The 'Times' declared that it was 'ashamed to have to report such meetings.' 'If,' it added,

'all this periodical whining means no more than the old cry for Protection, they may depend upon it that the people of England now know that this cry, put into plain words, means no more than this: "Good, kind people of England, do tax yourselves and your families, and give the money to us and our families."'

Take another step backwards, and we come to that resolution of the Common Council of the City of London in 1842, quoted by the Duke of Devonshire at the Guildhall, deploring the 'continuous and increasing depression of the manufacturing, commercial, and agricultural interests.' This testimony of the Common Council of the City to the deplorable condition of industry and agriculture does not stand alone. There was a great meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce * on December 13, 1838, which included 'men of every political party, comprising seven county magistrates, the mayor and eight aldermen of the borough of Manchester,' and 'the most extensive manufacturers in the Kingdom.' These men were met to 'make known to the world that their

* 'The Corn Laws. An authentic report of the late important discussions in the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, of the destructive effects of the Corn Laws upon the Trade and Manufactures of the Country. London: Ridgways, 169, Piccadilly. MDCCCXXXIX.'

Digitized by Google

industry is decaying beneath the rivalry of foreign manufactures.' There was no lack of evidence in support of the allegation; there was so much that it is impossible, within reasonable limits of space, even to condense it. Mr J. B. Smith (retired merchant and county magistrate) gave an account of existing foreign competition. Here are some of his figures relating to the export of manufactures:—

	1820.	1837.
	yds.	yds.
Cotton cloth to Russia	13,203,857	847,022
,, ,, Prussia . . .	5,442,535	nil
,, ,, Germany . . .	47,658,285	38,581,533

Mr Chamberlain cannot now produce figures showing diminutions in exports comparable with these. But Mr Smith presented 'a more fearful state of things,' and showed that continental countries had become manufacturers themselves, and that Lancashire was merely spinning yarn for them. Here are his figures of exports of twist:—

	1820.	1837.
	lbs.	lbs.
Cotton twist to Russia. . . .	8,762,347	23,910,019
,, ,, Germany and Prussia .	11,682,683	36,109,100
,, ,, Netherlands . .	232,474	17,457,232
,, ,, France. . . .	none	354,025
,, ,, South Europe . .	2,003,000	14,172,708

Mr Smith next went on to speak of decline in the woollen and linen exports, and in the trade of Sheffield and the Midlands. The export of finished iron and steel products, he showed, was diminishing, not relatively, but absolutely, and that of raw material was increasing; and

'with these vast exports of raw iron and unwrought steel, added to the export of coal, the foreign manufacturers were enabled to make articles at a cheaper rate than in this country; and it was important to notice the great increase in the export of coals coincident with the increase in that of raw iron and unwrought steel.'

Digitized by Google

Wolverhampton, it was shown, was being undersold in its own products, in Wolverhampton itself, by 'much cheaper' goods from Germany. Russian hardware was cutting British goods out of Constantinople; Germany and France were supplanting England in Portugal and Spain; and even 'Brummagem buttons,' which are giving Mr Chamberlain deep concern now, 'were imported from France, and, after paying a duty, were sold for less in the London market than they could be made for in Birmingham.' The manufacture of gilded toys had passed from Birmingham to France; Saxony was underselling Leicester in stockings; Derby furniture makers were being ruined by the importation of foreign rosewood and mahogany goods; America was exporting machinery to Russia; cheap foreign gloves were destroying the British trade; and 'our population was increasing, while the means of employment and of subsistence were decreasing.'

But Mr Smith did not tell the whole story. Mr Richard Cobden was present at the meeting and gave the Chamber the benefit of his observations during a recent tour in Germany. He explained that, previous to the passing of the corn law of 1828, manufacturers and spinners pressed for the prohibition of the exportation of machinery; and this was granted. The result was that foreigners were making their own machinery and were employing English workmen. At Dresden, Chemnitz, Prague, Vienna, Elberfeld, and Aix-la-Chapelle, large machine-making businesses were being carried on by Englishmen. At Liège, a Haslingden man had the largest machine-making works in the world, and was employing nearly four thousand hands. At Zurich Mr Cobden found one Englishman at the head of a foundry, and another at the head of a forge, 'casting five tons of iron a day, brought from England, into spindles, rollers, and wheels, for the spinners and manufacturers of Austria, Saxony, and Bavaria. In almost every large town,' said Mr Cobden, 'there were English mechanics instructing the natives to rival us.' If Mr Chamberlain had lived in those days he would have seen signs in favour of free trade.

If another backward step of twenty years be taken—years filled with complaints of agricultural distress and protests against excessive rents—we come to the period

Digitized by Google

of financial perturbation and severe commercial depression that accompanied the return to cash payments after the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars, and to the petition of the merchants of the City of London (quoted by the Duke of Devonshire at the Guildhall) in favour of free trade, which protested against the doctrine that the 'importation of foreign commodities occasions a diminution or discouragement of our own productions to the same extent.'

This cursory survey of the history of a century shows that there is nothing unprecedented in the industrial and commercial conditions of to-day, and that all the 'dynamic forces,' and all the 'symptoms' that are giving alarm now, were present in greatly aggravated form when protective duties and colonial preferences were still in force. To be sure, from Mr Balfour's special point of view, there is something new. Until now no one has ever thought it necessary to guard against the possibility that foreign food supply might fail us, not temporarily during a blockade, but through actual scarcity. But, if such a possibility be conceivable, it should be our very last policy to tax foreign food with the object of limiting the area of supply to the colonies.

We are told that we must abandon old shibboleths and adopt methods that are scientific; but it is not scientific to quarrel with the laws of evolution. Let us leave our examination of present-day policies and see what light history can throw upon the question. And here we have an invaluable guide in the revised and amplified edition of Dr Cunningham's 'Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times.'

From the very beginnings of trade in England there has been a contest between protection on the one hand and liberty to work and to trade on the other. The old guilds of the Middle Ages were close corporations that boycotted all who were outside their sphere. 'Foreigners' from one town were not allowed to sell their goods within another, unless, indeed, there happened to be a reciprocity treaty between the two. The tyranny of guilds, where they existed, drove commerce into 'free-trade' towns such as Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, and by 'protection' brought ruin upon protected

Digitized by Google

cities. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries companies of merchant adventurers became the authorised exporters of certain manufactures, especially cloth; and merchant staplers enjoyed the monopoly of exporting the 'staple' raw products of the country—wool, leather, tin, and lead. Exclusiveness in trade was the spirit of the age; and it was a great concession to liberalism when, in 1381, Richard II, in reserving all foreign commerce for the King's ships, made one exception in favour of 'several associations of foreigners,' chiefly Germans of the Hanseatic League.

As Europe emerged from the mediæval into the modern stage of history, the whole economic, as well as the social, ecclesiastical, and political condition of nations and of the world changed. In the 'Growth of English Industry and Commerce' Dr Cunningham tells the story of industrial and commercial development. The days of Elizabeth inaugurated a new age in which geographical discoveries, the acquisition of great stores of treasure in the New World, political developments on the Continent, the plantation of colonies, the opening of new markets, financial and industrial progress, and commercial enterprise, dwarfed the petty interests of individual cities and led men to branch out into commerce over the widest possible field. Antwerp was the first city to recognise that the day of restricted trade was gone. Strangers were free to buy and sell there, and it became the mart of the world. British interests were served by large immigrations of refugees, skilled in various new industries, and by the wisdom of Cecil in developing the mineral, agricultural, and manufacturing industries of the country. But it was shipping that received special care. The last of the privileges reserved for Hanseatic merchants by Richard II was taken away; native shipping gained a virtual monopoly; trading companies were formed; and 'every department of industry and agriculture as well as commerce' was made subservient to the building up of British shipping.

Even agricultural interests were subordinated to shipping; and liberty was given to export wheat, when the price did not exceed ten shillings, in order that British ships might compete with those of the Hanse merchants, who were the great grain-carriers of the period. Indeed,

Digitized by Google

by capturing a corn fleet belonging to the Hanse League that was conveying food to Spain, the British, in 1597, struck a blow at the League from which it never recovered. This was the policy by which Queen Elizabeth fought Spain, struggled against the financial and commercial supremacy of Antwerp, and retaliated upon the Hanse merchants for expelling British merchant adventurers from Hamburg. British traders brought against the merchant adventurers complaints very similar to those brought against 'shipping rings' to-day; but they undoubtedly rendered valuable service in pushing British trade abroad, as, in more distant fields, monopolist companies did in India, Hudson's Bay, Africa, the Baltic, and elsewhere. Traders, however, especially cloth-makers in the West of England, resisted these monopolising companies, and encouraged 'Interlopers,' who traded on independent lines, as 'tramps' do in the shipping trade now. Nor did state interference with commerce pass unquestioned. Dr Cunningham, referring to the fiscal measures of the Commonwealth period, says that

'the merchants and tradesmen of London pointed out, in 1654: "All who understand trade know that the best expedient to attract and enlarge it is to make the ports free, while these acts would contract home trade, and almost extinguish foreign; whereas the enlarging the freedom of the ports, for import and export, would make this country the magazine of both eastern and western nations"' (i, 186).

There must have been a Cobden in the City of London even in Cromwell's time. But there was a Chamberlain too, for here we have Dr Cunningham quoting Roger Coke to this effect:—

'We have lost the Trade to Muscovy, so have that to Greenland, the trade to Norway possessed by the Norwegians, and the Reasons given in to the Parliament last Sessions. The Trade to Guinney driven by a few, and exclusive to other men: The Spanish and Turkey Trades abated, and in danger: So that unless it be in the French and Canary Trades, wherein we undo ourselves, we are making haste to betake ourselves to our Plantations only, yet shall not be long able to continue that trade for want of shipping' (i, 187).

'Some trades had gone and others were going' even two hundred and fifty years ago. Coke admitted that in

Digitized by Google

the times of James I and Charles I trade had prospered, 'but this was by an accident of the times not to be again hoped for'—the defection of the Netherlands from Spain, and forty years of peace for England while war between Spain and the Netherlands continued. Our own civil war and Cromwell's war with Spain, during which British commerce could not be protected at sea, proved disastrous to England's commercial position; and Cromwell's Navigation Laws of 1651 altogether failed to counteract these evils. England, in fact, had not a supply of ships that could meet the requirements of trade, and while this was so the Dutch merchantmen met with no effective competition.

During the Cromwellian period the whole aspect of things changed. The possibility of regulating labour, wages, and prices by law, and of limiting commerce to monopolist companies of merchant adventurers, had gone for ever, except in regard to the Far East; and the country had definitely entered upon the era of capitalistic enterprise and larger individual liberties. To quote Dr Cunningham: 'The Interregnum and the Restoration period approached more nearly to *laissez-faire* conditions than had ever been deemed wise before; and, in so far as public authority interfered, the initiative was taken, not by the Crown, but by Parliament.' In one direction, however, there was continuity of policy. 'Cromwell was for the most part content to follow the lines of policy laid down by James I and Charles I.' With this object in view, Cromwell created a permanent Committee of Trade; and Charles II pursued the same policy. With this body, it is suggested, lies the real decision about such disputed matters as the Navigation Acts, the efficiency of which, as a weapon against the Dutch mercantile marine, Dr Cunningham, with good reason, calls in question. The protectionist ideas of the period are well illustrated by a question from a pamphlet appealing to Charles II to protect English salters against those of Scotland, and 'to prevent the importation of any manufacture from abroad which might be a detriment' to manufacturers at home. This was the policy adopted to shut out Irish cloth from England; but the results were evil, for Irishmen, deprived of work at home, emigrated to France and greatly promoted the prosperity of the

Digitized by Google

cloth trade there, just as the Huguenots and other refugees brought new industries into England.

During the seventeenth century there was much discussion of such matters as the incidence of taxation, the effect of exports and imports upon internal prosperity, the 'balance of trade,' the influence of bullion movements, and cognate subjects. But that economic science had made little advance in the nation at large, was shown by the reception given to Walpole's progressive policy in the early years of the eighteenth century. Walpole's policy was to reform the tariff 'so as to give the greatest possible stimulus to the trading and manufacturing interests.' 'It is very obvious,' he remarked, 'that nothing would more conduce to the obtaining so public a good (i.e. general tranquillity and the extension of commerce) than to make the exportation of our manufactures, and the importation of the commodities used in manufacturing them, as practical and easy as may be.' Walpole, however, sought to secure his object by means that were far in advance of his time.

'Walpole was anxious to leave the carrying trade as free as possible, and to substitute, for duties on the importation of foreign goods, excises on their consumption at home. He hoped by this means to render the whole island "one general free port and a magazine and common storehouse for all nations." He managed to effect this change in regard to tea, coffee, and chocolate, which were deposited in bonded warehouses and charged with duty when taken out for home consumption, and he was able to increase the revenue from these commodities by 120,000*l.* a year. When he attempted to extend the principle, however, to all imported goods as well as to articles of home production, like salt, the deep-seated prejudice against an excise was at once aroused' (i, 429).

Walpole failed to carry his policy. He found the merchants of London less advanced in their economic views than they were in Roger Coke's day. They declined to accept his assurance that his measure would 'tend to make London a free port, and by consequence the market of the world.' The jealous protection of home industries was insisted upon. It was in accordance with this policy to barter English cloth against Portuguese wine in a treaty with Portugal; to impose differential duties on

Digitized by Google

imports from France in order to exclude the manufactures of that country; to give a bonus on the exportation of wheat for the encouragement of British agriculture; to give bounties to the sea-fisheries, and on shipbuilders, and on various colonial products used in ship-building; to exclude foreign ships as much as possible from British trade; to require British ships to be built in British yards and manned by British subjects; and to reserve the colonies absolutely for British trade. These were the lines on which the Navigation Laws of Cromwell and Charles II were founded; and the policy based on these principles continued until it was ruthlessly broken in upon by American Independence.

From this point Dr Cunningham's broad review of events marches onward towards the repeal of the Corn Laws. But this is a rather misleading *point d'appui*. Not the Corn Laws but the Navigation Laws were, as we have seen, the pivot of the Elizabethan policy; and it was from the first breach in the Navigation Laws that the Manchester school dated the beginning of the country's free trade policy—an opinion in which the Duke of Devonshire, in his Guildhall speech, concurred. Even before the American secession new conditions were beginning to revolutionise industrial life in England. Mechanical invention in the textile trades, utilisation of water power, the construction of canals, and the growth of the capitalistic system in industry and commerce, were preparing the way for the advent of steam power and the factory system, and for railways and steam communication on the ocean. The Napoleonic wars disorganised the finance of the country until, as Sydney Smith put it, there were taxes upon everything that it was 'pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell or taste'; but trade went on. The suspension of cash payments and the issue of paper money did not check but stimulated enterprise and speculation; and the corn duty, backed by the war demand for food, stimulated the enclosure of commons and the cultivation of inferior land. The country prospered in spite of the war; but, when it ended and a cash basis had to be restored, prices collapsed, trade fell away, employment could not be found for the people, and the whole industrial and mercantile world sunk into deep distress.

Then it was found that the Navigation Laws stood in

Digitized by Google

the way of national prosperity. A select committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1820 to inquire into the prevailing distress and to discover remedies, found that British demands for light dues, port charges, and local and general rates were so great that English ports were shunned by foreign ships, and that foreign trade was 'rather tolerated than encouraged.' During the war a great effort was made to destroy the oversea trade of France; but this only resulted in war with the United States, and rendered still more necessary reciprocal arrangements with that country. The Navigation Laws had always been obnoxious to the American colonists. Huskisson now came to the conclusion that colonial prosperity was cramped and impeded by them; and the Americans themselves retaliated upon England by exclusive Navigation Laws of their own. The Commons' committee of 1820 found that 'the efficacy of protecting laws and discriminating charges was defeated the moment that other countries began to resort to the same measures.' Continental nations as well as the United States were resorting to the same measures in regard to the Navigation Laws; and, in recommending a relaxation of the British system, the committee 'selected shipping as the first trade to be dealt with,' in order that Great Britain might become an emporium of commerce. The Elizabethan policy had done its work. Other interests could no longer be subordinated to shipping. The central fortress of the protective system was successfully assailed.

No sooner was the Reciprocity Act passed than shipowners discovered that, as Baltic timber was kept out of England by a duty of 2*l.* 15*s.* per load, while colonial was admitted at 10*s.* per load, Germans could build ships at half the cost of English vessels; and that British shipowners were further handicapped by duties on sails, cordage, ship-chandlery, and dear food, as well as by higher interest and insurance charges upon the more costly British ships. The cheaply built and cheaply worked foreign ships reduced freights to the Mediterranean one half, to Europe generally one third, and cut into the Irish and colonial trades at one half the freight charged by British owners. This cheapening of transit benefited trade but hit shipowners hard. It was estimated that

Digitized by Google

between 1816 and 1826 the value of British tonnage fell from 12*l.* per ton to 8*l.*, and that this represented a loss of thirteen millions sterling; while the decline in freight represented a yearly loss of thirteen millions more. With both shipowners and manufacturers groaning under the high prices of a protective tariff, and finding it impossible to compete with the low prices of food and labour on the Continent, and with farmers ruined by high rents and low prices (for England) consequent on a succession of exceptionally abundant harvests, the whole protectionist system broke down. This was what forced from Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, in January 1846, the momentous declaration that,

'wearied with long and unavailing efforts to enter into satisfactory commercial treaties with other nations, they had resolved at length to consult their own interests, and not to punish those other countries for the wrong they were doing us in continuing their high duties by imposing high duties ourselves.'

Huskisson's reciprocity policy—freedom to negotiate, as Mr Balfour would say—had failed, as well as the protectionist system; and the Corn Laws were repealed, not merely because of the Irish famine—though that was the immediate inciting influence—but because British industrial and commercial interests demanded full liberty of expansion. They had already been nursed too long and could endure it no longer. Protective duties and the Navigation Laws, reciprocity and colonial preferences, all died together.

Free trade has certainly succeeded. The anticipations of the House of Commons' committee of 1820 have been realised. No longer Amsterdam or any other foreign city but London is the financial centre of the world. England has become the emporium of 'both Eastern and Western nations,' as Roger Coke saw that it might be with free ports; and our only fear now is that its great position may be successfully assailed. That it has not yet been successfully assailed is shown by Mr Schuster in his paper on 'Foreign Trade and the Money Market,' published in the 'Monthly Review' for last January. The 'excess of imports over exports,' that alarms Mr Chamberlain, is, as

Digitized by Google

Mr Schuster shows, 'the measure of our prosperity, so long as our earning power through invisible exports is not decreased thereby.' If England is, without knowing it, becoming deeply indebted to foreign nations, then, indeed, part of the excess of imports may represent that indebtedness, and our commanding position may be in process of being undermined. Of such a disastrous situation Mr Schuster looks for evidence in the money market, where alone it could be found, but finds none; and, until some is found, his formula stands that 'the excess of imports is the measure of our prosperity.' With that measure no other nation can compare.

But nothing will satisfy Mr Balfour that our policy is wise unless other nations adopt it. In this attitude he turns his back upon past experience. But it should be some comfort to him to know that Germany has found it necessary to adopt free trade in ship-building materials in order that it may build cheap ships, while the United States have scarcely a native-built ship upon the ocean, because their protective system keeps them in the position British shipbuilders were in when Huskisson passed his Reciprocity Act. America was the power that, by retaliation, did more than any other to break down our Navigation Laws; and America has seen her ships swept off the ocean by free trade vessels. The essential conditions of industry and commerce have not changed since Sir Robert Peel discarded reciprocity for a policy of our own; and if, in specific cases, dumping or other exceptional conditions disturb the ordinary current of competition, retaliation is shown by our survey of our own history, and by the later experience of continental states, to be a two-edged remedy that may, perhaps, be used with effect, but may also be more deadly than the disease it is to cure.

If conditions of international competition have been only modified by the development of industries and the march of prosperity in other nations, there has been a distinct and marked change in the position and condition of the colonies. Free trade was an emancipation for them as well as for us. Mr H. E. Egerton, in his 'Short History of British Colonial Policy,' makes this clear. Lord Durham's liberal policy in Canada synchronised with the deliverance of the colony from the trammels of the British mercantile system. The Australian and New

Digitized by Google

Zealand colonies were still in their infancy, and had barely outgrown the associations of Botany Bay. What Parliament was concerned about in those days was the disposal of Australian waste lands and the application of part of the proceeds to the encouragement of emigration. The old 'plantation' idea had not wholly disappeared, and it was thought necessary to keep the colonies well in hand. 'Even so late,' says Mr Egerton, 'as the time of the Reform Bill, a Secretary of State could assert that the effect of allowing a popular Assembly in the projected colony of South Australia would be "to create within the British monarchy a Government purely republican."'

Mr Balfour and Mr Chamberlain think, as Lord Beaconsfield once thought, that the concession of self-government to the colonies should have been accompanied by retention of effective control over their fiscal systems; but the whole history of the American colonies demonstrates the impracticability of such a policy. There were only three possible policies. The colonies could be left in the hands of the Colonial Office, or they could be allowed to manage their own affairs—which was what they desired—or they could have been taken into partnership with the mother-country, and given a share in the government of the Empire. But this was a policy that could not then be thought of; the colonies were still very young. Lord John Russell's anticipations have been fully realised. The colonies have grown up to be great kindred communities under local governments of their own, pursuing their own independent course of progress and prosperity, and jealously maintaining the ties that by feeling and principle unite them to the mother-country. That this is not a final but a transition stage is true; and the future has to discover the means by which these ties may be even more firmly knit together, and a united Empire be found that, while independent in all its parts, shall be indissolubly one in dealing with the rest of the world. The solution of that problem will not be hurried. It is certainly not to be promoted by any attempt to stereotype colonial industries under the specious pretext of bestowing upon them preferential tariffs. They look, as we do, to progress over the whole field of social, commercial, and industrial life.

Canada's hope is not to see British manufactures mono-

Digitized by Google

polising the Canadian market, but the manufactures of Canada ousting those of the United States from Canada and from other markets, including Great Britain itself. Canada is now approaching a position to command trade. Experts in the iron trade, who have examined the situation, are convinced that, in the assembling of the materials for making iron, there are centres in Canada that possess an advantage of $2 per ton over even Pittsburg itself; and that the iron districts of Cape Breton are more favourably situated than any others in the world. Unfortunately the Canadians have not yet the perfect equipment and high technical skill of the Americans; and, in spite of their more favourable position in regard to the raw products, they cannot yet compete with Pittsburg. But, given equal technical skill and equipment, if Canada were to take her courage in both hands and pronounce for free trade, there would be a fall in prices in Canada that would put American dumping out of the field, and would reduce the cost of machinery, and of railway construction, equipment, and transit, to such an extent as to give the Canadian farmers a larger advantage than they are ever likely to secure by preferential tariffs in the mother-country.

But Canadians are not yet ready for free trade; nor is the Empire ready for commercial, much less for complete political union. A patchwork of separate treaties between different parts of the Empire would not be union. That Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders would welcome preferential entrance into the British market is no doubt true. It would be strange if they did not. But no colonial manufacturer or statesman has given any countenance to a policy that would subject colonial manufacturers to effective competition from Great Britain; nor are the colonies prepared to surrender one iota of their fiscal freedom for the sake of the commercial union of the Empire. Sir W. Laurier has not shrunk from asserting that he prefers Canadian liberty to closer Imperial Union at such a price. Professor Shortt of Kingston, Ontario, in his 'Imperial Preferential Trade from a Canadian Point of View,' demurs to any restoration of the old mercantile system under the guise of preferential tariffs that are to stimulate farming in Canada at the expense of colonial industries. The future

Digitized by Google

of Canada, says Professor Shortt, is not to be of the 'saw-log, pulp-wood, and wheat-growing type.' He rejects any such 'blighted destiny,' and holds that 'there is no virtue in belonging to the British Empire unless we can have a share in its civilisation.'

Mr Balfour's policy runs counter to this ideal. Mr Chamberlain has two objects in view; one is to unite the Empire, the other is to save British trade. We have the fullest sympathy with these aims; what we object to is his latest method of securing them. His present proposals are the outcome of previous failures. When he took office he tried to establish an Imperial Zollverein and failed. He next proposed an Imperial Council, but the proposal was premature. He 'tried next in connexion with Imperial defence'; but the colonies declined to join. 'But,' he says, 'I did not on that account give it up, and I came back, therefore, to this idea of Commercial Union.' Such is the genesis of what Mr Chamberlain calls the colonial offer. His theory is that British industries and commerce must be saved by a development of the colonial demand, and that the bonds thereby established will unite the Empire. Professor Shortt sums up the colonial reply: the colonies will not accept 'a blighted destiny.' The decision is fatal alike, so far as the colonies are concerned, to Mr Balfour's policy and to Mr Chamberlain's. Fortunately, commercial solidarity is not indispensable to Imperial unity. Both the United Kingdom and the colonies are as yet too intent upon maintaining to the full their own rights and separate interests to merge cherished liberties in a consolidating commercial treaty. We in England have not yet apprehended the feeling of independence and equality that fills the colonial mind, or accepted the idea that in any scheme of Imperial union the United Kingdom can only be first amongst equals.

Digitized by Google

Art. VI.—LESLIE STEPHEN AND HIS WORKS.

1. *Sketches from Cambridge.* By a Don. London: Macmillan, 1865.
2. *The Playground of Europe.* London: Longmans, 1871.
3. *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century.* Two vols. London: Smith, Elder, 1876.
4. *The Science of Ethics.* London: Smith, Elder, 1882.
5. *The Life of Henry Fawcett.* London: Smith, Elder, 1885.
6. *Hours in a Library.* Three vols. Smith, Elder, 1892.
7. *An Agnostic's Apology.* London: Smith, Elder, 1893. New edition, 1903.
8. *The Life of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen.* London: Smith, Elder, 1895.
9. *Studies of a Biographer.* Four vols. London: Duckworth, 1898–1902.
10. *The English Utilitarians.* Three vols. London: Duckworth, 1900.
11. *Letters of John Richard Green.* Edited by Leslie Stephen London: Macmillan, 1901.
12. *English Literature and Society in the Eighteenth Century.* (The Ford Lectures.) London: Duckworth, 1904.

LESLIE STEPHEN came of a family, originally from Aberdeenshire, which had produced remarkable men during the three generations preceding his own. His father, Sir James Stephen, was for many years Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and had much to do with the shaping of the institutions of what are now the self-governing colonies during a period critical for their development. Sir James was also a man of considerable learning and of literary tastes. His lectures on the history of France, delivered while he was Regius Professor of modern history at Cambridge, and his essays in ecclesiastical biography, are still read and are still worth reading. Leslie, born in 1832, was for a short time at Eton, where he was a 'home boy,' but got most of his school instruction at King's College School in London, whence he proceeded to Trinity Hall, Cambridge. There he took honours in mathematics; but, as the natural bent of his mind was not towards that or any other branch of science, he did not carry his studies very far in this direc-

Digitized by Google

tion. He had grown up in a religious atmosphere, partly evangelical—for his father had close relations with the leading men of that school, and his mother belonged to the well-known family of the Venns—partly broad church, for he had himself been taught by Frederick Denison Maurice, whom he revered, as, indeed, no one who knew that admirable man could help doing. It was natural, therefore, that Stephen should offer himself for, and be elected to, a clerical fellowship at his college—most fellowships in those days were clerical—and should in due course proceed to enter holy orders. This he did; and this settled him in Cambridge as a tutor.

Stephen was extremely fond of his university, took a great interest in the college boat, and was himself famous as a runner and as a pedestrian. Those were the days when the climbing of snow mountains had just begun to be a passion among Englishmen, and especially among the active young dons at the two universities. Stephen threw himself into the pursuit with ardour. Many of the great summits of the Alps were then still unconquered; and he had the honour of being the first to climb some of them, including the magnificent Schreckhorn. He contributed a paper to the collection of articles entitled 'Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers'; and his second book (published in 1871), entitled 'The Playground of Europe,' consisted of a selection from the papers read by him to the then recently established Alpine Club, recounting expeditions made among the high mountains. They are among the brightest and pleasantest pieces of work that ever came from his pen, because he puts so much of himself into them, and because they have that mixture of keen observation, quaint humour, and slightly sombre reflection which was characteristic of his way of studying both man and nature. Sometimes, allowing for differences due to the quality of the topics handled, they remind one of Thackeray in that sauntering and discursive mood which produced the 'Roundabout Papers.'

The best of the English writers on the Alps who preceded Stephen was James D. Forbes of Edinburgh, a distinguished man of science, and also a master of the pen. Forbes, however, is either scientific or picturesque. Stephen never uses science except as a humorous foil to pleasure; and he seldom attempts a brilliant piece of

Digitized by Google

description. Yet he manages not only to convey a vivid idea of the climb he is narrating, but to surround it with an atmosphere of human feeling, and to connect its incidents with reflections on other things that would seem far remote did they not arise so naturally. Here he is true because he is simple. Some who have written about the Alps, like the late Professor Tyndall, spoil their descriptions by affectation or pedantry. Others, in trying to escape self-consciousness, become stiff and dry. Stephen knows how to let himself alone, and yet (as people say) to 'let himself go.' As Forbes represents the scientific way of bringing mountain-climbing into literature, and Ruskin, where he touches the theme, the poetical way, so Stephen represents the normal human way, brought to a high point of excellence by the blending of humour with a delicately suggested vein of sentiment. For some years after 1871 he continued to climb; and for a good while afterwards he was an energetic pedestrian, fond of taking long walks all round London, often with a small group of friends of similar tastes. Tall, active, and light in body, he was an extremely swift walker, though in ascending a steep acclivity he preferred that deliberate pace, irksome to some Englishmen, which he had learnt from the Swiss guides, and which is, probably, the best pace for long expeditions.

In the midst of a tranquil and pleasant career at Cambridge, teaching in the winter and scaling snow mountains in the summer, there arose a cloud. The colour of his opinions was affected, and therewith the course of his life turned. His theological views gradually changed; and after a time he found himself so far removed from Anglican orthodoxy that he resigned both clerical and tutorial duties, and ceased to consider himself, and be addressed by his friends, as a clergyman. About the year 1864, he migrated to London, where he lived for some time with his mother, then a widow, and his sister. His elder brother, James Fitzjames Stephen, afterwards legal member of the Viceroy's council in India, and, still later, a judge of the High Court of Justice, was, though practising at the bar, mainly occupied in writing for the press; and through him Leslie found an easy access to journalism. He began to write for the 'Saturday Review,' which in those days, under the

Digitized by Google

editorship of John Douglas Cook, had formed a large staff of writers unlike any that had been seen before or has been seen since in England. It included more than a dozen men of first-rate literary powers; and these men were as widely removed as possible from one another in the quality of their minds and in their political and religious opinions. Stephen wrote for the 'Saturday' for four or five years, possibly more. When the 'Pall Mall Gazette' was founded in 1865, he contributed to it also, and for a time frequented the gallery of the House of Commons as its representative there. The combats amused him; but his comments were more frequently sardonic than sympathetic; and he never expressed any wish to enter the parliamentary arena.

Like nearly all the brightest and keenest young university men of his generation, he was a Liberal tending to Radicalism—a Liberal of the school of Cobden, Bright, and Mill, if one may venture to join the two former names with the third. He was, however, too detached in mind ever to become a keen party-man. The cause which laid most hold on him was that of the Northern States in the American Civil War. Naturally disposed, by the influence of his father and his father's friends, to detest slavery and all its works, his interest was stimulated by a journey which he made to the United States in 1863, when the issue of that tremendous strife was still trembling in the balance. This journey procured for him three friendships which he profoundly valued, those of James Russell Lowell, Edwin L. Godkin, and Charles Eliot Norton; and it gave him a liking for America which induced him, though he had no great taste for travel, to cross the Atlantic once or twice in after-life.

When, some years later, Mr Gladstone's Reform Bill of 1866 led a group of young Liberals to issue a volume called 'Essays on Reform,' which was meant to defend popular government against the onslaughts of Mr Lowe and Sir Hugh Cairns, the subject of the choice of members by popular constituencies was allotted to Stephen. Though in later years his political zeal seemed slightly to decline, he remained always true to the doctrines of his youth, a steady if not enthusiastic Liberal. He did not like the Home Rule plans of 1886 and 1893; but by this time he had ceased to take any active part in politics. In the

Digitized by Google

last months of his life he expressed himself equally amazed and amused at the recrudescence of protectionism, and seemed to wish that he could live a little longer to see what came of this unexpected phenomenon. In 1871 he took the editorship of the 'Cornhill Magazine,' and held it till, in 1882, he exchanged it for the more onerous task of editing the 'Dictionary of National Biography.' These occupations, and the writing of numerous articles for various periodicals, and of numerous biographies for the dictionary, filled up the rest of his thereafter uneventful life. He found time, however, being a very diligent and steady worker, to compose three large and several smaller books. These will be dealt with in a later part of this article.

Stephen was married in 1867 to the younger daughter of the great Thackeray. She was singularly bright and attractive, and her death in 1875 was a terrible blow to him. Some years afterwards he married the widow of Mr Herbert Duckworth. This union, one of unclouded happiness, was closed by her death in 1895, and his spirits never recovered the loss, which was followed a little later by that of his eldest stepdaughter, Stella, to whom he was deeply attached. These three sorrows, and a long period of weak health, darkened a life which was otherwise peaceful and full of the opportunities for enjoyment which congenial work and the society of devoted friends provide.

Stephen was never widely known in London, for he hated publicity, and did not care for that sort of society which consists in dinner-parties or evening receptions. He was of a reserved disposition, opening his heart only to the few who enjoyed his intimacy. These, and especially his early Cambridge friends and Alpine companions, had from the first recognised his remarkable gifts, and always held his literary judgment in the profoundest respect. His mind was not only vigorous, like his father's and his brother's; it had an excellent precision and a wonderfully fine edge. He reasoned exactly; he went straight to the point; he never slurred over a difficulty. Generally silent in company, he was fresh, bright, and stimulating when he poured out his thoughts in familiar talk with a friend. Less fertile in suggestion than his younger contemporary and lifelong friend Henry

Digitized by Google

Sidgwick, he was more definite in his conclusions; or, to put it more correctly, his conclusions were easier to follow, because drawn upon broader lines. His observation was acute, as any one may see by examining the portraits he has given of figures whom, like George Eliot and Anthony Trollope, he had known personally; and he had a sort of Carlylesque gift of catching the little traits or habits in which character expresses itself. Witness the admirable descriptions (in his book on the English Utilitarians) of Bentham and the two Mills, in which he illustrates with eminent felicity the doctrines from the men and the men from their doctrines. This gift made his narratives of his personal experiences particularly interesting. But the great charm of his talk was its humour. It was humour of a dry and quiet kind, delivered with deliberate American gravity—indeed his friends used to tell him that he must have caught the American manner on his first visit to that country. It was never unkindly, and it came with a delightful suddenness when least expected. As often happens with men who have a strong vein of humour, his disposition was naturally sombre rather than cheerful; so this power of drawing amusement from the minor troubles of life was all the more precious.

His way of thinking was independent; nor did he seem to have been much influenced by any philosophical writers or critics except, perhaps, in earlier life by J. S. Mill. He never deemed himself a disciple of Herbert Spencer, and did not, from his conversation, appear to rate very highly the contributions made by Spencer to ethical philosophy. Still less basis is there for the notion that he attached value to the work of H. T. Buckle. For metaphysics of what used to be called the German kind, for speculations such as those of Kant, Schelling or Hegel, he had little taste. It was in the ethical side of philosophy, and in an untechnical common-sense treatment of philosophical problems, that his interest lay. His intellect was analytic rather than constructive; and he had slender faith in large theories. Yet the bent of his mind, although critical, was not destructive, for he did not despair of arriving at solid truth in philosophy; but he held that the first thing to do, and the thing for which his own powers specially fitted him, was to sift and examine current doctrines with a view

Digitized by Google

to clearing the ground and laying the foundations of sound theory. It was the same with that work in literary criticism, upon which much of his fame will rest. Like all the best critics, he was never content with merely detecting faults and pointing out merits, but looked at a book or a writer as a whole, tracing the qualities of the product to their origin in the idiosyncrasy of the author or the conditions under which the work was produced. Not less admirable than the incisive penetration which he brought to bear were the fairness and candour which shine through everything he wrote. It would be hard to find among the English critics of this or the last generation any one more free from prejudice, more careful and temperate in statement. Had he been less cautious, he might have been, to hasty or heedless readers, more broadly effective; but the value which his opinions have for the thoughtful student would have been greatly reduced.

His reading was mostly in English and, to a less extent, in French writers of the last two centuries, for he had never taken kindly to the Greek and Latin classics, nor (although he could read German) given much time to German writers. Within that special range which he had chosen his knowledge was wide and profound, his interest inexhaustible. Nobody loved books more intensely, or retained to the end of his life a more unslakeable appetite for reading all sorts of books, quite irrespective of the kind of work on which he might happen to be engaged. He had a faculty, delightful to those who listened to his talk, of picking out and remembering the best things he came across, and an excellent memory for poetry, though it was seldom that he could be induced to repeat the long passages of verse with which his mind was stored.

In an article containing some caustic remarks on Englishmen generally, J. R. Lowell said of Leslie Stephen that he was 'the most lovable of men.' Those who knew him as Lowell did would have echoed Lowell's words. He was singularly modest, distrusting his own powers, and apt to disparage his own work. He was singularly considerate of others, as all who worked under him recognised, and, it may be added, as all who had the good fortune to travel with him felt every day

Digitized by Google

they were in his company. He was indulgent in his judgments, keeping censure, when censure had to be given, within the narrowest limits, and free from resentment to an extent the more remarkable because he was, like most men whose nerves are highly strung, naturally of a sensitive temperament. He was the most loyal and constant of friends, one whose attachment neither separation in space nor difference of opinion could lessen. And if anything could have increased the admiration his friends felt for him, it would have been the noble patience and sweetness with which he bore a long period of weary suffering, during which he continued to labour, so far as his declining strength permitted, awaiting in calm serenity the call to depart hence.

There could not be a better example of the way in which Stephen dealt with a difficult and important problem than his 'Science of Ethics,' which may, perhaps, be called the central book of his life. It differs from the work of his distinguished contemporary, Henry Sidgwick, in not being historical, but purely argumentative and explanatory. Stephen always disclaimed originality even when he was entitled to it, and in philosophy he was not original. He adopted the Utilitarian creed, combining it with the doctrine of Evolution, as applied by Darwin to the world of nature, and by Spencer to the mind of man. By this double process he worked out an ethical system clear in itself, logical as a whole, and able to sustain the high personal and social morality which he practised as well as preached. The difficulty came, as it always comes in these investigations, at the end.

The greatest happiness of the greatest number is an excellent aim both of conduct and of enquiry. All men desire happiness; and the best way of being happy is to be good. Unfortunately it is not the only way. Stephen himself confesses the difficulty of reconciling virtue with happiness as the supreme object of human endeavour. Altruism is a noble faith; and there is much beauty in George Eliot's ideal of a time when the impulse to help one's neighbour will be as naturally strong as the instinct to save oneself from falling. Whether all the Utilitarians, men of unselfish lives and brilliant intellects, who have written on this fascinating subject, bring us any nearer to

Digitized by Google

George Eliot's goal, is a question which, being historical, Stephen was not bound to answer. His system was sufficient for himself, as it has been for many other wise and admirable men. No one could find fault with the manner in which he sets it forth. He shirks no difficulty, and he makes his results as clear to others as they were to him. With metaphysics he would have nothing to do. A disciple of Locke and Hume, he believed that ontologists darken counsel by words without knowledge. This belief was widely held in the generation to which he belonged. One of its most popular books was Lewes's 'History of Philosophy,' written chiefly to prove the futility of metaphysical research. And yet metaphysics, like nature, though you may expel them with a fork, have a habit of returning with the old questions, What is truth? what is the origin of our ideas? which are no nearer solution now than they were in the days of Plato.

The practical value of Stephen's book is as high as its ability is great. It is only when we come to the region of pure ideas that we find him deficient. He would have been the first to acknowledge the deficiency. An avowed agnostic, who used and adopted Huxley's convenient barbarism, he made no pretence of solving enigmas which he confessed and even proclaimed to be insoluble. But within the limits set by himself, Stephen's 'Science of Ethics' is at once convincing and complete. Those who accept his premisses can hardly avoid his conclusions; those who do not will find in his book abundant food for thought as well as conclusive reason for respecting the intrepid honesty of the author. At the close of a lecture on logic, Jowett approached the old query whether logic was a science or an art, and gave it an unexpected reply. 'Logic,' he says, 'is neither an art nor a science, but a dodge.' Stephen held, with more reverence for his theme, that ethics were both a science and an art; science in so far as they prove and expound general propositions, and art where they refer to particular instances of action or behaviour. The following passage is perhaps the best summary of his views on this interesting point.

'The practical moralist who tries to raise the standard of morals or to influence a particular man must start from the science; and his success will be measured by the degree in which he affects conduct. But it is an error to try the

Digitized by Google

scientific moralist by the test applicable to the practical moralist. His theory is sound, like every other theory, so far as it explains the facts; and it must explain, and therefore admit, the existence of vice as well as virtue. And this seems to be overlooked when an ethical theory is condemned because it does not of itself constrain the will as well as convince the intellect. That is to confound the art with the science, or practice with theory. A theory is a systematic statement of belief; and the only question about a belief is in any and every case whether it is true or false, not whether it does or does not produce any assumed effect upon conduct. In this respect the analogy is complete between the scientific and practical moralist and the scientific and practical physiologist. It is as idle to suppose that an ethical theory will show vice to be impossible as to suppose that a physiological theory will show disease to be impossible. If that were the case, we should happily be able to dispense with theories altogether.' ('Science of Ethics,' p. 436.)

The 'History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century,' which was published six years before the 'Science of Ethics,' contains, except by implication, few of the writer's own opinions. Yet it has been to the general public the more attractive book of the two. Although the temper of Stephen's mind was scientific, and though he loved to be methodical, he had a strong historical bias, and a remarkable power of describing character. His personal feelings were acute, and he had a penetrating eye for the nicer shades of human temperament. Philosopher as he was, clear, conclusive, and resolute, he is at his best when describing the process by which thought is worked out, and the men who handed on the torch of reason. He had in him more of the historian and the biographer than of the abstract reasoner. His treatise on Utilitarianism tells us all that we really care to know about the lives of the chief Utilitarians; and the persons of his favourite century were really more to him, though perhaps he did not know it, than their doctrines.

In this particular history, the most formal and elaborate that he ever wrote, it is the biographical element that gives the charm and interest to what is nominally a record of speculation. Stephen, like other historians, was not always just to individuals. If theologians

Digitized by Google

consider that he has in these pages depreciated Butler, freethinkers, on the other hand, will be apt to regard his treatment of Gibbon as singularly cold and unsympathetic. Yet in both cases the presentment is so vivid that those who cannot accept it as complete are not the less disposed to follow attentively the delineation of the type. A very different and a very inferior man, William Warburton, author of the once famous 'Divine Legation,' is drawn with the hand of a master. Macaulay wrote on his copy of Warburton's letters to Hurd the simple inscription, 'Bully to Sneak.' Stephen's account of these two worthies does not substantially differ from the terse formula of Macaulay. He draws out their relations with delightful skill, happily contrasting them with Johnson and Boswell, whom, in almost everything but genius, they much resembled. A good life of Bishop Butler remains to be written; and one cannot help regretting that Mr Gladstone did not write it instead of his rather belated essays on the 'Analogy.' But Stephen, despite his prejudice against the bishop's arguments and his conclusions, gives a fair, though not a sympathetic, account of him as a man.

'Joseph Butler' (he says) 'belonged to the exceedingly small class of men who find in abstract speculation, not merely the main employment, but almost the sole enjoyment of their lives. He stands out in strange contrast to the pushing patronage-hunters of his generation. . . . Butler stood apart from the world. Good preferments, indeed, were showered upon the solitary thinker without solicitation of his own. . . . Butler did not escape the ordinary penalties of singularity. His contemporaries, puzzled by his ascetic and meditative life, thought there must be something wrong about an episcopal recluse who, to say the truth, would have been more in his element in a monastic cell or in the chair of a German university than in the seat of an eighteenth-century bishop. When he put up a cross in his chapel, and was convicted of reading the Lives of the Saints, the problem seemed to be solved, and he was set down as a papist.' ('English Thought,' i, 278.)

This truthful sketch of a deep thinker and a saintly man reminds one of the answer given by the old Carthusian monk to the worldly enquirer who asked him flippantly what he had been doing all his life: 'Cogitavi dies antiquos,' replied the monk, 'et annos æternos in mente

Digitized by Google

habui.' Few people besides Matthew Arnold have done full justice to Bishop Butler's sermons, which have the human element wanting in the 'Analogy,' and in some passages an almost Æschylean grandeur of style. Stephen finds the germ of the 'Analogy' in the sermon on the ignorance of man. Butler was too wise to fall into the theological trap of making needless assumptions. Like Dean Church, he was deeply conscious of the imperfection of religious knowledge, even for believers in revelation; and his prudence in the field of the intellect was quite as remarkable as his courage in the sphere of conduct.

To the greatest of all historians Stephen had a positive antipathy, which at times almost approaches contempt. He pronounces Gibbon's boyish conversion to Catholicism to be significant of his weak side, and declares that, though 'a skilful anatomical demonstrator of the dead framework of society, he is an utterly incompetent observer of its living development.' It is thus that he accounts for Gibbon's failure to understand the true reason why Christianity spread itself over the world. But in that case the historian would have been equally unable to comprehend the pagan or Mahomedan religions, of which he is commonly charged with giving too favourable an account. It was not so much want of imagination as inveterate prejudice which blinded Gibbon to the power of the Sermon on the Mount; and perhaps that prejudice may have been fostered by the fact that, unlike Butler, he paid more attention to the lives of the bishops than to the lives of the saints.

No part of this fascinating book, which may be taken up at any point, and read at any time, is better than the pages devoted to David Hume. The intrepidity of Hume's reasoning commended him highly to Stephen; and he was undoubtedly the most disinterested philosopher of a by no means disinterested age. Butler, who belonged to an earlier generation, was a singularly fair and candid reasoner; but he had a case to make, and, as a clergyman, he would not otherwise have been an honest man. Hume was absolutely dispassionate, except, perhaps, in his love of Toryism and his hatred of England, which do not find their way into his philosophy. Although his subject included the deepest and most fundamental questions which can engage the consideration of men—

Digitized by Google

'he neither scoffs nor sneers nor regrets. The dogma under discussion seems neither to attract nor to repel him. . . . This strange calmness is characteristic of the man and of his age; it is only possible to a consummate logician, arguing at a time when theology, though living amongst the masses, was being handed over by thinkers to the schools. We have in his pages the ultimate expression of the acutest scepticism of the eighteenth century, the one articulate statement of a philosophical judgment upon the central questions at issue' (i, 312).

Able and thorough as Burton's 'Life of Hume' is, no student can afford to neglect Stephen's description of him. That Hume was the first philosophical genius of his age is now universally admitted. Yet for hundreds that read his 'History,' which has little to recommend it except the style, there were not as many scores who read the 'Treatise of Human Nature,' perhaps the most consummate philosophical argument that, in this country at all events, the eighteenth century, that age of reason, produced. Stephen explains in his best manner both its pre-eminence and its neglect. The fact is that Hume was as much above his critics as Bentley was, and suffered from the same cause. From his own point of view he never has been and never can be refuted. It is true that we do not know what causation means, and that a series of sequences need no more imply a cause than day is the cause of night. Only metaphysicians, such, for instance, as Kant, not afraid to discuss the meaning of truth, and not content to be ignorant of it, could reconstruct the fabric which Hume's irrefragable logic had battered to the ground. Hume closed a philosophic era, and remains the master in that school of experience to which Stephen belonged. No one saw this more clearly than T. H. Green, the great English Hegelian, who edited the 'Treatise' with the double purpose of showing that it was, in its kind, consummate, and that it had been superseded by the totally different system of Kant and Hegel.

Lord Grimthorpe's popular handbook, which he called 'Astronomy without Mathematics,' was once likened by a cynical critic to a work on architecture which ignored the law of gravitation. Stephen's philosophy, developed from the historical side in his 'English Thought,' and from the scientific side in his volume on Ethics, suffers from the drawback, or, as some would say, enjoys the

Digitized by Google

advantage, of ignoring metaphysics. But we must take men as we find them; and it is better to consider books as what they are than as what they are not, and do not pretend to be. If this principle be applied to Stephen, he must be reckoned as a philosopher of singular lucidity, completeness, and force.

His philosophy and his morality were his religion, as may be seen from 'An Agnostic's Apology,' which, having been formally published for the first time as a whole only last year, must be reckoned as a final statement of his creed. In these essays he compares favourably the doctrines of Mill—which are really Hume's, coloured by a characteristic vein of emotion—not with what Rowland Williams calls rational godliness, but with the brilliant rhetoric of Newman, who held that there was no real halting-place between sound Catholicism and sheer atheism. We have to consider here, not how far Hume or Mill or Newman was right, but in what way Stephen dealt with the difficulties they raised. He held that Newman lost himself in controversy about matters which transcend human knowledge; and he took himself the line of a reverend scepticism, which holds that all discussion about the being or attributes of God would be blasphemous if it were not futile. No one would gather from Stephen's books that he had ever been a clergyman. Some men, after giving up holy orders, cherish, consciously or otherwise, a repugnance which sometimes amounts to rancour, for the profession which they have discarded. Others remain as clerical as they were before, though less orthodox, and preach in literature when they can no longer preach from the pulpit. It was said even of Renan that, though he never actually became a priest, he was 'toujours séminariste'; but Stephen's clerical career, which was entirely academic, left no perceptible trace upon him whatever. He discovered that he had made a mistake; and, when once he had corrected it, there was an end of the matter. He passed his life, as Gibbon says of the pagan philosophers, in the pursuit of truth and the practice of virtue. Truth, so far as he thought that it could be reached by human intelligence, could be ascertained by research; and, though Stephen was neither arrogant nor dogmatic, he was quite clear about his own conclusions in his own mind.

Digitized by Google

But Stephen's literary essays are more popular, if not more valuable, than his more systematic work. He was indeed an excellent biographer. His 'Lives' of Henry Fawcett and of his own brother, Fitzjames, are models both of arrangement and of size. The 'Life' of Fawcett is, indeed, a curious and interesting study. Stephen loved the man, and has drawn a delightful picture of the indomitable courage, the unflagging spirits, and the cordial good-humour, with which he faced and overcame the terrible calamity of his early blindness. Of Fawcett the man, especially of his Cambridge days, Stephen liked to write. He was essentially a Cambridge man himself, and everything he wrote about that university has a piquant personal flavour. Fawcett, moreover, belonged to his own college, Trinity Hall; and, though he was as far as possible from being a don, he relished the society of the combination-room quite as much as his biographer. But, when Stephen comes to treat of Fawcett the politician, his efforts to be appreciative are almost pathetic. He admired—nobody could help admiring—Fawcett's honesty of intention and tenacity of purpose. But Fawcett was a party man; and to Stephen party politics were an abomination. All the more credit to him that he should have written a thoroughly readable book, of which the accuracy has never been impugned, and in which the personal distaste of the author for many of the controversies he had to describe is almost entirely suppressed. Fitzjames Stephen was a speculative jurist quite as much as a practical lawyer—some said more so; but Fawcett, though he liked society of all kinds, was above all a politician. Only a strong feeling of personal affection could have induced Stephen to spend so much time upon politics. But when he had to do a thing he always did it well: he detested bad work as heartily as he hated shams of all kinds. It was this that made him such an invaluable editor of that great Biographical Dictionary in which his own articles are among the best.

Stephen's lighter vein is best shown in the 'Sketches from Cambridge' which he contributed to the early numbers of the 'Pall Mall Gazette,' and afterwards republished without his name. Though not especially characteristic, and flippant to the verge of what would now be called smartness, these sketches are good speci-

Digitized by Google

mens of academic journalism and much funnier than such ostentatiously comic books as 'Verdant Green.' Cynical in tone, and rather audacious in manner, they really pay as much deference to Cambridge as can be expected from a fellow of a college engaged in actual tuition, and they bring out the strong points of the University under the disguise of sarcastic criticism. If the heads of houses are treated with less reverence than they would consider their due, and the tutors are somewhat familiarly handled, mathematicians escape with very gentle satire, and the only Latin quotation, which consists of two words, contains a blunder. But 'emollunt mores' is a very trifling matter compared with the excellent story of the old-fashioned tutors who affected the reverse of respectability.

'They affably got drunk at undergraduates' supper-parties; one of them, it is said, issued from his college gates late at night, and smote the first man on the head with a poker, insomuch that his life was despaired of for six weeks; the master of the college, however, took severe notice of this delinquent by insisting upon his accepting a small college living which happened to be vacant.'

Stephen does not conceal his preference for a university which had no religious movement, no 'Tract Ninety,' no 'Essays and Reviews'; and where young men did not, as Mark Pattison said, spend the time which should have been devoted to study in finding out which was the true church. Books of this kind are of their nature ephemeral; but the original flavour of this volume is clearly proved by the fact that it can be read to-day with quite as much enjoyment as it gave to the readers of the 'Pall Mall' forty years ago.

It is probable, however, that the volumes called 'Hours in a Library,' and 'Studies of a Biographer,' have had more readers, and given more pleasure, than any other of Stephen's writings. Their merit, indeed, is not altogether on the surface. Although he had plenty of humour, he kept it in restraint, and he was so contemptuous of anything like 'gush' that he often seemed to be altogether incapable of any feeling warmer than approval. But this was not really so. His essay on Wordsworth is quite enough to prove that he could be drawn into ardent

Digitized by Google

defence of any one whom he thought unduly attacked; but, as a rule, his object was rather to appraise than either to assail or to defend his author. To some readers this characteristic, as well as his extreme reluctance to state anything that he could not prove, may be distasteful; but Stephen shared the prejudices of the Cambridge of his day. He would infinitely rather have written a dull article than have pretended to know more than he really knew.

'Hours in a Library' is as good a title as 'Half-hours with the Best Authors' is bad; it irresistibly reminds us of leisure, enjoyment, seclusion from the world. There have been men, perhaps not very many, who had read more books than Stephen. There have been very few who had such full and precise command of their accumulated knowledge. Whether he liked his author or not, Stephen always knew him thoroughly and from beginning to end. One of his most characteristic essays, that on De Quincey, is, perhaps, best known for the unusually epigrammatic judgment that De Quincey 'wrote a few pages which revealed new capacities of the language, and provided a good deal of respectable padding for the magazines.' But Stephen was as well acquainted with the padding as with those glorious passages in the 'Confessions of an Opium Eater' and the 'Suspiria de Profundis' which are constantly quoted as specimens of inspired eloquence. De Quincey was capable of writing plain, sober prose, as in his popular version of Ricardo's 'Political Economy,' which might be republished with advantage at the present day. But, as a rule, he oscillated between the tawdriest of fine writing, in the worst sense of that term, and sentences which show that poetry of a high order can be written without the use of metre. That Ruskin was as much indebted to him as he was to Sir Thomas Browne is a truth which Stephen rather hints than formulates. Yet not even in the 'Religio Medici' nor in the 'Stones of Venice' is there anything more magnificent than the opium eater's last dream, when the weight of twenty Atlantics was upon him, or the oppression of inexpiable guilt.

Nothing is more characteristic of Stephen's intellectual catholicity than his defence of Horace Walpole —almost as unlike himself as one literary man can be different from another—against the attacks of Macaulay,

Digitized by Google

who hated Walpole for his Frenchified style and his dandified airs. It vexed Stephen's sense of justice that the writer who derived from Walpole some of the most brilliant touches in his essays should show such apparent ingratitude. Perhaps Stephen goes too far when he says that 'the history of England, throughout a very large segment of the eighteenth century, is simply a synonym for the works of Horace Walpole.' But, however much one may be inclined to disagree with Stephen at the beginning of an hour, one usually comes round to something like agreement with him at the end. He is the sanest, soundest critic, never advancing an opinion for which he cannot produce evidence, or using argument without supporting it by fact. He was, so far as we know, the first writer who fully explained the solid value to the historian of a man who seems on the surface a mere coxcomb and fribble. Stuffed with ridiculous prejudices as Walpole was, speaking disrespectfully of Gibbon, who should have been French enough even for his taste, he was so clever, and had such a shrewd eye for the real point, that no letters are worth more than his to a serious student of his time. It may be added that no one has furnished a better or more dispassionate history of it than the author of 'Hours in a Library.' Stephen saw, though Macaulay did not, that a man who, from sheer affectation, treated the small things seriously and great things with levity, might yet be essential to those who, in both cases, took the opposite view.

Nowhere in this book does Stephen rise to a higher level than in his essay on Wordsworth. Wordsworth's ethics are inseparable from his poetry; and it is with the poems that Stephen was concerned. Whether he really loved poetry is a question which, since his death, has been somewhat vainly discussed. No reader of his essays on Shelley and Matthew Arnold can feel much doubt; and only a lover of poetry in its highest sense and in its best form could have written this paper on Wordsworth. It glows with an intensity of enthusiasm for which, in the whole range of Stephen's works, a parallel could hardly be found; and even Wordsworth's latest commentator, Professor Raleigh, has not gone beyond it in reverence or in appreciation. Whole volumes of tedious ridicule and tiresome parody seem to disappear

Digitized by Google

before the simple remark that Wordsworth's defects are too obvious to be mentioned.

'He can yet' (the critic continues) 'pierce furthest behind the veil, and embody most efficiently the thoughts and emotions which come to us in our most solemn and reflective moods. Other poetry becomes trifling when we are making our inevitable passages through the Valley of the Shadow of Death; Wordsworth's alone retains its power. We love him the more as we grow older and become more deeply impressed with the sadness and seriousness of life; we are apt to grow weary of his rivals when we have finally quitted the regions of youthful enchantment.' ('Hours in a Library,' ii.)

The reason is, according to Stephen, that Wordsworth was a philosopher as well as a poet—if, indeed, poetry and philosophy are not two sides of the same thing. This is a remarkable admission for a man who held that the greatest metaphysicians were on a false scent and had wasted their time. The noble lines on Tintern Abbey, of which he speaks with just and therefore unbounded admiration, are metaphysical enough for Plato himself. To Stephen, as to Mill, Wordsworth was an object of so much reverence and love that he transcended all his theories and took him out of himself. Wordsworth had a philosophy of sorrow as well a philosophy of nature; and it was the spirit in which he wrote of suffering that especially endeared him to Stephen. He avoided the commonplaces which irritate while they are meant to soothe, and never tried to explain away the stern realities of life. Between him and his critic there was a great theological gulf. But Wordsworth speaks to the hearts and minds of all men with a power independent of church and creed. The concluding pages of this profoundly moving essay are really a lay sermon upon the unselfish use of sorrow. The cause of Wordsworth's permanent and sustaining influence at times when ordinary consolations fail is, we are told, that he invents nothing and extenuates nothing, but, taking life and death as they are, shows how the effect of bereavement on a manly nature may be an increased determination to help the friends that are left. 'His psychology, stated systematically, is rational, and, when expressed passionately, turns into poetry.' Wordsworth could hardly have framed or desired a better description of himself.

Digitized by Google

Such was Stephen when he wrote of an acknowledged master and guide. But he could be scrupulously fair to writers whom he most disliked. He had all Thackeray's antipathy to Sterne; and for the man, apart from his books, he has nothing but contemptuous disgust.

'One can hardly read the familiar passages without admitting that Sterne was perhaps the greatest artist in the language. No one, at least, shows more inimitable felicity in producing a pungent effect by a few touches of exquisite precision. He gives the impression that the thing has been done once for all; he has hit the bull's-eye round which aspiring marksmen go on blundering indefinitely without any satisfying success. Two or three of the scenes in which Uncle Toby expresses his sentiments are as perfect in their way as the half-dozen lines in which Mrs Quickly describes the end of Falstaff, and convince us that three strokes from a man of genius may be worth more than the life's labour of the cleverest of skilled literary workmen.' ('Hours,' iii. 142.)

The whole essay is an excellent specimen of Stephen's method and style, not the less remarkable because Sterne contradicted his favourite theory that you cannot love a man's books without being fond of the man himself. As much might be said of Pope. But Stephen, though he admits and even roundly declares that Pope was a worse man than Sterne, did not really detest him as he detested the author of 'Tristram Shandy,' and was driven into an attitude almost of advocacy for Pope by the strictures of Elwin.

A still more interesting paper is the lecture on Coleridge. It would indeed have been difficult to say more about that writer that was worth saying, and so little that could be left unsaid, within the compass of an hour. Some readers may think that the contrast is too sharply drawn between what Coleridge designed to accomplish and what he actually achieved. The failure may be exaggerated; and too much of it may be set down to opium rather than to a constitutional weakness of will, which hampered an astonishing strength of intellect. Yet it is tempting to dwell, as in this lecture, upon the wonderful promise of Coleridge's youth, when, as the lecturer says, it seemed to be entirely within his own choice whether he would become a second Milton or a second Bacon. Although he wrote a great deal both in

Digitized by Google

prose and verse which is now seldom read except by students, his poetical imagination and his philosophical depth have scarcely been surpassed by any Englishman. He is, perhaps, the one commentator on Shakespeare of whom, so far as general reflections go, one would not gladly be rid. Among all British poets he was the best critic, while in poetry no critic, not even Matthew Arnold, has approached him. We miss, perhaps, in the lecture some of those personal traits which, even disguised in caricature, adds so much to the charm of 'Nightmare Abbey.' But we have admirable and most appropriate quotations from the eloquent chapter on Coleridge in Carlyle's 'Life of Sterling,' and more of Stephen's own dry humour than he usually allowed to show itself in his literary dissertations.

'An experienced person has said, "Do not marry a man of genius." I have no personal interest in that question' (says Stephen, separating himself from Mrs Carlyle), 'nor will I express any opinion upon it. But one is inclined to say, "Don't be his brother-in-law or his publisher or his editor or anything that is his if you care twopence—it is probably an excessive valuation—for the opinion of posthumous critics."'

This means, of course, that admirers of Coleridge, distinguishing less perfectly than Stephen did between the man and his works, have endeavoured to defend his reputation by the rather stale device of attacking other people's. An identical course has been taken by Professor Dowden and others in the case of Shelley, whose first wife has been sacrificed, like Mrs Coleridge, to the exigencies of biographical partisanship. 'A man's wife,' said Bagehot, 'is his fault, his mother is his misfortune.' But Stephen says, after reading many of her private letters, that Mrs Coleridge, unlike poor Harriet, 'must really have been a very sensible woman, who worked hard to educate her own children and the children of her sister, Mrs Southey, in French and Italian, and who could express herself in remarkably good English.' If Coleridge was in love with somebody else, that was certainly not Mrs Coleridge's fault, and proves nothing except the purely unmoral proposition, that even men of genius do not act without a motive.

Reverting to the thesis which he had developed in his

Digitized by Google

masterpiece on Wordsworth, Stephen sums up in two sentences his mature view of the relations between poetry and philosophy. Coleridge's philosophy, if less bracing than Wordsworth's, is richer and more suggestive, partly because, though inferior to Wordsworth as a man, and far less fertile as a poet, he was not, with all his selfishness, so entirely centred in himself. It would be difficult to improve upon Stephen's account of the old controversy between poets and philosophers, which made even Plato—a poet if ever there was one, and saturated with Homer—denounce poetry as actually mischievous to the morality of the individual and the welfare of the state.

'Therefore' (writes Stephen), 'if poetry, as Coleridge says after Milton, should be simple, sensuous, passionate, instead of systematic, abstract, and emotionless, like speculative reasoning, it is not to be inferred that the poet should be positively unphilosophical; nor is he the better, as some recent critics appear to have discovered, for merely appealing to the senses as being without thoughts, or in simpler words, a mere animal. The loftiest poet and the loftiest philosopher deal with the same subject-matter, the great problems of the world and of human life, though one presents the symbolism and the other unravels the logical connection of the abstract conceptions.' ('Hours,' iii. 361.)

When Lord Acton said that he had learnt little from Carlyle because he had read Coleridge first, he expressed in an epigram the enormous debt which modern speculation owes to the great thinker who taught his own and subsequent generations far more than he learnt from Germany, even though he has been convicted of unaccountable plagiarism from Schelling.

It is impossible to dwell, within the limits of this article, upon more than a representative fraction of 'Hours in a Library.' The variety of Stephen's reading was as conspicuous as its range; and he could write upon Richardson or Balzac or Defoe with as full an acquaintance and as sober a judgment as upon Coleridge and De Quincey. Only in the case of Disraeli's novels did he deliberately choose a theme which was beyond his range. The essay is, indeed, as clever and amusing as anything in these delightful volumes. But politics, as we have

Digitized by Google

already had occasion to observe, were out of Stephen's line; and the merit of these strange romances is entirely political. In that sphere they are without a rival. Disraeli's love-making and his lucubrations (if that be the word) on the Asian Mystery have long ceased to interest us, while every word that he wrote on politics is as fresh and entertaining as if it had been published for the first time in yesterday's morning paper.

The 'Studies of a Biographer' often cover familiar ground, but they are as original and vigorous as 'Hours in a Library.' Jowett's 'Life' could hardly have been expected to evoke much enthusiasm on Stephen's part. He was always distrustful of a reputation which depended on the reports of others and could not be proved by documentary testimony. Although he would not have gone so far as John Bright, who, after reading Jowett's 'Plato,' or some of it, wondered why so clever a man as the Master of Balliol should have wasted so much time over so unprofitable a dialectician, it cannot be said that translations from the Greek, however excellent, had much interest for Stephen. He remarks, as if in wonder, that Jowett spent years upon Plato and Thucydides. With all his efforts, which are almost painfully sincere, he cannot understand Jowett's theological position. He is better able to appreciate the position of those who prosecuted the Essayists and Reviewers than the position of the Essayists themselves; and he even sympathises with Carlyle's remark—not quite applicable to clergymen who had the law on their side—that the sentinel who deserts should be shot. Yet he did full justice to Jowett's sympathy and generosity, to the great services he rendered to his college, to the intellectual influence he exercised upon pupils of every kind, and to the completeness with which he merged his own interests in the interests of Balliol. But, though a more cheerful book than the 'Life of Jowett' was seldom written, it is a melancholy reflection with which the reviewer concludes:—

'The last ten years of life, as Jowett frequently remarked, are the best; best, because you are freest from care, freest from illusion, and fullest of experience. They must, no doubt, be fullest of experience; they may be freest from care if you are the head of a college, and have no domestic ties; but,

Digitized by Google

unluckily, the illusions which have vanished generally include the illusion that anything which you did at your best had any real value, or that anything which you can do hereafter will even reach the moderate standard of the old work (ii, 158).

This outburst of pessimism would have been better suited to a biography of Mark Pattison than to one of Jowett; and it most assuredly did not apply to Stephen himself.

A more cheerful and a more interesting retrospect of the past is the essay on Tennyson. Lord Tennyson's 'Life' of his father apparently suggested to Stephen that he had not always been sufficiently sensible of the poet's excellence. He was, indeed, thought to have unduly disparaged him. At Cambridge he was, however, an ardent admirer of the Laureate; and his praise of 'In Memoriam' in this article is cordial enough to satisfy the most jealous of worshippers. But, like some other people, notably Edward Fitzgerald, he did not take so friendly a view of Tennyson's later performances; and he was sometimes annoyed, if not disgusted, by the excessive adulation which it became fashionable to pay him. That he could appreciate Tennyson's real genius is clear from a single instance, which no one was better qualified to give:—

'The Alpine traveller' (he observes) 'has seen and tried for years to tell how he is impressed by his beloved scenery, and annoyed by his own bungling whenever he has tried to get beyond arithmetical statements of hard geographical facts. And then Tennyson, who was never in his life more than 7000 feet above the sea, just glances at Monte Rosa from the cathedral at Milan, and in a four-line stanza gives the whole spirit of the scene to perfection' (ii, 197).

It was the 'Idylls of the King,' first published in 1859, which made Tennyson popular in the widest sense; and this jarred upon Stephen, who thought, like Fitzgerald, that he had written much better things before. Stephen, it is true, went further than Carlyle, who stopped at 'Ulysses'—the poem, it is said, that procured Tennyson his pension. But he detested the allegories; he could not endure the identification of Prince Albert with King Arthur; and all Tennyson's subsequent poetry was, in his opinion, injured by a want of the simplicity which gave part of their charm to the early volumes. After studying

Digitized by Google

the biography, in which he was able to read between the lines, Stephen came to the conclusion that the sweetness and tenderness of the poet's character were unsurpassed.

Perhaps he himself had come with years to set more value upon the emotional side of character, and to adopt a less purely intellectual criterion in judging his fellow-men. His reasoning was as keen as ever, but the kindliness of disposition which comes with age only to the best men had smoothed away angularities and led him to take a view gentler, though not less acute, concerning the vicissitudes of men. In the two final volumes of the 'Studies of a Biographer,' which appeared together in 1902, there is a mellower, a more genial, and a far more tolerant tone than is to be found in some of his earlier writings. Of Walter Bagehot, that delightful and sometimes intentionally exasperating author, who defended Louis Napoleon in 1852 on the avowed ground that he had 'very good heels to his boots, and the French just wanted treading down and nothing else—calm, cruel, business-like oppression to take the dogmatic conceit out of their heads,' he speaks with unfailing gentleness and a thorough appreciation for Bagehot's rather slapdash originality that is much to be admired in a man with so methodical a mind. Indeed, Stephen, as was perhaps natural, overrated Bagehot's knowledge of politics, and supposed that he had really solved the riddle of the British constitution.

In dealing with Froude, Stephen was almost too kind. In drawing the portrait he left out the devil. Froude had an almost incomparable style; and his characters are sketched with so masterly a hand that his numerous inaccuracies count for very little as compared with the superb picture which he could draw of a sovereign, of a statesman, of a theologian, or of an age. His dramatic view of history, his theory—which he shared with Marlborough—that Shakespeare was the greatest of historians, his belief that an anecdote, though false, was useful if it had a moral, and useless, though true, if it had not—all this Stephen quite understood and clearly explained. But Froude's subtle and complex nature is unintelligible, or, at least, very difficult to comprehend, without presupposing that love of mischief which helped to make him the most fascinating of companions. He liked to

Digitized by Google

puzzle, to startle, and to shock. When he adopted, or went far to adopt, Lord Melbourne's paradox that Henry VIII was the greatest man who ever lived; when he attacked Elizabeth for not setting the prejudices of Protestantism above reasons of state; when, in his exaltation of Luther, he constantly hints at the mental superiority of Erasmus; when he magnifies the foibles of his second master, Carlyle, and carefully records that sage's remark that his first master, Newman, had the intellect of a rabbit, he was amusing himself at the expense of the literal public and doubtless wondering what they would say. Froude's great adversary, Freeman, who had not a spark of humour, was infuriated by these vagaries. Stephen was quite capable of appreciating them. But his estimate of the man would have been more complete if he had said something of the freakish spirit who never ceased to attend upon Froude.

Although Stephen was apt to be too apologetic for intruding his opinions upon readers who were anxious to hear them, it is proper that every man should apologise for writing about Shakespeare. Nine tenths of what has been written about him are dead, and of the remaining tenth not one half deserves to survive. It is a good rule to take up any book or any article on Shakespeare and read only the quotations. But it would have been a great loss to all lovers of good literature if Stephen had not, at the close of his life, overcome his diffidence and given us his forty-four pages on 'Shakespeare as a Man.' Mr Lee, in his standard biography, contends and proves that more facts are known about Shakespeare's outward life than previous compilers had been willing to admit. But these are external circumstances only, and throw no light upon the question—of which Tennyson said he could form no idea—how Shakespeare came to write his plays. If we attempt to infer from the dramas anything definite about their author, we are always met with the objection that a dramatic character is not necessarily speaking the opinions of his creator. Stephen does not impugn Mr Lee's conlusion that the sonnets are purely imaginative; and he is far from taking up the strange theories of Brandes, who seems to think that Shakespeare had no imagination at all. We may say, of course, that Shakespeare knew what love was or he could not have written

Digitized by Google

'Romeo and Juliet.' To the wild notion that he must have been a lawyer because he wrote the 'Merchant of Venice'—which proves, if it proves anything, that he could not have been one—the proper reply was given by a lady, who said that, in her opinion, he must have been a woman. How he came to know human nature as nobody else knew it we cannot tell. But when adepts profess, in dealing with a doubtful play such as 'Henry VIII' or 'Timon of Athens,' to distinguish by internal evidence between what is Shakespeare and what is not, they implicitly assert that they know more of a poet's mind than would be possible if a playwright always concealed himself. There are things which even Shakespeare could not have said if he had not felt them; and there is knowledge which can only be acquired by miracle or experience. The search for the true Shakespeare is not the less fascinating because it can never be entirely successful; and Stephen may always be trusted to err, if at all, on the side of caution. He comes near the conclusion of the whole matter when he writes:—

'If you admit that Shakespeare was a humorist—intensely sensitive to natural beauty, a scorner of the pedantry whether of scholars or of theologians, endowed with an amazingly wide and tolerant view of human nature, radically opposed to Puritanism or any kind of fanaticism, capable of hearty sympathy with the popular instincts and yet with a strong persuasion of the depth of popular folly—you thereby know at least some negative propositions about the man himself.'

It is good to leave a man of letters with Shakespeare, and here we may leave Stephen. Few among his contemporaries excelled him in knowledge or in the art of using what he knew. He was educated in a rigid, somewhat matter-of-fact school, which scorned all pretence and discouraged enthusiasm as the sign of an unregulated mind. That a man who wrote so much should have felt no impulse to write is incredible. But Stephen certainly had no passion for seeing himself in print; he had none of the raw haste which has been called half-sister to delay. He seemed to labour, according to Goethe's ideal, without haste and without rest. In his essay on Gibbon he describes the historian as a singular instance of a man who did exactly what

Digitized by Google

he meant to do. With Gibbon's immense achievement the work of few modern scholars can be compared. Stephen wrote no book to which the hackneyed phrase *magnum opus* can well be applied. Yet if he had had the mapping out of his own life, and could have chosen, when he was young, what he would accomplish before he was old, it is probable that the forecast would have differed little from the actual result. He made his favourite century far better known to the reading public than it had ever been before, and he gave the world a lucid and concise account of his ethical creed, which was to him religion and philosophy in one. He put together by far the best account of the English Utilitarians, whose influence is not to be judged so much by what they added to speculative thought as by what they accomplished for legislative reform. He enriched the literature of his country with a series of vivid portraits, literary and personal, which, in compass and variety, could be matched by Sainte-Beuve alone. His own reminiscences, written within a few months of his death, might easily have been expanded into two or three volumes. But their conciseness is not the least of their merits. His dryness, like the dryness of champagne, is a virtue not a vice; it came from hatred of bombast and exaggeration, not from any want of interest either in the man he was describing or in the books upon which he was passing judgment.

Upon his style, except as regards lucidity, he does not seem to have bestowed much conscious labour. His father, Sir James Stephen, Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office, and afterwards Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, was a master of sonorous rhetorical periods which, though a little out of fashion at the present time, are full of genuine eloquence not unmixed with a strange sort of pious humour. It can hardly be said that Leslie Stephen inherited from him any literary gift except the gift of literature. His aim, especially after he became the editor of the Dictionary, was condensation, which always seemed to be furthest from Sir James's mind. It was part of the Cambridge training in Leslie Stephen's time, especially among mathematical men, to rate facility of expression very low, and to judge books by their substance rather than by their style. How curiously academic Stephen's mind, in some things, remained after long

Digitized by Google

absence from Cambridge and many years in London may be gathered from the fact that he never wrote better than when he was writing a lecture. The idea of the audience seemed to exhilarate his fancy and to give more outlets for his humour. It is the highest merit of some styles, as, for instance, of Swift's, that we seldom think about them at all, except when we try, and try in vain, to discover how the thought could be better put. Without likening Stephen to Swift or attributing to him the same impression of inevitable necessity in words, we may say that he never wrote an obscure sentence and never evaded a point because he did not understand it himself.

In conclusion we are naturally tempted to ask what was Stephen's relative position as compared with other great critics of his time. To one of them, Sainte-Beuve, whom he knew well, he would have been the first to admit his inferiority. In universality of learning he was unequal to the French critic. When Sainte-Beuve composed a 'Causerie' the whole field of literature seemed to lie before him. Not merely his knowledge of the subject, but his knowledge of all subjects, which was encyclopædic, helped him in the construction of everything he wrote for the 'Constitutionnel.' One of the best ideas in this book of Stephen's, the striking comparison of Cowper with Rousseau, is taken, with proper acknowledgment, from the great Frenchman to whom English literature was only less familiar than his own. It is, perhaps, easier, and it is certainly more instructive, to compare or contrast Stephen with men who wrote in English, such as Matthew Arnold, Walter Bagehot, and James Russell Lowell. There is no book of his which can be set beside 'Essays in Criticism' as an intellectual event. Upon Matthew Arnold's best work, in prose as well as in poetry, there is the stamp of originality or genius. He was a born critic rather than a born poet; and his instinct often taught him conclusions at which men of wider knowledge but less wit would never have arrived. As Leslie Stephen says in his 'Studies of a Biographer,'

'His judgments show greater skill in seizing characteristic aspects than in giving a logical analysis or a convincing proof. He goes by intuition, not by roundabout logical approaches. No recent English critic, I think, has approached him in the art of giving delicate portraits of literary leaders; he has

Digitized by Google

spoken, for example, precisely the right word about Byron and Wordsworth. Many of us who cannot rival him, may gain from Arnold's writings a higher conception of what will be our true function if we could discharge it.' ('Studies,' ii, 92.)

But Arnold had some disqualifications from which Stephen is free. Although he wrote that the critic ought to keep out of the reach of immediate practice, he was by nature didactic, and was often more interested in enforcing his own views than in explaining his author. He was, moreover, addicted to what Professor Saintsbury calls will-worship, and was liable to capricious admiration. An Englishman and a lover of literature will get more pleasure from 'Essays in Criticism' than from 'Hours in a Library'; but to a foreign reader, or even to an English student, Stephen will be far more useful than Arnold, because he merges himself in his subject, and because he prefers giving information to putting out opinions.

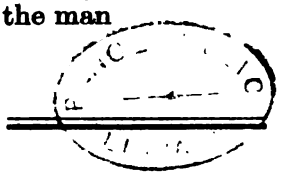
Stephen, indeed, was so reluctant to decide anything without the amplest materials and the fullest thought that he constantly postpones or sets aside answers to inevitable questions. His method was, in fact, rather scientific than literary; and he neither knew nor cared much about the classical models which Arnold adopted as a standard of taste. Although he had, perhaps, as much real humour as Arnold, Bagehot, or Lowell, he was much less lavish in the display of it. With Bagehot it was deliciously irrepressible, and we are in danger of forgetting what a good critic he was in the amusement of his quaintness or delight in his personal touches. Stephen's inclination was to write about a man whom he knew as if he had never seen him: his article on Lowell in the 'Quarterly Review' (July, 1902) is a striking instance of this peculiarity. Bagehot, on the other hand, would describe a man he had never seen as if he knew him. Stephen had quite as strong personal feeling as most of his contemporaries, and stronger than many; but in criticism he strove to be judicial, to follow the evidence, and to know nothing except what was before him.

With Lowell he had more affinity than with either of the two other critics whom we have named. There was a strong mutual affection between them; and none of Stephen's addresses have more depth of sentiment or beauty of style than the words which he spoke when the

Digitized by Google

memorial to Lowell was unveiled. On the other hand, nothing could be better said or closer to the truth than a sentence in Lowell's letter to Stephen about 'English Thought in the Eighteenth Century.' 'Whatever your belief,' he wrote, 'and whatever proof you ask for believing, you show much tenderness for whatever is high-minded and sincere, even where you think it mistaken.' Lowell had a wider acquaintance than Stephen with the literature of foreign countries; and the circumstances of his life had made him a better citizen of the world. It was much the same to him whether a book was written in French or German or Italian or Spanish. He was also a sensitively patriotic American. But he was of pure English descent, and resented the suggestion that he was not an Englishman; certainly no Englishman loved English literature better, or was more thoroughly at home in it. He had the faculty, in which Stephen was somewhat lacking, of suggestiveness, of dropping a hint which excited the reader to follow it up. A great political satirist before he was otherwise known as a man of letters, Lowell had a keener interest than Stephen in public affairs; and books were not the sole or perhaps the main interest of his life. If there is in Stephen a little too much of the professional critic, there is in Lowell a little too much of the amateur. But, taken altogether, with his sanity, his lucidity, his thoroughness, his tolerance, his singular fairness of mind, Leslie Stephen is sure to rank among the best critics of his generation.

No judge who has ever sat upon the literary bench has held the moral standard higher or shown more reverence for goodness, whatever the outward form it assumed. If we may try him by the rule which he himself laid down and infer what he was from what he wrote, we may say with perfect confidence that it is impossible to rise from a perusal of his books without reverence for the fidelity of the artist and affection for the personality of the man



Digitized by Google

Art. VII.—THE NOVELS OF THOMAS HARDY.

Desperate Remedies (1871); *Under the Greenwood Tree* (1872); *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (1873); *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1874); *The Hand of Ethelberta* (1876); *The Return of the Native* (1878); *The Trumpet-Major* (1880); *A Laodicean* (1881); *Two on a Tower* (1882); *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886); *The Woodlanders* (1887); *Wessex Tales* (1888); *A Group of Noble Dames* (1891); *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (1891); *Life's Little Ironies* (1894); *Jude the Obscure* (1895); *The Well-beloved* (1897). Collected edition. Seventeen vols. London: Macmillan, 1903.

On a review of the works of the earlier Greek poets Aristotle concluded that dramatists were able sooner to arrive at excellence in diction and characterisation than in the construction of the fable; and English literature, modern as well as ancient, is, by its main defect in narrative art, a lamentable proof of his assertion. From Spenser to Browning and George Eliot, the weak point with us has been the structure of the plot. Dramatic design, like sculpture, is an art not easily to be naturalised in this country. Ben Jonson was one of the first English writers to compose plays with all the incidents regularly interwoven and all the parts interdependent; and for this reason he was considered by some critics, from the Jacobean age to the Restoration period, to be a better dramatist than Shakespeare. Being, however, vastly inferior to several of his contemporaries in the creation and development of character and the genius for dramatic poetry, he failed to excite a general feeling for form and so establish it as a tradition binding upon later writers. Happily, the sense of literary form was, to some extent, popularised in England during the eighteenth century, when the art of painting was also founded in this country; and, on the rise of the novel, there was a possibility of the art of construction being acquired by the English mind, with the splendid examples set before it, first, by the author of 'Clarissa Harlowe,' and then by the author of 'The Bride of Lammermuir.'

Vainly, however. The loss of the sense of literary form was part of the price we had to pay for the magnificent

Digitized by Google

results of the romantic movement. Coleridge, Hazlitt, and other critics of the romantic school, English and German, must be said to have been collaborators in innumerable badly constructed works of the last century, in that they either exalted the superstition of Shakespeare's consummate skill as a playwright into a sort of literary religion, or brought the inferior plays of other Elizabethan dramatists into fashion by dwelling on detached passages of exceptionally poetic quality and lightly passing over structural defects which should have been treated as intolerable. Owing in no small measure to the influence of these critics, our drama, in an age when great poets were attempting to write for the stage, became, in Beddoes' phrase, 'a haunted ruin,' and soon decayed utterly; while many volumes of fiction, remarkable and, at times, excellent in characterisation, feeling, and philosophy, remained second-rate productions in regard to proportion, compactness, correlation of parts, and general design.

Thackeray, in the first portion of 'Vanity Fair,' and in some later works, effected a marked improvement in the art of novel-writing in England, in construction as well as in style; but to have definitely raised the standard of workmanship in this respect is one of the fine achievements of the author of 'The Return of the Native.' We think it is well to insist upon this, primarily, in attempting even a brief estimate of Mr Hardy's work as a novelist. For although the best writers of the younger generation have followed him in studying conciseness, arrangement, dramatic point, and, in a few instances, purity and expressiveness of style, yet, unfortunately, the average English work remains, not only pitifully inferior to the French, but inferior also in constructive art and vividness to the average American novel of the present day. Hence, as Mr Hardy complained some sixteen years ago, in a valuable essay on the reading of fiction, probably few general readers consider that to a masterpiece in story, no less than to a masterpiece in painting or sculpture, there appertains a beauty of shape capable of giving to the trained mind an equal pleasure.

Yet, no doubt, many persons, who did not care whether or not the English novel in Mr Hardy's hands had become a well-knit drama instead of the string of episodes which

Digitized by Google

once it was, appreciated other splendid qualities in his rustic stories. First of all, he revealed to them the true romance of country life. He painted for them the woods, downs, meads, and heaths, where the Wessex labourer toiled, in a new and most impressive light. In that happy compromise between an essay in criticism and an anthology, 'Landscape in Poetry,' the late Professor Palgrave remarked in the literary treatment of natural scenery a general development. There was first a simple pleasure in describing single familiar objects; scenes were next lightly drawn as a background in the representation of human actions and manners. Then, as men gathered into cities for the business of life, and repaired to the country for pleasure and refreshment, a form of literature arose in which the loveliness and the benignity of the green earth were extolled. This idea of nature as a fair, beneficent power obtained in Wordsworth's poetry its grandest and most complete expression; and, in an era of extraordinary industrial expansion, it has become one of the commonplaces of European letters.

It implies, however, a conception of the conditions of rustic existence which is not borne out by the experiences of the peasant himself. Not by residing in a thatched cottage, amid verdant fields circled by soft blue hills, does he become a poetic figure. The poetry of his mode of life consists in his having to work for his living in a dependence on the moods of sky, air, and earth, almost as absolute as is the dependence on the moods of sky, air, and water, of mariners in a lone sailing vessel on the high seas. Dawn and darkness, rain, wind, mist, and snow, the frost in winter, the summer drought—these, for him, are personal obstructors or assistants; and every hour of the day he must study and prepare for them. He does not always see in a sunset the beauty which Turner and Shelley have taught us to appreciate; he usually glances at it for another purpose, which Mr Hardy illustrates in the scene in 'The Woodlanders,' where the peasant girl Marty South is planting fir trees.

'She looked towards the western sky, which was now aglow like some vast foundry wherein new worlds were being cast. Across it the bare boughs of a tree stretched horizontally, revealing every twig against the evening fire, and showing in

Digitized by Google

dark profile every beck and movement of three pheasants that were settling themselves down on it in a row to roost.

'"It will be fine to-morrow," said Marty, observing them with the vermilion light of the sun in the pupils of her eyes, "for they are a-croupied down nearly at the end of the bough. If it were going to be stormy they'd squeeze close to the trunk."'

This is excellent writing, inspired by knowledge and instinct with poetry; but a still finer and more complete revelation of the countryman's point of view is found in 'Far from the Madding Crowd,' where the shepherd, tending his lambing ewes on a winter's night upon the downs, pauses to glance at the sky.

'To persons standing alone on a hill during a clear midnight such as this, the roll of the world eastward is almost a palpable movement. The sensation may be caused by the panoramic glide of the stars past earthly objects, which is perceptible in a few minutes of stillness, or by the better outlook upon space that a hill affords, or by the wind, or by the solitude; but whatever be its origin, the impression of riding along is vivid and abiding. . . . The Dog-star and Aldebaran, pointing to the restless Pleiades, were half-way up the Southern sky, and between them hung Orion, which gorgeous constellation never burnt more vividly than now, as it swung itself forth above the rim of the landscape. Castor and Pollux, with their quiet shine, were almost on the meridian; the barren and gloomy Square of Pegasus was creeping round to the north-west; far away through the plantation, Vega sparkled like a lamp suspended amid the leafless trees, and Cassiopeia's chair stood daintily poised on the uppermost boughs.

'"One o'clock," said Gabriel.

'Being a man not without a frequent consciousness that there was some charm in this life he led, he stood still after looking at the sky as a useful instrument, and regarded it in an appreciative spirit, as a work of art superlatively beautiful.'

This shepherd is a type of the countryman described by Mr Hardy with the greatest sympathy. Mr Hardy's conception of the English peasant is somewhat partial, but most striking; and we fancy that such characters as Gabriel are depicted with the greatest sympathy because they clearly reflect a main idiosyncrasy of their author in noble conjunction with a higher quality of soul. They are supposed to unite the enervating

Digitized by Google

fatalism that distinguishes Mr Hardy with a power of silent, grand endurance in adversity that a Roman Stoic would have admired. For instance, the scene in 'Far from the Madding Crowd,' from which we have just cited a passage, closes with a spectacle of disaster. The flock of ewes, representing Gabriel's savings after years of toil and thrift, and his prospect of acquiring a position of independence and comfort, are worried by a young dog into a chalk-pit, at the bottom of which he discovers them stretched all dying or dead. Misfortunes accumulate, as they often do in Mr Hardy's novels. Gabriel finds himself rejected by the woman he loves, poverty-stricken, and unable to obtain any sort of employment. Then, with that healthy disinclination to grieve over past sorrows, which amounts almost to temperamental cheerfulness in the generality of the English labouring classes, the shepherd goes in search of work.

'He had sunk from his modest elevation as pastoral king into the very slime-pits of Siddim; but there was left to him . . . that indifference to fate which, though it often makes a villain of a man, is the basis of his sublimity when it does not.'

Mr Hardy's heroes are all drawn on the same model. Gabriel Oak in 'Far from the Madding Crowd,' John Loveday in 'The Trumpet-Major,' Giles Winterborne in 'The Woodlanders,' are men of a similar nature. 'Michael Henchard' in 'The Mayor of Casterbridge,' though lacking their inexpressible tenderness and purity of heart, is related to them in passive fortitude; and Clym Yeobright in 'The Return of the Native,' joins their family. A student and a sojourner in cities, he has, at first, a facility of expression, a radiant activity, and a resilience of mind, which exclude him from the company of Mr Hardy's heroes; but when he turns again for peace of soul to the rugged heath where he was born, he at last becomes as subdued in spirit as the strong rustic men who have been taught to go softly all their days, and to whom the sad art of renunciation is almost an instinct. Here, at least, Mr Hardy's poetic exaggeration of nature's utter sternness, as opposed to Wordsworth's equally poetic exaggeration of her benignity, leads to the conception of a fine type of character.

The disciplinary influence of country life supplies

Digitized by Google

indeed, one of those grandly constructive ideas which give to the Wessex novels their singular unity and consistency. It underlies the whole of the characterisation. While Mr Hardy's heroes are countrymen in whom the dumb passiveness of the peasantry under affliction rises into a moral grandeur of resignation, his men of the meaner sort are either townsmen or persons of urban culture. Manson, Sergeant Troy, Wildeve, Fitzpiers, D'Urberville, and some characters in the shorter tales, have many traits in common; and, through not having been chastened by a life of labour under natural conditions, they strangely resemble those women in Mr Hardy's novels who, belonging to the yeoman or better class, lead a sheltered, pleasant existence. Men and women, their characteristics can be given almost in the same words. They have somewhat of the moral poverty of children in that their reason and their propensities have no reciprocating influence; so they live on present emotions, and regard neither the past with understanding nor the future with circumspection. Though possessing as little real energy of resistance to fate as Mr Hardy's peasants, they have a buoyancy of spirit arising from the unrestrained sensibility which is the moving force of their lives; and, stimulated by whatever pleasing object chance places in their way, they are full of dangerous activity. The effect is that the men are refined sensualists and the women light-hearted coquets, who, in a search for personal admiration or fine shades of feeling, often become the victims of an overwhelming passion. Irresponsible, fascinating creatures, these 'children of a larger growth' are sometimes transfigured into incarnations of the tragic power of love, blind, disastrous, and ineluctable in its working. As wayward as fate itself, they invade, for some light whim, the settled lives of men whose calmness is but the equilibrium of great powers, and leave them terribly disordered. They are singularly apt to make the first advances; yet with all their eagerness for admiration they remain indifferent to the deep inarticulate devotion which they are at pains to excite. The tumult and not the depth of soul they approve, and thus they are won lightly by the voluble inconstant men whose failings they more innocently and weakly reflect.

If Mr Hardy is often ungenerous, sometimes cruel, and

Digitized by Google

occasionally unpleasant in his characterisation of women, yet there are to be found in his works heroines nobly conceived. Marty South in 'The Woodlanders,' Elizabeth-Jane in 'The Mayor of Casterbridge,' and Tess of the D'Urbervilles, are tenderly drawn. They are girls who have had to work in the woods and fields, instead of living comfortably indoors. Sharing the hard conditions and rough experiences of such men as Winterborne and Gabriel Oak, they, too, have learnt to suffer greatly in silence, and to regard happiness, in accordance with their author's sad philosophy, as 'but the occasional episode in a general drama of pain.' They accept misfortunes with the same fatalism, with the same passivity, rising often in moments of trial to similar stoic greatness. Of these women, Marty South is the most typical; for Elizabeth-Jane, that 'dumb, deep-feeling, great-eyed creature,' is rescued from her lot by adoption and marriage, while Tess, with her beauty and her strange career, appears a queen of tragedy rather than a peasant girl. In outward seeming Marty South, dressed in her working clothes, illiterate, poor, and unlovely, is merely a pitiable figure; yet Mr Hardy makes her one of the most exquisite and touching characters in the Wessex novels. Personally, we are moved more by her story than by that of Tess; it is related more simply and naturally, from the time when first we meet her, toiling wearily at a man's work all the day and most of the night, and selling, for her sick father's sake, the long beautiful hair that redeemed her from plainness, until at last we leave her, standing above the grave of the man whom she loved, but who had given her no word of love in return. How finely, for instance, are her feelings revealed as she talks to him, when they are planting fir trees, and he, absent in mind, is anxiously devising how to win another woman. Marty holds up the little trees while he spreads the roots towards the south-west in order, as he explains, to give them a strong hold-fast against the great gales from that quarter.

'"How they sigh directly we put 'em upright, though while they are lying down they don't sigh at all," said Marty.

'"Do they?" said Giles. "I've never noticed it."

'She erected one of the young pines into its hole, and held up her finger. The soft musical breathing instantly set in, which was not to cease night or day till the grown tree should

Digitized by Google

be felled—probably long after the two planters had been felled themselves.

'"It seems to me," the girl continued, "as if they sigh because they are very sorry to begin life in earnest—just as we be."

'"Just as we be?" He looked critically at her. "You ought not to feel like that, Marty."'

The thought is, indeed, a sad one; but Mr Hardy is a true enough observer to depict many a charming group of rustics with that *joie de vivre* which, whatever may be said to the contrary, is still to be found in this country. Interpreting everything in the terms of his own profound melancholy, he tries to explain that the more humble classes are alone sufficiently ignorant of the real conditions of life to be persistently cheerful; but, though his philosophy is false, he is loyal to facts. The truth is that 'Merry England' is a land that still exists, though hidden for some centuries in obscurity. The English are a spirited people, sentimental and yet humorous at heart; the aristocratic *morgue* of the uppermost social strata, the puritanic rigour which still keeps many of the middle and lower-middle classes somewhat sour of mind, are alike foreign to the genius of the race. It is naturally of a light-hearted and rather improvident nature, living for the day, and trusting to its strength to provide for the morrow when the morrow comes. The fatalism which Mr Hardy exaggerates as a trait of our rural population is simply an inveterate cheerfulness of soul, which causes them to accept a misfortune as a thing that was to be, in order to avoid constant anxiety for the future and vain regret for the past. Doubtless, this disposition to escape from worry makes at times more for serenity of mind than for strength of character; and Mr Hardy, besides ascribing it, as we have remarked, to some of his worst personages, notices it as a weakness in Joan Durbeyfield. Yet, after all, such a disposition is not wholly bad.

There was a time, we fancy, when the Wessex peasantry infected Mr Hardy himself with somewhat of its gaiety. Among his types of character there is one occurring so frequently as to be remarkable. Sometimes it is a rustic lad, Clym Yeobright or Edward Springrove, sometimes it is a rustic maid, Fancy Day or Grace Melbury, who

Digitized by Google

returns home with urban manners and habits of thought; but in all cases these acquirements yield at last to an instinctive delight in country life, and the reversion brings with it happiness. Happiness Mr Hardy must in some measure have attained when, leaving London, he rediscovered Wessex, and found to his hand materials of such value as no writer since Scott had possessed. Here was a land untouched by modern unrest, the land of an ancient, youthful-hearted people, where the passions were frank and simple, where the outlook on all things was natural and wholesome, and life ran still calmly in the channels of instinct and custom.

That charming pastoral, 'Under the Greenwood Tree,' the earliest of the Wessex novels, must have been composed by a man who was moved to joy in escaping from the smoke and business of the city, and in discerning the true field for displaying the great powers within him. What knowledge does a town-bred child in playtime acquire like the knowledge of wild life which a rustic lad obtains almost unwittingly? On what fund of picturesque tradition can a citizen draw like the tales of courtships at maypole dances, of midsummer-eve rites, and other immemorial usages, of sorcerers and witches, smugglers, press-gangs, and preparations along the English shore against Napoleon's armies, which one Dorsetshire man tells us he heard, some fifty years since, from a gentle old dame born ere England went to war with her American colonies? And if few writers of the present day have gathered such material for their works, none other has cultivated so carefully gifts naturally so fine. A relish for old rustic ways and forms of speech of genuine Saxon idiom, a turn for story-telling, a rare perception of the character of a landscape as well as of a person, a quick sense of humour, and that intensity of imagination and feeling that stamps the real poet, these were the foundations of a genius which has been developed by study. One of the most dramatic of novelists—except on the rare occasions when he is melodramatic—Mr Hardy has endued with life and colour all that a student of antiquities, history, architecture, and folk-lore could discover relating to his native county; and with wonderful accuracy, lightness, and charm he has revealed the poetry with which the ways of the woodman and the farmer, the

Digitized by Google

neatherd, the shepherd, and other rural figures, are still surrounded.

Surprising, indeed, is Mr Hardy's achievement as a whole. In an age when, to very refined people, England appeared to be a vast manufactory, with a population that had lost the poetry of tradition without acquiring the feelings of true culture, when Spain and Italy were cherished as the sole countries of Europe untouched by the general vulgarity of material progress, he found in the daily occupations of the peasantry of a neglected agricultural province the matter for a series of idylls and tragedies which, for their qualities of romantic emotion and poetic charm, can almost be compared with the Waverley Novels. The popularity of Scott Mr Hardy can never dream of attaining, by reason of the unwholesomeness of his view of life; but on no English novelist of modern times, except perhaps Mr George Meredith, were the gifts necessary for greatness more abundantly bestowed.

Mr Hardy's dramatic skill is especially displayed in 'The Return of the Native,' which, in construction, is his best work. The informing idea of this novel consists of a subtle study of the influence which a vast stretch of rugged heath exercises over the minds of its inhabitants. The feelings, now of passionate attachment, now of blank weariness, which it provokes in the principal characters in the story give rise to the conjuncture of events involving the catastrophe. The tale opens, therefore, with an impressive picture of Egdon Heath. So impressive is it that many a reader will forget sooner the conduct of the action itself than the scene of the action—a swarthy wilderness extending between

> 'the distant rims of the world,' like the 'original of those wild regions of obscurity which are vaguely felt to be compassing us about in midnight dreams of flight and disaster.'

Interest in the bleak expanse centres at last on its crowning point, a hill surmounted by a tumulus, whereon, in the twilight, is seen the figure of a stately woman standing black and solitary against the pale wintry horizon like the very genius of Egdon Heath. Thus strikingly is the heroine of the tragedy presented. She

Digitized by Google

hastens away, leaving the scene clear for a company of rustics who ascend and prepare a November bonfire. While it burns, and flames answer it from the heights encircling the heath, the chorus of peasants, with slow roundabout ways of expression and a homely ignorance as delightful as the racy shrewdness and humour which it serves to enhance, discuss things generally and their neighbours in particular, and so, like the two servants in the opening scene of a modern play, introduce the chief characters and explain the action.

The heroine, Eustacia Vye, is a sombre, passionate woman, distantly related, perhaps, to Flaubert's Emma Bovary, but with a nature of a larger and more imperious cast. She is a personification of romantic revolt, not of romantic sentimentality. The native of a gay, busy seaside town, she languishes in the solitude and monotony of the great heath, where circumstances compel her to abide; and to interrupt the tediousness of life she lightly fascinates the innkeeper, Wildeve, in the absence of a man of a finer nature on whom she might exercise her power. For she holds 'that love is a doleful joy; yet she desires it as one in a desert would be thankful for brackish water.'

The hero, Clym Yeobright, is a man after Mr Hardy's own heart. Born and bred on Egdon Heath, he leaves his home to see the cities of the world and win a competency if not a fortune; but soon, discontented with town life, he returns with an intellectual relish and affirmed affection for his native wilds such as Thoreau scarcely felt for Walden. In his views he anticipates in some measure the resurgence of Rousseauism, now associated with Tolstoy's name. The retrogression to the austerity and wholesomeness of peasant life, enforced by such culture as should help men, not to rise in the world, but to glorify a life of rustic toil with knowledge and imagination, is now his ruling idea.

Eustacia, aware of his return, and prompt for any mad prank that will disperse the tedium of existence, calls upon him disguised as one of the mummers who perform at his mother's house the old miracle-play of St George. Yeobright penetrates her disguise, and is affected by her unconventional conduct, as perhaps she wishes him to be. In the event the lady wins the hermit, and marries

Digitized by Google

him. Egdon Heath thereupon begins, like some dark spirit of tragedy working in secret behind the scene, to govern their destinies. Passion subsides into domestic love; and in Eustacia there revives the longing for the distractions of a life in town. It was partly for this purpose that she married; and she employs all her charms in order to prevail upon her husband to take her away from the dreary waste. Yeobright, however, is reluctant. Stronger almost than his affection for his wife is this idealist's hatred of the town and love of the country. He wants nothing save to live and die with her on Egdon Heath, passing his days in the delight of study, and teaching the labouring men around him to appreciate intelligently their happy state. Eustacia at first cannot but respect his sincerity and ardour; still, the weariness frets her. At length her husband, having strained his eyes by study, puts into practice his professions in the matter of rustic toil, and, dressed in peasant's clothes, cuts furze all day on the waste, returning home at evening too tired for anything but sleep. His wife is divided between revolt and despair. This antagonism of temperaments, which threatens to end in an elopement, is brought to a sadder conclusion by the suicide of Eustacia.

The two ideas in 'The Return of the Native,' the disturbance created in a little sequestered community by the arrival of some educated child of the soil, and the influence exercised upon the mood of the inhabitants by the nature of their surroundings, occur in different forms in other novels of Mr Hardy. By means of the first idea he exhibits the contrast between the older generation of country people and the younger. The second idea enables him to trace, in the course of the narrative, the gradual eradication of the new views of life and the new restlessness by the old pervasive influences, and so to bring the story, when he will, to a pleasant close, as in the first and gayest of the Wessex tales, 'Under the Greenwood Tree.' This work, and the much later novel, 'The Woodlanders,' are variations on the same theme, the one idyllic, the other tragical. Even the heroines resemble each other more than the generality of sisters. Both are the heiresses of countrymen of the old school, both are educated in town, the stories opening with their return to the little knot of cottages in sylvan

Digitized by Google

surroundings where they were born, the typical scene of Mr Hardy's novels, a spot

> 'outside the gates of the world, where may usually be found more meditation than action, and more listlessness than meditation; where reasoning proceeds on narrow premisses, and results in inferences wildly imaginative; yet where, from time to time, dramas of a grandeur and unity truly Sophoclean are enacted in the real, by virtue of the concentrated passions and closely-knit interdependence of the lives therein.'

Soon after their arrival, Fancy Day, in 'Under the Greenwood Tree,' and Grace Melbury, in 'The Woodlanders,' find awaiting them a pair of lovers, a rustic lad and a man of the higher class. Were they acquainted with the principles underlying Mr Hardy's system of characterisation, they would not, of course, hesitate in their choice. However, Fancy, a light-hearted girl, touched by the spirit of spring moving in the woods around her, chooses the villager, Dick Dewy, a sprightly son of nature; and the idyll ends with a nightingale singing their epithalamium. Grace, with a temperament more slowly and more deeply moved, allows herself to be chosen by Dr Fitzpiers. On her marriage, misfortunes quickly follow. Their house stands in a region of woodlands and apple-orchards; and close by are the homes of Grace's rustic lover, the cider-maker Giles Winterborne, of Marty South, Giles's affectionate companion, and of Mrs Charmond, a wealthy young widow acquainted with Fitzpiers.

Mrs Charmond and Fitzpiers are society representatives of Eustacia Vye and Wildeve, but they look somewhat unreal in comparison when they emerge into the bright clear air of Wessex. There, owing to a common feeling of lassitude which affects those who dwell in the country without knowing an oak from a beech, they drift from coquetry into passion. The elopement which threatened in 'The Return of the Native' now takes place; in the sequel the man grows weary and returns home. Mr Hardy, however, cannot tell this sort of story half as well as some foreign writers; nor does he show his real power in any kind of society novel, of which he has written several that are, for him, rather successful essays in the art of sinking. Of course, one estimates a

Digitized by Google

man by his best works; and these careful, studied, but somewhat uninspired tales serve merely to show that Mr Hardy, like most writers, has his limits. But when, as in 'The Woodlanders,' he combines a matchless story of rustic life with this inferior work, the result is irritating. It produces the effect of a Millet inserting into the foreground of a masterpiece, such as 'Les Glaneuses,' the figures of an actress and a physician, painted in some fashionable style of portraiture. The required contrast between the primitive ways of the woodlanders and the manners of the modern world might surely have been obtained by more simple means.

Indeed, this is done in the character of Grace Melbury. Her husband's desertion moved her but little. Having made love to her merely as the most striking figure in a dull landscape before Mrs Charmond appeared, he had wooed but the artificial lady in her, touching her heart even less than she had touched his. Left to herself, a deep change comes over her; and the spirit of her native place enters her soul. The sylvan life about her rouses that in her nature which is stronger than her acquired sense of refinement; and, craving for the homely existence of her own people, even in its roughness and defects, she turns on her father crying:—

'"I wish you had never, never thought of educating me. I wish I worked in the woods like Marty South! I hate genteel life, and I want to be no better than she."

'"Why?" said her amazed father.

'"Because cultivation has only brought me inconveniences and troubles. . . . If I had stayed at home I should have married——."'

For Winterborne, whom she had forsaken just as he was reduced to poverty—Gabriel Oak was treated in the same manner—now appeared to her, as he stood by his cider-presses, clothed in the poetry of nature.

'He looked and smelt like Autumn's very brother, his face being sunburnt to wheat-colour, his eyes blue as cornflowers, his sleeves and leggings dyed with fruit-stains, his hands clammy with the sweet juice of apples, his hat sprinkled with pips, and everywhere about him that atmosphere of cider which, at its first return each season, has such an indescribable fascination for those who have been born and bred among the

Digitized by Google

orchards. Her heart rose from its late sadness like a released bough; her senses revelled in the sudden lapse back to nature unadorned . . . and she became the crude country girl of her latent early instincts.'

After a meeting, in which, by an accident, Grace's new feelings for Giles are displayed, they determine to keep apart from one another. Winterborne, more profoundly saddened by the untoward disclosure which increases Grace's unhappiness than by his own suffering, past and present, falls ill; and the story deepens into tragedy as Grace, driven to seek his aid in a moment of trouble, unwittingly brings about his death. Her husband has returned; and, in trying to take refuge with a distant friend, she finds herself homeless on a rainy night. She resorts to Giles in her dismay; and he, rising up from a sick-bed, surrenders his house to her, and, sleeping outside under a damp shelter of hurdles, is brought back dying. The tale closes with a reconciliation between Fitzpiers and his wife, which is not very convincing. Yet Mr Hardy more than redeems this defect by the description, on the last page, of Marty South mourning over the grave which Grace and she, in companionship of grief, used to dress every week with flowers, and which now she remains to tend alone. The girl's words have much of the music and all of the pathos of Sir Ector's lament over Launcelot in 'Le Morte d'Arthur.'

'She entered the churchyard, going to a secluded corner behind the bushes, where rose the unadorned stone that marked the last bed of Giles Winterborne. As this solitary and silent girl stood there in the moonlight, a straight slim figure, clothed in a plaitless gown, the contours of womanhood so undeveloped as to be scarcely perceptible, the marks of poverty and toil effaced by the misty hour, she touched sublimity at points, and looked almost like a being who had rejected with indifference the attribute of sex for the loftier quality of abstract humanism. She stooped down and cleared away the withered flowers that Grace and herself had laid there the previous week, and put her fresh ones in their place.

'"Now, my own, own love," she whispered, "you are mine, and on'y mine; for she has forgot 'ee at last, although for her you died. But I—whenever I get up I'll think of 'ee, and whenever I lie down I'll think of 'ee. Whenever I plant the young larches I'll think that none can plant as you planted;

Digitized by Google

and whenever I split a gad, and whenever I turn the cider wring, I'll say none could do it like you. If ever I forget your name, let me forget home and heaven! . . . But no, no, my love, I never can forget 'ee; for you was a good man, and did good things!'

Yes, Marty South and Winterborne are truly heroine and hero in 'The Woodlanders'; even the situation of Grace Melbury and Fitzpiers is presented, we think, with more dramatic force in an earlier work, 'Far from the Madding Crowd.' The analogous characters in this book, being nearer to the rustic life, are drawn with greater vividness. Of all the educated women in the Wessex novels who move among the peasantry with unrest and sorrow in their wake, Bathsheba Everdene, the mistress of Weatherbury farm, is the most mischievous and fascinating. With finer intellectual powers than Mr Hardy commonly allows to women, and with a wild disposition that prevents her from obtaining the position of governess, which Fancy Day and Grace Melbury demurely fill, she is armed with an authority denied to Eustacia Vye. The disasters which must hence ensue are adumbrated on the appearance at Weatherbury farm of the brilliant Sergeant Troy, a man who, more infected with urban ideas than Bathsheba, matches her in his failings, even to a touch of masterful brutality answering to her capriciousness. Mr Hardy's favourite crisis is then reached. It is that which occurs when Fancy Day and Maybold, Eustacia and Wildeve, Grace Melbury and Fitzpiers, encounter one another. In each case the position is worked out in an astonishingly different manner, but never with such power as in 'Far from the Madding Crowd.' Like Grace Melbury and Fitzpiers, Bathsheba and Troy, with but little in common save their weaknesses, marry. Then in their path the menacing figure of Boldwood, Bathsheba's rejected wooer, and the pathetic form of Fanny Robin, Troy's old love, stand like ministers of fate. The catastrophe—Troy's desertion of his wife, and Boldwood's murder of Troy—though effected in a manner rather roundabout, is a natural consequence and a finely tragical one.

By way of contrast the story is lightened with a series of beautiful pictures representing the varied business of

Digitized by Google

farming in Wessex at a period when the continuity with the past remained in all things unbroken.

'Between the mother, with her fast-perishing lumber of superstitions, folk-lore, dialect, and orally transmitted ballads, and the daughter, with her trained National teachings and Standard knowledge under an infinitely Revised Code, there was a gap of two hundred years as ordinarily understood. When they were together the Jacobean and the Victorian ages were juxtaposed.'

The difference between Joan Durbeyfield and her child Tess represents the difference in social atmosphere between 'Far from the Madding Crowd' and 'Tess of the D'Urbervilles.' There are other works of Mr Hardy, equally fine, but upon the excellences of which we cannot, in this brief estimate, enlarge, such as 'The Trumpet-Major,' 'The Mayor of Casterbridge,' and the 'Wessex Tales,' in which the same conditions prevail as in 'Far from the Madding Crowd.' They are pictures of rustic life prior to 1851, when newspapers and modern thought, railways and industrialism began to effect in the minds and the mode of living of the peasantry a change, hastened by the result of the Education Act of 1870.

Mr Hardy seems to be divided in opinion with regard to the alteration. The poet and lover of nature contend in him with the equalitarian. The fruits of even legitimate ambition have been purchased at the price of contentment and simple pleasures. In gaining by agitation better wages and a position of greater independence, the peasants have forfeited something more than picturesqueness of appearance. In 'Far from the Madding Crowd' the memorable Joseph Poorgrass and his companions had certain intimate and kindly relations with the land upon which they laboured, not possessed by their less dependent successors. Living and dying on the spot where their forefathers had lived and died, they lost the character of hirelings in that of natural guardians; and, although none of them would have been so terribly bold as the new man, Andrew Candle, who lost a place by telling the squire that his soul was his own, they acquired, by way of compensation, that sympathy with their surroundings, that sense of long local participation, which are not least among the pleasures of life.

Digitized by Google

In the period described in 'Tess of the D'Urbervilles' Wessex is a different world. The revolution is not entirely the result of that superficial instruction obtained at school, which, as Mr Hardy has shown, is often counteracted by natural influences. New economic conditions have perturbed the character of the working classes. The migrations of Tess, of Car Darch and her companions, of Marian and other milkmaids, from Trantridge to Talbothays, from Talbothays to Port Bredy and other places, and their frequent changes of occupation, denote these altered conditions. The agricultural labourers now remove almost yearly from farm to farm; and they are acquiring some of the virtues and many of the defects of a nomadic race. The women are relinquishing their modest grace for the rollicking airs of factory hands; and the men are cultivating urban vulgarities in place of that humorous simplicity which makes Mr Hardy's rustics of the older generation so akin to Shakespeare's. Moreover, domestic stability having an immense influence on conduct, uncertainty of residence is resulting in laxer morality and more cynical views of the duties of life. The gradual erosion of local feeling and local peculiarities, the disappearance of small tradesmen like John Durbeyfield, who were the main force in village life, have now obliterated so much of the old romance of Wessex that one can partly understand how it was that Mr Hardy, in the prime of his genius, brought to a conclusion his novels of country life with 'Tess of the D'Urbervilles.'

Before 'Tess' was written there seemed scarcely a rustic employment which Mr Hardy had not described. The multitude of countrymen who peopled the Wessex of his novels were distinguished from one another almost as much by their different occupations as by their characters. Happily, he had not dealt with the one pastoral scene which in a century of utilitarian change had lost little of its natural picturesqueness. It may be that for a long time Mr Hardy delayed to depict a rural dairy in order to avoid direct comparison with the author of 'Adam Bede.' Truly, no little courage was required to intrude upon a scene over which the indomitable Mrs Poyser reigned. The creator of such a rival to that lady as Joseph Poorgrass need not, perhaps, have hesitated overmuch; but Mr Hardy had grown too melan-

Digitized by Google

choly to retain in all its fulness the genius for richly humorous work which informed his earlier stories. He was now so deeply immersed in philosophy that cheerfulness was quite excluded.

When at last he elected to be measured against his predecessor in the novel of country life, it was surprising how much his tale had in common with hers, and yet how superficial were the points of resemblance. It might be thought that they had been designed merely to bring out the more profound dissimilarity in treatment. The coincidence of 'The Chase,' as the spot where Tess and Hetty Sorrel, girls of about the same age, were wronged by the young squires, may not, for instance, have been unintentional; while Alec D'Urberville's combination of the parts of the seducer and the preacher appears almost to be a travesty of the characterisation of the older writer. But instead of inviting us to study 'the psychology of a canary bird,' as George Eliot says of Hetty Sorrel, Mr Hardy asks us, in what may be an indignant rehandling of the theme, to follow a more harrowing tale, whose pathos is enhanced by the nobility and patience of the chief sufferer. It must be admitted that in pathetic effect 'Tess' is superior to 'Adam Bede.' Mr Hardy, in his sympathy with his heroine, exhibits at times an intensity of emotion not surpassed by either of the Brontés. In concluding the tale, not by the murder of the child and the transportation of the mother, but by the death of the seducer at the hand of the wronged woman, he wrought it into a more tragic narrative, evolving the tremendous conception of fate.

On the other hand, George Eliot's story is more simple, more natural, and far more probable. If her fault is want of art, Mr Hardy's defect is artificiality. Too much machinery is employed in 'Tess' to bring about the catastrophe; and, in the latter part of the tale especially, disaster follows disaster in so close and yet so disconnected a manner that all sense of verisimilitude is destroyed. There is an analogous defect in his characterisation. Keeping to the general law of human nature, George Eliot traced in Hetty Sorrel and Arthur Donnithorne a common weakness of character which, without the machinations of a third person, would result in a terrible calamity. Believing, as Mr Hardy in his

Digitized by Google

earlier works appears to have been inclined to believe, that

> 'In tragic life, God wot,
> No villain need be! Passions spin the plot;
> We are betrayed by what is false within,'

she was able to spare even Donnithorne some traits of nobility, and so to surround the miserable couple in their career of sin and crime with natures, such as Dinah Morris, Adam Bede, and Mrs Poyser, so sweet, strong, and sane that Mrs Carlyle, who was no easy critic of humanity, said she felt herself in charity with the whole human race after reading the book. Mr Hardy, having chosen to illustrate an exception to the law in question, and an exception so extraordinary as to be almost incredible, was unable, in creating his characters, to preserve the balance and the general truth to nature which is found in 'Adam Bede.' Having conceived a strangely immaculate heroine, who, from no impulse of her own, proceeded from fornication to adultery, and ended in murder, he had first to make her life such a succession of unmerited troubles, misfortunes, and disasters, as dispels the credulity of the most sympathetic reader; and next to encompass her about with so many persons of nefarious or brutal, vicious, weak, or scornful natures —Alec D'Urberville, Farmer Groby, Car Darch and her companions, the Durbeyfields and their landlord, Angel Clare's brothers and Angel Clare himself—that verisimilitude in the characterisation, as well as verisimilitude in the fable, is sacrificed to pathetic effect.

Yet, with all its deficiencies, its lack of balance, and its sophistical irrelevancies, 'Tess of the D'Urbervilles' remains a melodramatic novel excelling in wild pathos and poetic beauty. This poetic beauty is not a little due to the fact that the work is one which reveals most completely Mr Hardy's unrivalled genius in the description of country life and natural scenery. Possessing one of the soundest and most expressive of styles in modern prose, Mr Hardy is singularly felicitous in purely descriptive passages. As in his diction he combines plainness and concreteness of statement with great imaginative force, so in depicting natural scenery he unites keen, fresh observation of characteristic details with a broad

Digitized by Google

poetic interpretation of the general aspect. Intimate knowledge, clearness of outline, variety and novelty in points of view, are some of his secondary qualities. He has little in common with the writers of the profusely picturesque order. He prefers images which convey emotions to images which create pictures in the mind; yet he can, when he will, excel a naturalist like Richard Jefferies, and equal Ruskin in the grandeur of his thought. To illustrate this let us quote two descriptions of snowstorms in 'Far from the Madding Crowd' and 'Tess.'

'Winter, in coming to the country hereabout, advanced in well-marked stages, wherein might have been successively observed the retreat of the snakes, the transformation of the ferns, the filling of the pools, a rising of fogs, the embrowning by frost, the collapse of the fungi, and an obliteration by snow. This climax of the series had been reached to-night on the aforesaid moor, and for the first time in the season its irregularities were forms without features; suggestive of anything, proclaiming nothing, and without more character than that of being the limit of something else —the lowest layer of a firmament of snow. From this chaotic skyful of crowding flakes the mead and moor momentarily received additional clothing, only to appear momentarily more naked thereby. The vast dome of cloud above was strangely low, and formed, as it were, the roof of a large dark cavern, gradually sinking in upon its floor; for the instinctive thought was that the snow lining the heavens and that encrusting the earth would soon unite into one mass without any intervening stratum of air at all.'

The scene of the snowstorm in 'Tess' is also another Wessex upland, where the heroine worked in the winter:—

'After this season of congealed dampness came a spell of dry frost, when strange birds from behind the North Pole began to arrive silently on the upland of Flintcomb-Ash; gaunt spectral creatures with tragical eyes—eyes which had witnessed scenes of cataclysmal horror in inaccessible polar regions of a magnitude such as no human being had ever conceived, in curdling temperatures that no man could endure; which had beheld the crash of icebergs, and the slide of snow-hills by the shooting light of the Aurora; been half blinded by the whirl of colossal storms and terraqueous distortions; and retained the expression of feature that such scenes had engendered. . . . Then one day a peculiar quality invaded

Digitized by Google

the air of this open country. There came a moisture which was not of rain, and a cold which was not of frost. It chilled the eyeballs of the twain (Tess and her fellow-labourer, Marian), made their brows ache, penetrated to their skeletons, affecting the surface of the body less than its core. They knew that it meant snow, and in the night the snow came. . . . The snow had followed the birds from the polar basin as a white pillar of a cloud, and individual flakes could not be seen. The blast smelt of icebergs, arctic seas, whales, and white bears, carrying the snow so that it licked the land, but did not deepen on it. . . . The air, afflicted to pallor with the hoary multitudes that infested it, twisted and spun them eccentrically, suggesting an achromatic chaos of things.'

Since writing 'Tess of the D'Urbervilles' Mr Hardy has averted his eyes from the spectacle of the world, and devoted himself to the study of Schopenhauer and von Hartmann. In the 'Well-beloved' the elements of idealistic philosophy, and not the facts of life, are his theme. When a man loves a woman it is not the woman herself whom he loves, but the image of her in his own mind. To Mr Hardy this subjective notion is the veritable Well-beloved. The various women by whom his metaphysical hero is attracted are merely blank forms which the glorious ideal animates for a moment and then reduces into insignificance as she passes into another shape, carrying along with her the affections of the constant-inconstant lover. There is, of course, no probability either in characterisation or plot; in the track of this hypothesis we pass into that misty region beyond space and time where, in Doudan's phrase, we hear the choir of ideas celebrating the impossible on the ruins of reality.

'Jude the Obscure,' that much discussed work, is another of Mr Hardy's essays in metaphysics. It is a wild attempt to realise in narrative form some current pessimistic theories, by imagining a world where all women will have an innate aversion against marrying and bearing children; and where, even when children are born, they will resort to suicide out of an instinctive desire not to live. These ideas are embodied in Sue Bridehead, and the son of Jude. Mr Hardy would have us believe that Jude Fawley came from Mellstock where lived that more amiable idiot Tommy Leaf, and the

Digitized by Google

gallant Dick Dewy. As a matter of fact, Jude is a native of that part of the Utopia of the philosophers over which the author of 'The Metaphysics of Love' dismally reigns. He is Schopenhauer's perfidious lover 'seeking to perpetuate all this misery and turmoil which otherwise would come to a timely end.' Lest the shade of the great hypochondriac should thereby be offended, Jude is also intended to personify the more gratifying idea of the rapid extinction of the human race by degeneration. Some very unpleasant details are introduced in order to make the account of this ghastly hallucination resemble a novel of misery, but vainly; the principal characters and the main events, as described, are as far removed from the realities of this world as are those in the 'Well-beloved.' What is but too real and apparent is the frame of mind of which the work is an expression. One sees that the professed humanitarian in our day can excel Swift himself in appalling misanthropy.

Besides revealing Mr Hardy's impressions of his fellow-creatures and the universe generally, 'Jude the Obscure' is significant in regard to his relation to contemporary thought. The author represents the younger and more febrile generation who inherited the ideas of the rationalists by whom George Eliot was disciplined in thought. The world, in their view, was not under divine governance; men, instead of being immortal souls, were mere animals, which would at last yield up their place on earth to some lower type better fitted to survive in more degrading conditions; in the meantime, they said, let us promote righteousness and do our best to make the lot of the survivors of our race as pleasant as possible. From their peculiar standpoint they were illogical but human; Mr Hardy is inhuman but logical. They denied the evidence of the religious instincts because these were something that could not be measured by the utilitarian standard of immediate pleasure and immediate pain; he applied the same test of rationalistic enquiry to the ethical code to which George Eliot, for example, had adhered amid all her doubts. 'Jude the Obscure' is his answer to his teachers. He replies, in effect, that since, as you say, the travail of the whole human race, of the whole world, leads in the end to nothing, duty, morality, and life itself to me are nothing: 'What is it all but a

Digitized by Google

trouble of ants?' as Tennyson said, speculating on the same idea only to reject it vehemently.

> 'Then bitter self-reproaches as I stood
> I dealt me silently,
> As one perverse—misrepresenting Good,
> In graceless mutiny.'

So Mr Hardy writes in one of his poems. And in this passage he shows, at least, that, despite the inordinate power which a sensibility so quick, delicate, and acute as not to be entirely healthy, exerts over his imagination, he can at times perceive something else than a soul of evil in things that the rest of men account to be good. Yet we must admit that, even from the verses in question, it is evident how completely his judgment is swayed by feeling, for it was only in the æsthetic rapture of gazing at a lean black stretch of moorland, transfigured in the light of a setting sun, that he was moved to accuse himself so sternly.

It seems to be a difficult matter to avoid extravagance of statement in attempting a comparison between a modern novelist, however brilliant, and a great poetic dramatist. Jane Austen and Shakespeare—how often, since Macaulay, have these disparate names been coupled together! And now, after reading in the letters of the late Lord Acton that if Sophocles had lived in the light of our culture George Eliot might have had an equal, we really hesitate to mention a grand poet of such ancient and universal fame as Euripides in conjunction with a modern prose-writer like Mr Hardy. Yet we think that some curious points of resemblance in temper of mind and general outlook on life might be discovered in the novels of the author of 'Jude the Obscure' and the plays of the dramatist whose 'Hippolytus the Veiled' was resented on moral and artistic grounds by the Athenians.

In their work an intense love of natural beauty, a dislike to town life and a warm regard for the honest home-keeping countryman, are alike observable; and in their women of strange, passionate, and irresponsible temperament, they display a similar type of heroine. Each of them, one would say, was a man of vehement but partial sympathies and brooding imagination, with

Digitized by Google

an intellect of a high but receptive order, given to cloudy speculation based more upon emotions than upon ideas. In happier circumstances, with their genius for expressing romantic feelings with exquisite realistic art, they might both have clothed the most commonplace truths of life with fresh beauty and significance, as Mr Hardy, indeed, has done in his first and best novels; but, children of an age of scepticism, their religious instincts were soon sophisticated, and their works then reflected, in a want of nobility and balance, the continual inward struggle between the wild idealism of their hearts and the despondency of their minds. Yet the Greek poet never went so far as Mr Hardy goes in blind revolt. Like most thinking men, he found that man by logic alone cannot discover for what end he was born, with a soul in which goodness was mingled with evil, into a world where suffering was inseparable from joy. Instead, however, of finding in this inability of our understanding to explore the unsearchable ways of Providence a cause for excessive disparagement of the worth and the purpose of life, Euripides, the rationalist, in his last and strangest drama, wrote, in a passage splendidly paraphrased by Mr Gilbert Murray:

'Knowledge, we are not foes!
I seek thee diligently;
But the world with a great wind blows,
Shining, and not from thee;
Blowing to beautiful things,
On, amid dark and light,
Till Life, through the trammellings
Of Laws that are not the Right,
Breaks, clean and pure, and sings,
Glorying to God in the height!'

Mr Hardy's philosophic creed is that of a sentimental materialist; he is a mighty yet restless and woeful spirit, a prince of modern English literature by reason of his earlier works, but in certain of his later works a misdirected force.

EDWARD WRIGHT.

Digitized by Google

Art. VIII.—THE PENINSULAR WAR: BAYLEN AND CORUNNA.

1. *A History of the Peninsular War.* By Charles Oman. Vols I and II. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902–3.
2. *The Diary of Sir John Moore.* Edited by Major-General Sir J. F. Maurice. Two vols. London: Arnold, 1904.
3. *Correspondance de Joachim Murat.* Par A. Lumbroso. Turin: Roux Frassati, 1899.
4. *Campagne de l'Empereur Napoléon en Espagne.* Par le Commandant Balagny. Vols I and II. Paris: Berger Levrault, 1902–3.
5. *Les Guerres d'Espagne sous Napoléon.* Par E. Guillon. Paris: Plon, 1902.
6. *La Capitulation de Baylen.* Par Lieut.-Colonel Clerc. Paris: Fontemoing, 1903.
7. *The Life of John Colborne, Field-marshal Lord Seaton.* By G. C. Moore Smith. London: Murray, 1903.

SINCE Napier, more than sixty years ago, published the last volume of his famous history of the Peninsular War, great additions have been made to our knowledge of the events which he therein narrated. The correspondence of Castlereagh, Wellington, and Napoleon has been given to the world; in the case of Napoleon, even the letters suppressed by the famous commission that sat in the days of the Second Empire to edit the correspondence have now, for the most part, seen the light; while step by step the correspondence of Napoleon's relatives and subordinates is making its appearance. To this stream of documents of the first importance must be added numerous memoirs and autobiographies of famous soldiers and statesmen of the period which have recently become accessible. We have had ordered histories in the great work of the Spanish General Arteche, the standpoint of which is altogether different from that of Napier; in Commandant Balagny's admirable summary of Napoleon's campaign in Spain, which is now complete as far as December 1808, and is of peculiar value in that it prints the original documents and orders, collected painfully from the archives of the three Powers that took part in the war; and finally, in Professor Oman's two

Digitized by Google

volumes—the first instalment of what promises to be a great work—which deal in the fullest detail with the progress of the struggle as far as the retreat from Talavera. Last, but not least, are monographs such as that of Colonel Clerc, treating of the events of Baylen in the light of the French and Spanish records. It would have been strange indeed if all this mass of information had not modified the conclusions arrived at by such historians as Napier and Foy, who were too near to the events which they described to be free from prejudice or always correctly informed.

No reader of Napier can fail to notice the curious party bias which marks his work whenever it touches upon questions of policy. He was a strong Whig; and it was the whole duty of the Whig during the Napoleonic era to exalt the beneficent intentions and applaud the character of Napoleon, while overwhelming with abuse the names of Castlereagh and Perceval. Professor Oman has pointed out that Napier nowhere renders homage to the insight and tenacity of Castlereagh, who first discerned the merits of Wellington as a general, and then supported him steadily in the teeth of the bitterest abuse from the Whig party in England. It is as though some eminent soldier who held strongly the view which we of this generation have learnt to know as pro-Boer were to write the history of the South African war. Such a work might be trustworthy on matters of purely military interest; yet, as war and policy go hand in hand, every conclusion would be coloured with prejudice, and the result would, in such respects, be unsatisfactory.

At the very outset Napier ignores the plain signs of Napoleon's hostility to Spain before the court intrigues of October 1807, and ascribes the Emperor's intervention mainly to these intrigues. Mr Oman rightly draws attention to Napoleon's casual remark to Jourdan in 1805, that, 'whether for the consolidation of my dynasty or for the safety of France, a Bourbon on the throne of Spain is too dangerous a neighbour.' But two years before this, in 1803, when Spain showed some sign of withdrawing from the disastrous alliance forced upon her by France, he had threatened that the first insult to his fleet at Corunna should be followed by the fall of the Spanish monarchy; and a month later he had demanded

Digitized by Google

the dismissal of the King of Spain's favourite, Godoy. It is to be observed that both Napier and Mr Oman regard Godoy as a miserable character, though the fact that he was the object of Napoleon's personal hostility suggests that he was not quite so bad a Spaniard as has been represented. Napoleon, as he said himself, only attacked people whom he thought formidable; and his libels have been swallowed with excessive credulity. More than once Godoy had thought of resistance to France, and he was the author and inspirer of the famous proclamation of 1806, which finally determined Napoleon—as Metternich thought, and as Mr Oman shows conclusively—to annex Spain when the convenient moment should arrive.

Hence Mr Oman is almost certainly right and Napier as certainly wrong in the view taken of the motives of the treaty concluded between Godoy and Duroc in 1807 for the dismemberment of Portugal. It was intended by Napoleon to give the excuse for the military occupation of Spain by his armies. That he anticipated no serious fighting is the only possible conclusion from the quality of the troops that formed this army of invasion. With the exception of Junot's corps, which was composed of seasoned soldiers, the French divisions were made up of raw recruits in provisional regiments. Murat, in his correspondence with the Emperor, points out that many regiments wanted officers; nearly all the divisions were without staffs or chiefs of the staff; there were few engineers. 'Our young fellows' (says Murat) 'are in very poor condition, and generally badly commanded; that is to say, the character of the officers is generally bad'; 'there is a great want of coats and shakos'; 'the corps of Marshal Moncey is in a very bad state; there are not 2000 men in it who are not suffering from scurvy'; 'the corps is a bear-garden; every one gives orders.' Troops such as these were not fit for a serious war; and no one knew this better than Napoleon. The conclusion is irresistible that he never expected a serious war, though months later, in a letter to his brother Joseph, he pretended with his usual assumption of infallibility that nothing that had happened had surprised him. 'He thought that he could accomplish his purpose without striking a blow,' wrote Metternich in 1809.

The irruption of the French armies did not at first

Digitized by Google

provoke any resistance; it is even possible that they might have taken possession of the greater part of the country without much friction, had Napoleon's orders to treat the Spanish people as allies been properly observed. But, as a matter of fact, the Spaniards were treated by the French much as the Prussians had been in 1806–7. Even Murat—and he was not easily shocked—seems to have been startled at the state of affairs, since he writes to the Emperor from Vittoria: 'The people suffer extraordinarily under the billeting arrangements; whole families have to sleep on the floor, having given up their beds and mattresses to accommodate our soldiers.' It was the extortion and violence of the French armies, left by Napoleon without money and supplies to shift for themselves in a country which Murat describes as a desert, that paved the way for the outbreak of armed insurrection.

On the whole, the 'guet-apens' of Bayonne turned out to the profit of Spain. It removed from the theatre of action the King, Charles IV, who had no will of his own, but was entirely under Godoy's influence; Godoy and the Queen, who were detested by every Spaniard; the Infant Ferdinand, who, as the Spaniards said, combined 'the heart of a tiger with the head of a mule'; and left the people to themselves, to their own fanaticism, national and religious, in a state of bitter exasperation against Napoleon. The Bourbons disappeared, and with them a grave source of weakness, since they were such poor characters that they always yielded to threats, and, had they remained, might have been used by Napoleon to induce the Spaniards to submit to the French yoke. It is characteristic that Napier gives scarcely a word to the 'guet-apens'; yet it and the conduct of the French troops at Madrid were the incidents which provoked the famous 'Dos de Mayo.'

It was Napoleon's habit to strike one or two initial blows with extreme vigour; and Murat had not been many weeks in Madrid before the Emperor is found upbraiding him for his want of energy. Count Lumbroso's admirable edition of Murat's correspondence proves that the letter from the Emperor, dated April 26, was received by Murat on April 30 or May 1. This letter, which, for obvious reasons, makes no appearance in the

Digitized by Google

'Correspondance,' was not known to Napier, but is duly given by Mr Oman. It asserts that the hour has come to show the 'requisite energy,' expresses amazement that a general with 50,000 men under his orders does not act for himself instead of consulting the Spanish Junta, and directs Murat to assume power and, if the mob stirs, to shoot it down. In a letter of May 1 Murat replies that if he has shot down no mobs it was because there were none to shoot, and adds: 'Let your Majesty be well assured that I am ready to give a good lesson to the first that appears.' On the following day Murat ordered the arrest of the other members of the Spanish royal family; a mob duly appeared; and the events of the 2nd of May —the 'Dos de Mayo'—occurred.

Napier's account would lead us to suppose that the attack made upon the French by the people of Madrid was absolutely unprovoked. The documents given above show how the performance was staged and prepared, and entirely support Girardin's conjecture that Murat was the author of it because 'it was thought necessary, in order that we might make ourselves masters of Spain, to spread extreme terror in the capital and thus to stifle all germs of discontent.' 'I regard it as a piece of luck that I was obliged to begin the affair yesterday morning (May 2),' wrote Murat to the Emperor. He complacently remarks that 1200 Spaniards have been killed. In a later letter he contradicts the reports that the French Imperial Guard had suffered heavy loss, and puts their killed at only two. This upsets Napier's theory that the losses of the Guard were so heavy as to dispose of any idea of premeditation on Murat's part.

It is curious that, in spite of this evidence, able French critics who show an extreme regard for the truth, such as Colonel Clerc, should tell us that Murat in this affair disobeyed his instructions, which were 'to avoid all conflicts' with the Spaniards. The apathy with which they had at first yielded seems to have led Napoleon to suppose that they were like the Germans or the Italians, and only needed one or two 'good lessons.' There could not have been a more fatal error of judgment. In the short interval before the feeling of hostility in Madrid spread to the provinces, the French did their best to alienate Spanish sympathy. Murat was left without

Digitized by Google

money and was obliged to borrow on his own personal credit 120,000*l.* from the Madrid bankers—money which they certainly lost; while, according to his letters, even French generals and the officers of the Guard were perishing of hunger, or compelled to live upon pork because they could afford nothing better. They took to helping themselves from the Spaniards; and their example was generally followed in the French army, with the result that every Spanish village through which the French troops marched was robbed and plundered. An economic motive for resisting the French reinforced the political and religious motives already existing.

The general insurrection which followed the 'Dos de Mayo' did not awaken Napoleon to the serious nature of his task. On May 15 he wrote to Cambacérès that 'peace is re-established everywhere, and it would seem that it will not again be disturbed'; and so confident was he that he sent orders to Murat to occupy Cadiz and take possession of the Spanish fleet, which had from the first been one of the main objects of his seizure of the country. An expedition to Cadiz, it would seem, was regarded as a simple promenade. Dupont, a young general with a brilliant record of service under the Emperor's eye, was charged with this mission. He had under his orders only a small part of his corps, which was of the most heterogenous composition. Mr Oman says—though the particulars which he gives differ in important respects from those in Colonel Clerc's volume (p. 88)—

'There was one veteran French battalion—that of the Marines of the Guard—six of raw recruits of the Legions of Reserve, two of Paris Municipal Guards (strangely distracted from their usual duties), one of the contingent of the Helvetic Confederation, and four of Swiss mercenaries in the Spanish service, who had just been compelled to transfer their allegiance to Napoleon. The cavalry consisted of four "provisional regiments" of conscripts. . . . It was a military crime of the first order to send 13,000 troops of this quality on an important expedition' (i, 126).

It was a crime, however, for which Napoleon and no one else was responsible. He himself had determined the units which were to compose Dupont's force, and again and again in his correspondence he called Murat and Savary

Digitized by Google

at Madrid to order for not executing his instructions to the letter. They were absolutely forbidden to exercise their own judgment. Yet if there was ever an occasion upon which Napoleon ought to have resorted to his habitual procedure and employed a powerful force, this was one, as there were known to be 31,000 regular Spanish troops in the south of Spain, whose attitude was quite uncertain. But, as Colonel Clerc remarks,

'while Napoleon, wherever he commands and directs in person, operates with great masses, he is elsewhere so frugal of his troops that he seems to be jealous of his generals' successes; or else he is persuaded that no serious difficulties exist at any point at which he is not present.'

Colonel Clerc goes too far in this passage; but the amazing fact remains that Napoleon, with all his knowledge and experience, finally gave the order for Dupont to advance with a single division. Repeated success had blinded his judgment and led him to believe that 'nothing was impossible.' Thus, in the end, Dupont was launched on his perilous mission with about 8500 French soldiers, almost to a man young conscripts.

He started from Toledo on May 23—not the 24th, as Mr Oman states; and so absurdly had the French staff at Madrid miscalculated distances that the itinerary supplied to him supposed him to be able to make marches of fifty-four miles in a day. On June 2—not June 5, as Mr Oman says in his history—Dupont was at Andujar, where he learnt that the whole of Andalusia was rising. He was now 180 miles from Madrid, in an enemy's country, with a mere handful of men; the detachments to his rear were cut to bits, and his despatches were almost uniformly intercepted. The people vociferated 'Death to the French' with a hatred which was veritably ferocious, and impressed the troops the more as it was the first time that they had encountered such hostility. To crown all, his supplies were exhausted, and he had to live on the country. Nevertheless, he attempted to advance; on June 7 he stormed the bridge of Alcolea, and forced his way into Cordova. What happened after the capture of that city is uncertain; strong evidence can be produced on one side to show that the city was ruthlessly pillaged, and on the other side to show that it was not.

Digitized by Google

Napier declares that 'when the disorders necessarily attendant on a street fight ceased, the town was protected.' On the other hand, Mr Oman asserts that

'the city was sacked from cellar to garret. Dupont's undisciplined conscripts broke their ranks and ran amuck through the streets, firing into windows and battering down doors . . . All the scenes of horror that afterwards occurred at Badajoz or San Sebastian were rehearsed for the first time at Cordova.'

The depositions of the French generals prove that Dupont did his best to stop the disorder, but failed because he did not show the energy of Wellington, who, under such circumstances, hanged and flogged mercilessly. The evidence is examined in detail in Colonel Clerc's work on Baylen; on the whole, it supports Mr Oman's view, and suggests that here, as on other occasions, Napier was biassed in favour of the French and against the Spaniards.

After the capture of Cordova, Dupont, according to Napier, had nothing to do but advance.

'Andalusia was lost [to Spain] if Dupont had advanced. Instead of pushing his victory, he wrote to Savary for reinforcements. . . . Dupont's despatches still magnifying his danger and pressing urgently for reinforcements,' etc.

Napier, when penning this extraordinary judgment, either forgot or was ignorant of the fact that Dupont had intended to advance, and only abandoned this intention on June 9, when he learnt that his communications with Madrid were interrupted, and received from Seville intelligence that a large force of Spanish regulars was about to move against him. Had he advanced under these conditions with his 8500 French soldiers he must have been destroyed. No one can blame him for falling back and calling for reinforcements; the disastrous error was that he did not fall back far enough, but halted at Andujar in the hope of resuming the offensive, when more troops should have come up.

Meantime, at Madrid, Napoleon's henchmen, taught always to interpret strictly and 'literally the Emperor's orders,' took no immediate action of their own initiative to recall the general. A fortnight passed during which no one knew what had befallen him or where he was; and not till June 15 was a weak division, 5000 strong, under

Digitized by Google

General Vedel, ordered to re-open communications with him by advancing from Toledo. This movement was directed by Savary in opposition to Napoleon's own instructions; and for so unusual and bold a display of initiative Savary deserves great credit. Meantime Dupont had called not only for Vedel's division, but also for a third division under General Frère, which had been promised him. On July 2 Savary took upon himself to send instead of Frère a very weak division under General Gobert, but with instructions not to detach more than one battalion and one squadron to Dupont; the rest of the division was to be échelonned along the road between Manzanares and Baylen, over a distance of sixty miles, though, if Dupont called urgently for reinforcements, it was to join him. Finally, on July 9, Savary despatched an order to Dupont 'on no account to leave the position at Andujar unless driven from it.' This order contributed in no small measure to the catastrophe, since Dupont obeyed it literally, instead of in the spirit, and clung to Andujar as a drowning man clings to a life-belt. Neither Napier nor Mr Oman allude to this missive; and in his memoirs Savary was very careful to say nothing about it. It has been disinterred from the archives of the French War Office by Colonel Clerc. Napoleon did not view with any favour the steps taken by Savary to reinforce Dupont. He kept repeating that Madrid 'must not be stripped of men. Dupont has more men than he wants.'

The sequel is well known. Owing in part to his own blunders, in part to the inconceivable slackness of his subordinate, Vedel, Dupont was surrounded, compelled to fight at great disadvantage, and driven to capitulate at Baylen. Both Napier and Mr Oman state or suggest that one cause of his defeat was the size of his baggage train, containing the spoil of Cordova; and Napoleon certainly believed this to be the case, as his conversation with General Legendre, Dupont's chief of the staff, at Valladolid proved. Thiébault's memoirs contain a long discussion of the Baylen affair, which repeats the old charges, made, as Thiébault alleges, on the strength of direct evidence obtained from actors and eye-witnesses in this great catastrophe. No allusion is made to Thiébault's account of the affair by either Mr Oman or Colonel Clerc.

Digitized by Google

The latter, however, has produced documentary evidence to the effect that the number of carriages with Dupont's force was only 202; not an 'interminable file of 500 vehicles . . . laden with stolen goods,' as Mr Oman states on Spanish authority, and certainly not 800 vehicles, as French writers, hostile to Dupont, have pretended. The surplus carriages, if they ever existed, were burnt on the eve of the evacuation of Andujar and had no effect whatever on the military operations.

The tale which Napier tells, and which French historians have repeated—that Dupont surrendered to save the plunder in his personal baggage—finds no support in the narrative which Mr Oman and Colonel Clerc give us. Dupont surrendered because he and his army were in a desperate position, defeated, without water, surrounded by enemies. He was guilty of great mismanagement; but before the tribunal of history he must be acquitted of the gross treachery and corruption with which he has too readily been charged. The report that he left at Cordova four hundred French sick, because he preferred to load his carts and waggons with plate and pictures rather than with his own disabled soldiers, is equally malicious and equally untrue. Colonel Clerc points out that the soldiers left in the hospitals were in all probability men whose condition was such that they could not be moved without danger. Thus, on a close examination of the story, all the more scandalous details disappear; and we are left with an example of military incapacity—nothing more. But Colonel Clerc is right in declaring, after a minute examination of the facts, that Napoleon was primarily responsible for the disaster.

The Emperor's wrath with Dupont grew as he perceived more and more clearly the lamentable consequences of the defeat. His power had sustained a mortal blow. Death was not indeed to come at once. It was the fate of France, who had 'bled Spain white,' now herself in turn to suffer in the same way. The Spanish insurrectionary movement gained strength in all directions at the news of this amazing success. King Joseph fled from Madrid with a haste which, according to an eye-witness, Girardin, 'resembled a flight rather than a retreat. No one thought except for himself. . . . Each instant the soldiers feared to see themselves sur-

Digitized by Google

prised by Castanos.' Junot was left isolated in Portugal with a vast breadth of hostile country in his rear and in his front a British army.

This force had sailed some weeks before Baylen, thus opening one of the most glorious epochs in British military history. From this point onwards to the close of the Corunna campaign we have in the diary of General Sir John Moore—which has now at last been recovered and ably edited by Sir J. F. Maurice—a fresh historical document of the first order. The diary was used, but unintelligently, by Moore's brother and biographer, James Carrick Moore, who published a life of the general in 1833; long passages appear in both works which agree almost word for word. It was also employed by Napier; and from a copy made by Napier's wife the present text has been printed. So far as is known, the original has vanished; but there is no reason whatever to doubt the authenticity of the Napier copy, as there is overwhelming internal evidence of its genuineness. Mr Oman did not see it or use it, and hence he has fallen into certain errors, natural enough in the circumstances, for which he is taken to task by Sir Frederick Maurice with somewhat unnecessary severity.

By the unanimous judgment of his contemporaries in the army, Sir John Moore was the soldier best qualified to command the British expedition to Portugal. There are few great generals who have been more beloved by their subordinates. As Lord Seaton writes:—

'He had firmness, resolution, activity, courage, and prudence; and from a long service with his troops, and his being the principal in the operations of the landings in Holland and Egypt, he was perfectly acquainted with the superiority of the British soldier to any other.' ('Life,' p. 107.)

He had all Wellington's judgment, energy, and force of character, combined with that winning warmth of disposition which Nelson possessed and which the Iron Duke so signally lacked.

The British expedition as sent out to Portugal was composed, like South American armies, very largely of commanders-in-chief and generals.* Moore was not

* To 30,000 men there were 1 commander-in-chief, 1 second in command, 5 lieut.-generals, 6 major-generals, 8 brigadier-generals—21 generals in all.

Digitized by Google

selected to command; when the expedition was planned he was absent in Sweden, where he had had the misfortune to come into conflict with the mad King, a monarch, whom, for obvious reasons, the British ministry did not wish to alienate. Had he immediately after his return been appointed to the command of the most important expedition which had ever left the shores of England, the Swedish King would undoubtedly have seen in this a deliberate insult to his own outraged majesty. General Maurice considers that this was only a pretext urged by the ministry to avoid employing Moore, and that the real reason was that they distrusted him; but Castlereagh was never afraid of his colleagues, and afterwards steadily upheld Moore, so that it does not appear to us that Moore's editor is altogether convincing on this head. Moreover, Castlereagh had chosen, or attempted to choose, Sir A. Wellesley, then only a young lieutenant-general, for the work, and, as subsequent history proves, had chosen aright. He cannot be blamed for not altering all his arrangements when Moore unexpectedly came back from Sweden. If any one was to blame for the muddle which happened in the command it was the Duke of York, who was undoubtedly Moore's warm friend, and insisted on appointing over Wellesley's head Sir Hew Dalrymple, a lethargic guardsman, good for nothing but office work, and Sir H. Burrard, another guardsman, about as well fitted as Dalrymple for service in the field. We may take it as certain that Castlereagh, if left to himself, would never have sent either of these two men; and Moore, though in his diary he ascribes the selection of Burrard and Dalrymple to a ministerial intrigue, owns that, when he talked to the Duke of York about the expedition, the Duke appeared embarrassed—as well, indeed, he might. There is reason to think that H.R.H. was jealous of Wellesley, not the ministry of Moore; and that the appointment of the two guardsmen was his doing.

Finally, Moore was sent out as third in command. No one can feel surprise at his bitterness of soul. In the general estimation head and shoulders above his contemporaries—Wellesley's brilliant Indian campaigns and excellent work in Denmark being almost unknown to the great majority of his countrymen—thoroughly popular in

Digitized by Google

the army and country, an accomplished and successful soldier, he had been treated most unkindly. And knowing, as he did, something of Burrard and Dalrymple, it is no cause for wonder that in his final interview with Castlereagh he used the phrase which has been distorted from its natural meaning to the injury of his fame. According to the common story, which is retailed in Stapleton's 'Life of Canning,' and in half a dozen subsequent histories or biographies, Moore, after parting with Castlereagh, opened the door again and said, 'Remember, my lord, I protest against the expedition, and foretell its failure.' This has been twisted to mean that he foretold the failure of the Corunna campaign (which at that time had not even been projected), and to prove that he was constitutionally of a desponding temperament, when not a shred of other evidence can be produced to support such a charge, and when the phrase evidently referred to the prospect of failure with commanders such as Dalrymple and Burrard.

That his language was unnecessarily bitter in his last interview with Castlereagh, was regrettable; but it was only what we should expect from a man of his blunt and vehement character, who felt that he had been unjustly used. Castlereagh was clearly annoyed at it, and informed Moore by letter after the interview that if there had been time the ministry would have called upon him to resign his command. Moore replied with the retort that, as his remarks, with the ministry's comment on them, had been submitted to the King, he felt perfect confidence in his Majesty's justice. Through all this painful passage of arms it must be remembered that Castlereagh had displayed judgment and discernment by selecting the right man for the command, and that he cannot altogether be blamed if, when the choice was between two soldiers of high capacity, he chose that one whose disposition gave him most reason to hope for an absence of friction, and whose appointment would not cause trouble with Sweden. He showed no ill-will afterwards. Sir Frederick Maurice is scarcely just to Castlereagh in this matter, and forgets that, as Lord North once said of himself, the minister 'was fighting with a halter round his neck,' under a running fire of furious criticism from opponents, and vitriolic attacks from the

Digitized by Google

pen of such journalists as Cobbett. He does, however, remind his readers that Moore had repeatedly protested against expeditions too hastily planned; so that, while Moore, no doubt, was perfectly right, the ministry may have misunderstood his attitude and come to regard him as an impracticable man.

No one in England appears to have expected much of the expedition. For England to challenge the strength of France on land seemed then almost as foolish as for France to challenge the might of England at sea. A long series of ineffective expeditions was on record, with only two real successes, in Egypt and in Sicily, unless the Copenhagen expedition of 1807 be counted; and this was generally regarded as a somewhat inglorious exploit, though forced upon the nation by necessity. The army was under a cloud, and was thought to be ill-equipped for a great struggle with Napoleon's tried legions and irresistible generals. Moore's diary, Colborne's letters, and Wellington's correspondence, prove that there was some truth in this view. The commissariat and transport departments, without which no army can take the field, can scarcely be said to have existed. 'The people who manage it' (the commissariat department), wrote Wellesley to Castlereagh a few weeks after his landing in Portugal, 'are incapable of managing anything out of a counting-house'; and it was thoroughly characteristic of the want of foresight at headquarters in London, that the army, with the exception of Wellesley's division, was shipped to the Peninsula without horses for its waggons and guns. It had too hastily been assumed that horses or mules could be procured in the Peninsula. As for the officers, Wellington repeatedly complained of them, and, so late as 1812, in a general order spoke of their 'habitual inattention to their duty,' while their inexperience and their disobedience to orders were the theme of many letters. Colborne also speaks of the 'inattention of inexperienced officers.'

Mr Oman, animadverting, not without good reason, on Wellington's harsh orders and complaints, and declaring that 'his notions of discipline were worthy of one of the drill-sergeants of Frederick the Great,' is taken to task by General Maurice, and here with some reason.

Digitized by Google

'Wellington dealt with the facts as he saw them. He did not, as Fortescue and Bunbury have done, point out the causes of them, and he took no trouble to do away with them.* It is a fatal and a dangerous thing to disguise from a nation, or from the statesmen and writers who lead and guide it, that an army is not made effective by sweeping in men from the gutters and prisons, clothing them and calling them soldiers, and then putting in command of them officers chosen for no merit, and selected on no principle, offering them no inducement for exertion, giving them no training.' ('Diary of Sir J. Moore,' ii, 98.)

To the indiscipline of the soldiers and the inferior quality of so many of the officers, the peculiar horror and extreme suffering of the retreats from Sahagun and Burgos must be in no small measure ascribed. Even Moore, who was of a far kindlier temperament than Wellington, found it necessary on one occasion to issue a peremptory order, reminding his army that patience and constancy were military virtues just as requisite in the soldier as bravery, and censuring the habit of criticism in the officers. Moore also had to remove several officers who were quite unfit for their work; and Colborne alludes to his disgust 'at the infamous conduct of the soldiers.'†

The outlook before the British generals was thus by no means brilliant. The British force under their orders was insignificant, merely 30,000 or 40,000 men; and, small though it was, it represented, as Mr Oman has remarked, in Canning's words, 'not *a* British army, but *the* British army'—the one efficient force that the United Kingdom could put into the field. The soldiers who were charged with its direction bore upon their shoulders a weight of responsibility comparable with that of the Roman general when he set out to join his colleague on the Metaurus. But commanders less like Nero and Livius than were Burrard and Dalrymple could not well be conceived.

With the initial stage of the British campaign in the Peninsula it is unnecessary to deal here; except on unimportant details, Mr Oman generally agrees with Napier, though, as he points out, Napier, after his custom, has

* He did point out one cause in the despatch to Lord Wellesley of January 26, 1811, where he declares that if the British army is to equal the French, it must be composed of all classes and not only of the bad.

† 'Life of Lord Seaton,' 108.

Digitized by Google

minimised the excesses and depredations committed by Junot and his army in Portugal. Wellesley gained two victories at Roliça and Vimiero, but saw the fruit of his efforts lost by Dalrymple and Burrard, who refused to press the French, and concluded the discreditable Convention of Cintra. Moore's diary, under date October 2, contains an interesting discussion whether a vigorous pursuit after Vimiero would have been advisable.

'Every one understands that a victorious army knows no difficulties, and that against a beaten army much may be risked; but by following at that moment we removed from our ships and our supplies; the enemy had a superior cavalry unbroken, and we had a difficult country ahead, known to the enemy, unknown to us. The least check would have proved fatal to us, though the pursuit might, if unchecked, have led at once to Lisbon.' ('Diary,' ii, 268.)

Yet he thinks that an advance ought to have been made, and would have been made had an officer of 'talents and decision' been in command of the army instead of Sir Hew Dalrymple, who 'was confused and incapable beyond any man that I ever saw head an army.' An earlier entry in the diary is in substantial accord with one of his private letters, which declares that, had Wellesley been permitted by Burrard to pursue, 'I have not a doubt, from everything I have heard, that the French never could have reached Lisbon, but must have surrendered to him in the field.'

There was a surprising outburst of indignation in England at the news of the Convention of Cintra, in which Wellesley, along with his incapable superiors, became an object of popular criticism. It was characteristic of the factious attitude assumed by the Whigs, and of their hostility to Wellesley, as the general of the Tory party, that they attempted to vote the thanks of Parliament to Burrard on account of 'his judicious conduct' in throwing away the fruits of Vimiero; and Whitbread, one of the most violent of Whig partisans, attempted to cover Wellesley with the odium which more properly belonged to the two nominees of the Duke of York. But in our own recent history it has been seen that generals may be popular with a certain faction in exact proportion to their want of success in the field. This incident is noticed

Digitized by Google

neither in Mr Oman's history nor in General Maurice's edition of Moore's diary, nor does Napier make any reference to it.

Dr Reich, in his recent and interesting study of modern European history, maintains with General Arteche that the part played by Spain in the Peninsular War has been altogether underestimated. So far as Napier's history is concerned, this criticism is justified. Napier, whose prejudice against the Spaniards was very strong, makes insufficient allowance for the enormous service which they rendered to the British army by perpetually worrying the French columns, by intercepting couriers, cutting off small detachments, furnishing information to the British generals, and occupying the attention of three fourths of the French army. Yet, with the sole exception of Baylen, the Spanish regular armies performed indifferently in the field. Mr Oman, however, shows no tendency to minimise the work of the Spaniards.

'Few Englishmen' (he writes) 'had the chance of watching a defence like that of Saragossa or Gerona. Very few observers from our side saw anything of the heroically obstinate resistance of the Catalonian *miqueletes* and *somatenes*. . . . It is more just to admire the constancy with which a nation so handicapped [as the Spaniards were by the maladministration of Charles IV and Godoy] persisted in the hopeless struggle, than to condemn it for the incapacity of its generals, the ignorance of its officers, the unsteadiness of its raw levies. If Spain had been a first-rate military power, there would have been comparatively little merit in the six years' struggle which she waged against Bonaparte' (i, 101).

Colborne, unlike Napier, was always just to the Spaniards.

'The privations and misery endured by a large mass of the people of Spain from their patriotism and hatred to their oppressors' (he writes) 'were seldom equalled. . . . The Central Junta, and the presumption and obstinacy of most of the men placed at the head of the armies rendered their perseverance and courage useless.' ('Life of Lord Seaton,' 135.)

Yet it is to be observed that the Emperor always regarded the British force in the Peninsula as the main objective of the French armies; and that, on the eve of setting out for his Spanish campaign, it is upon his determination to punish the English, to drive the 'hideous leopard' from

Digitized by Google

the Peninsula, that he chiefly dwells. Commandant Balagny has drawn fresh attention to the manner in which Napoleon ignored the Spanish insurgents; and throughout his correspondence a note of utter contempt for their military capacity is perceptible.* It appears, then, that the Emperor's judgment hardly bears out Dr Reich's view of the situation.

The recall or return to England of the three generals who had held high command during the Vimiero campaign brought Moore at last to the coveted command-in-chief of the British army, the bulk of which the ministry had now decided to employ in Spain. 10,000 men were to be left in Portugal; 22,000 were to be turned over to Moore for an advance into Spain; while 12,000 more were to be landed at Corunna, and were to form part of his force. He was given complete freedom to decide whether he would re-embark the force already landed in Portugal, and go by sea to Corunna, there to complete his concentration, or move by land to some point where the two columns might conveniently effect their junction. He decided, for excellent reasons, to follow the second course, which involved a movement towards Valladolid, on which place Baird was to advance. In so deciding he was under the impression that the Spanish forces could be counted upon to cover his initial movements; and, as they were then in great force upon the line of the Ebro, some 125 miles from Valladolid, and were even talking of invading France in the first flush of success after the victory of Baylen, he cannot be justly blamed for his decision. Mr Oman considers that he and Baird, who commanded the Corunna force, were slow in moving, and ought to have been able to give the Spaniards earlier support; but, as General Maurice reminds us, they had not only to move their columns, they had also to provide them with transport and horses, an undertaking of extreme difficulty, all the more troublesome because the British were short of silver dollars, which were only procurable in small amounts in England.

As a matter of fact, Moore displayed the most commendable energy at every turn, and from the moment he

* 'Napoléon dans cette guerre ne prend au sérieux que les Anglais,' is M. Sorel's conclusion ('L'Europe et la Révolution Française,' vii, 330); and he is a disinterested witness on this head.

Digitized by Google

assumed command showed the utmost anxiety to get his troops out of Portugal before the rains began. Mr Oman ascribes the supposed delay in opening operations mainly to what he considers an error of judgment on the general's part, in sending his artillery and cavalry by a long and circuitous route, from Lisbon through Badajoz, Talavera, and the Escorial, instead of by the two direct routes (Abrantes-Castello Branco and Coimbra-Celorico) which lead from Lisbon through Ciudad Rodrigo to Salamanca. One reason for this action was that Moore was informed by the Portuguese as well as by General Hope, an officer whom he could thoroughly trust, that the direct roads were impracticable for artillery. But, says Mr Oman,

'He [Moore] ought, on first principles, to have refused to believe the strange news that was brought to him. It might have occurred to him to ask how heavy guns of position had found their way to the ramparts of Almeida, the second fortress of Portugal, if there was no practicable road leading to it. A few minutes spent in consulting any book dealing with Portuguese history would have shown that in the great wars of the Spanish Succession, and again in that of 1762, forces of all arms had moved freely up and down the Spanish frontier.... A glance at Dumouriez's "Account of the Kingdom of Portugal," the one modern military book on the subject then available, would have enabled Moore to correct the ignorant reports of the natives. Strangest of all, there seems to have been no one to tell him that only four months before, Loison, in his campaign against the insurgents of Beira, had taken guns first from Lisbon to Almeida' (i, 495).

He goes on to state that, after traversing the Abrantes-Castello Branco road,

'Moore ... in a fortnight was bitterly regretting his credulity. "If anything adverse happens," he wrote to his subordinate, Hope, "I have not necessity to plead; the road we are now travelling is practicable for artillery. ... As far as I have already seen the road presents few obstacles and those easily surmounted" ' (ibid).

The distance by the Badajoz road from Lisbon to Salamanca was 380 miles, says Mr Oman, though Valladolid and not Salamanca was to be the point of concentration; by the shorter lines through Ciudad Rodrigo the distance was only 250. Therefore Mr Oman contends that the

Digitized by Google

artillery and cavalry of the force were given an unnecessary march of 130 miles, and blames Moore for the 'unmilitary act' of parting thus with two of the most important elements in his army, as well as for the delay which the detour involved. Much to the same effect writes Commandant Balagny, a good military critic:—

'Clearly he [Moore] cannot be rendered responsible for his separation from the corps under David Baird, since it was the British ministry which had sent this force to Corunna; but he certainly committed a grave military blunder when he determined to execute with his cavalry and artillery an immense detour of 300 miles . . . and thus separated himself from these arms for a period which might be more than a month, when, if the French were to take the offensive, they might in this same time reach the Guadarrama range or Salamanca, and thus render impossible the concentration of the British army, and assure its loss' (i, 106).

He adds that Soult, in the following year, took one of the roads which Moore had pronounced impracticable.

Mr Oman is attacked by General Maurice for his criticism of this movement. The general is perhaps here, as elsewhere, a little too severe; it is the function of the military historian to point out errors committed, but it does not follow that by so doing he makes any arrogant claim that, if placed in the position, with the same knowledge, he would have done better himself; it is not a case of Mr Oman teaching Sir John Moore his business, but only of a capable and careful writer showing what, in the light of subsequent events and of full information, he thinks would have been the best course to follow. The general has to decide nine times out of ten on imperfect information; and that he should make mistakes under such conditions is only natural; but it is important for the instruction of posterity that the mistakes should be pointed out. The intelligent reader will make full allowance for the difficulties of war.

Mr Oman's criticism, however, appears to be too sweeping, and to be based upon a misapprehension of the facts. Moore's statement that the Abrantes-Castello Branco road, which he himself used, was practicable for artillery, was made before the rains had come on, and before he had reached the mountainous part of it. With

Digitized by Google

fuller knowledge he wrote: 'I am now convinced that no other practicable road (for artillery) exists on any other line.' He seems never even to have thought of using the third, or Coimbra-Celorico road. General Maurice explains this—at first sight—puzzling fact by showing that the position of Hope's column with the guns when Moore took over the command rendered the choice of the Coimbra road out of the question. Hope was far to the east of the Tagus, across which there was then no convenient bridge; the Coimbra road ran to the west of the river, at right angles with the Badajoz road. Hope must have been brought back several days' march, and his force ferried over the river, which would have involved great delay; and delay was something not to be thought of, as the rainy season was at hand, when all roads, good and bad alike, would become almost impassable. Moore, in fact, was racing against the advent of bad weather, and had no time to lose; which no doubt explains why so careful a soldier did not effect reconnaissances of the country through which the various routes passed before deciding on his plan. But the staff of the army, and General Dalrymple, Moore's predecessor in the command, must unquestionably be blamed for not taking care that proper reconnaissances were effected during the prolonged halt of the army at Lisbon.

That Moore viewed with anxiety the separation of his cavalry and artillery from the rest of the army is shown by facts which General Maurice produces. No able soldier could feel otherwise. The solution he adopted was the one forced upon him by events; he could not move his infantry back when they had already started for Ciudad Rodrigo, and march in one huge column along the Badajoz road. His original dispositions had been made on the assumption that the artillery would be able to join him at Ciudad Rodrigo; and the question of supplies precluded marching in a mass. After all, the information which he received from England led him to suppose that the Spanish armies on the Ebro would be able at all events to hold their own; indeed, he was given to understand that the real risk would be that the British army might arrive too late to participate in their triumph. Though he, with his cautious temperament and insight into the Spanish character, did not altogether share this view, he

Digitized by Google

was determined not to risk contact with the enemy till his army was thoroughly equipped; and for that some halt would be necessary when it had reached Spain. A detour on the part of the artillery was therefore not of vital importance; and, as a matter of fact, Hope effected his junction with Moore before Baird had arrived from Corunna, having succeeded in equipping his force on the march. On December 3 Moore and Hope were in close touch; and the concentration of the army of Portugal may be said to have been completed at Salamanca.

Thus the first charge against Moore falls to the ground. The second charge preferred by Mr Oman is that, when Moore received at Salamanca in November the news of the complete defeat of the Spaniards at Gamonal and Espinosa, and learnt that no screen of troops lay between his scattered columns and the French armies, but that strong and victorious French forces were close to him at Carrion and Valladolid, he thought of a retreat to Portugal, and, on receipt of the further news of the Spanish defeat at Tudela, actually ordered a retirement on the 28th. On this Mr Oman observes:—

'To Moore . . . this resolve to retreat seemed reasonable and even inevitable. But it was clearly wrong; when he gave the order he was overwrought by irritation and despondency. He was sent to aid the Spaniards; and till he was sure that he could do absolutely nothing in their behalf, it was his duty not to abandon them' (i, 509).

But it is difficult to see how the complete defeat and destruction of the British army would have served the cause of Spain; and it was complete defeat and destruction that Moore risked by advancing, or even remaining where he was; his information placed the strength of the French armies in the north of Spain at 80,000—more than double his strength—though actually they were nearer 200,000. Against this enormous host he had some 15,000 men at Salamanca; 7000 men marching along the French front, with Hope; and Baird's column of 12,000 on its way from Corunna. The French might, and probably would, so far as Moore knew, strike in between these scattered columns if he delayed and tried to form his junction at Salamanca or in the neighbourhood. In planning a campaign the wise general will

Digitized by Google

always assume that his enemy will make the correct moves; and Moore's decision to retire and effect his concentration in Portugal was merely common-sense.

Mr Oman seems to imagine that Moore thought of 'throwing up the sponge' and leaving the Spaniards to shift for themselves. It is safe to say that so ignominious an idea never entered that heroic mind. When he wrote to Hope of 'giving the whole thing up' he meant, as General Maurice points out, the concentration of the army at Valladolid. His letter to Castlereagh of December 5 proves that he intended to support the Spaniards and to continue the war. Before overwhelming numbers, with his mere handfuls of men, no other policy was open to him but retreat; and he ought rather to be praised than blamed for his cautious, scientific generalship, and for his refusal to commit the one and only British army to a desperate and quixotic enterprise. If the Spaniards had not been able to offer any serious resistance to the French, 'it would only be sacrificing this army,' so he wrote to Hope, 'without doing any good to Spain, to oppose it to such numbers as must now be brought against us. A junction with Baird is out of the question, and with you perhaps problematical.' It was not a sacrifice that he objected to, but a purposeless sacrifice.

That his order provoked bitter criticism in his army was only to be expected. His subordinates did not possess his knowledge or judgment; and no one appears to have had any idea of the overwhelming strength of the French, who were acting, be it remembered, under the command-in-chief of Napoleon, which is as much as to say that they were doubly formidable. The personal jealousies of the French generals, which, in the previous and subsequent campaigns, had played, and were to play, into the hands of the British and Spaniards, were forgotten before that dominating presence. Instinctively Moore felt that Napoleon would turn against him, and that he would be pitted against 'the master of Europe, the greatest of all organisers of armies, the supreme genius of war,' whose prestige was all the greater as in the previous three years he had vanquished in quick succession Austria at Ulm and Austerlitz, Prussia at Jena, and Russia at Friedland. Against such an adversary no mistakes must be made. Then and subsequently French

Digitized by Google

critics have professed to view Moore as a foolishly rash commander because he ventured within the reach of Napoleon's arm; they have not taken Mr Oman's view that he was timid and faint-hearted.

On forming the decision to retreat, he began the despatch of his stores and sick to Almeida, but waited, before moving his fighting force, to obtain clearer information, and also to effect his junction with Hope. While thus waiting he received, on December 5, misleading news from Madrid to the effect that the Spaniards in that place were determined upon offering a desperate resistance; at the same time the reports of his cavalry showed that the French were moving upon Madrid and not against himself. The situation had changed once more; and instantly he determined to run the risk of trying a diversion in the interest of the Spaniards at Madrid. The direction of the French advance had shown him where he could strike with most result; he would move swiftly upon the French line of communications; but the movement should be made with caution, 'bridle in hand,' ready, 'if the bubble bursts,' as it did very speedily burst, 'to run for it.'

Once more this was good generalship, when we consider his position, the smallness of the army which he commanded, and the complete uncertainty in which he had been left as to the numbers of the French and the Spanish power of resistance. As for the latter, the British minister accredited to the Junta, Mr Frere, though eager and patriotic, was singularly lacking in judgment, and had given Moore just grounds for complaint by his erroneous information and want of tact. From the Spaniards Moore could gain little or no information; they left him in complete ignorance of their own and the French movements, and did not trouble to inform him of their defeats. He was groping in the dark with only such knowledge as his cavalry, admirably employed, gave him of the proceedings of the French in his immediate vicinity; but at every turn his judgment was sound. He put his force in motion for Valladolid with the intention to advance thence, if he could do so with safety, to Burgos, where he would be on the main road between Madrid and Bayonne. If the French force were really only 80,000 this plan might well involve complete

Digitized by Google

disaster to Napoleon; if they were stronger its risks would not be excessive, provided he moved 'bridle in hand.' On December 11 he learnt that he had been right in his view of the capacity of Madrid to resist; the place had tamely capitulated.

On the road to Valladolid a stroke of good fortune befell him. A French despatch was intercepted which disclosed to him the intended movements of the French and an outline of their position. From this he saw that Soult, with 16,000 men, was isolated and near at hand; at once he determined to strike at him, and turned the direction of the British march towards Sahagun. The despatch showed that Napoleon was under the belief that the British had retreated to Portugal and were out of the field. The chance of snatching an important victory was therefore great, while the moral effect of such a blow would be incalculable.

The fact that they were acting on the offensive immediately restored the confidence of Moore's troops; and they marched well and eagerly. On reaching Sahagun, where he expected to come into contact with Soult, a halt of forty-eight hours was ordered, for which Moore is blamed by Mr Oman. The diary, however, states that the halt was necessitated by the want of provisions and the condition of the troops after the hard marching of the last four days through snow. It was during this halt that, on the early morning of December 24, he received startling news, for which he had, however, been looking from the first. The French columns to the south were everywhere turning north, which meant that they were moving to attack him. Napoleon was aiming a blow against his communications, with the intention of surrounding and destroying the British army. It was the great opportunity which the Emperor had long been seeking—'the thunderstroke' to close the Spanish war; and, just as Moore with lightning swiftness had decided to advance on Sahagun, so speedily the Emperor, on learning the whereabouts of the British, determined to abandon his whole plan of campaign and to turn on them with every available man and gun. For some days he seems to have supposed that Moore would prove another Mack, and allow himself to be out-manœuvred. On December 27

Digitized by Google

he ordered King Joseph to publish the news that 36,000 English were surrounded, adding that positive intelligence of a great success would speedily arrive.

The northward march of the French troops was conducted in terrible weather and amidst excessive suffering, Napoleon himself urging on his men to the utmost. In twelve days the enormous distance of two hundred miles, over bad roads, through mountain ranges, from Madrid to Astorga, was compassed; but by that time Napoleon discovered that his enemy was gone. Moore had at once retreated, making forced marches—the only possible course open to him—and had gained such a start that it was practically certain he could not be destroyed. It was his plain duty to run—we can see this from a study of Napoleon's correspondence—and he had run, without caring what the army or the people at home might say of him. Wellington had to do the same after Talavera and Burgos, and was not less bitterly criticised than was Moore at the time; yet Wellington was right in his action, as was Moore. Realising at Astorga that he had been foiled, and that 'the thunderstroke' was now out of the question, Napoleon turned back. He alleged, as the reason for his return, the risk of his absence in a distant corner of Spain when Austria was threatening war; while others have explained it by the intrigues of Fouché and Talleyrand, which undoubtedly caused him great uneasiness. M. Guillon, however, comes nearer to the truth when he writes:—

'The fact is that Napoleon was disconcerted by this new kind of war which he encountered in the Peninsula. It irritated his military genius, made as this was for vast spaces and armies deployed upon a large scale. . . . Spain was another Vendée, stirred by the same fanaticism, covered with the same ambuscades, defended in the same manner. He had had enough of the country, of the people, of the task he had undertaken.' ('Les Guerres d'Espagne,' 104.)

M. Guillon goes on to declare that this departure of Napoleon's was one of the gravest errors he ever committed: 'with him in command the English were ruined, with Soult they were saved.' This is incorrect, for Napoleon could have done nothing that Soult left undone; and the despatch to Soult of January 1, which is not

Digitized by Google

printed in the 'Correspondance,' anticipates the escape of the British and gives orders in view of that probability. It was, indeed, the clear perception that no great success could be anticipated which led Napoleon to withdraw, as he admitted to Foy quite frankly in 1810. It would not do for him to have his name associated with a resultless pursuit, an indecisive battle, a *coup manqué*. For once Lanfrey, in his 'Life of Napoleon,' has read the motives of the Emperor aright; and the proof of it is that Napoleon did not return to Spain. At Marrac, near Bayonne, an imperial carriage awaited his advent for years, but he never came.

The horrors of the British retreat are ably recounted in Mr Oman's history, though he blames Moore unjustly for them. Here General Maurice offers a successful vindication of the British general, which is confirmed by the evidence of Colborne's letters. It was not Moore's fault that food was lacking, discipline in the army slack, and subordinates negligent. Nor did those divisions and units which were well commanded and kept carefully in hand show heavy losses through straggling. The ill-treatment of the Spaniards by the British troops was a lamentable incident in the retreat; but in his efforts to stop it Moore was ill supported by his officers; and the army was in a state of exasperation against our allies because of their failure to co-operate or even to afford the requisite supplies. All that can be said on this passage is that Wellington's army, according to his own evidence, suffered almost as much, and behaved almost as badly, in its retreat from Burgos in 1812, with far less excuse. In fact, the British armies of that period—and, indeed, of others—showed a tendency to fall to pieces in retreat, while Wellington was emphatic in declaring that they could not support success. They were magnificent in battle; at other times their discipline was of the worst.

The closing episodes in Moore's life are well told by Mr Oman; but Napier has the advantage of being able to describe, with all the vigour of an eye-witness, the turning of the army upon Soult, and the final blow, which failed in being deadly only because, as General Maurice shows, the directing brain of Moore was paralysed at the critical moment. Like Nelson, he lived to know that victory had been won, though the vast results of his

Digitized by Google

efforts and self-sacrifice he could not in those last hours have foreseen. Colborne, his military secretary, has spoken of the perfect serenity and composure with which he bore the agony of his wound. His last thoughts were of his country and his service to her. 'With unsubdued fortitude,' relates Colonel Anderson, 'he said at intervals. "Anderson, you know I have always wished to die this way. I hope the people of England will be satisfied. I hope my country will do me justice."'

That justice has finally been rendered by the publication of his diary and important papers, and by the analysis of his plans which General Maurice has given us. The mistakes detected by Mr Oman were not mistakes at all, but measures forced upon him by circumstances. The closest possible study of his campaign suggests that he was the equal, if not the superior, of Wellington himself; for he had all Wellington's skill in the conduct of a battle and the management of an army, and he understood and could use cavalry, which Wellington could not. The handling of the British cavalry under his command is a model for later generations; while Wellington could do nothing with his mounted force but abuse it. Moore, too, had sounder ideas on the method of command, and did not reduce his subordinate generals to mere puppets.

The results of Moore's diversion were far-reaching; and it remains one of the very few examples in military history of a really great effect having been wrought by strategy of the geometrical kind, with comparatively little fighting or loss of life. In Mr Oman's words:—

'He [Moore] drew the Emperor, with the 70,000 men who would otherwise have marched on Lisbon, up into the north-west of the Peninsula, quite out of the main centre of operations. . . . 45,000 men marched on after the British and were engulfed in the mountains of Galicia, where they were useless for the main operations of the war. Spain, in short, gained three months of respite, because the main disposable field-army of her invaders had been drawn off into a corner by the unexpected march of the British on Sahagun' (i, 548).

Sir J. F. Maurice goes even further, though his view is not altogether borne out by the latest evidence:—

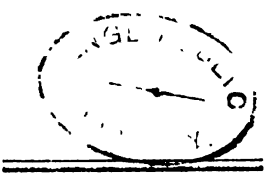
'It was the effect of this triumphant escape of Moore's, after treading on the giant's tail, that Napoleon dared not face in

Digitized by Google

Paris or Vienna. This was what had to be washed out in Austrian blood. Because of this he brought on the war of 1809. ('Diary,' ii, 298.)

Yet it is quite true that without this stroke of Moore's there would have been no Spanish example to show the way of salvation to Europe. Spain would have collapsed, so far as we can see, despite Baylen and Saragossa; and Napoleon would have had 200,000 men more to turn against Austria and Central Europe.

The fact that Mr Oman is occasionally wrong in his views does not impair the general value of a most painstaking and useful piece of work. We have given examples which prove that his history is, in many respects, a noteworthy improvement upon Napier's. He is fair to the Spaniards, and that is much to say, for hitherto British historians have been too prone to belittle the value of their assistance. His work has also the advantage of being illustrated by excellent maps, and supplied with an index to each volume. It is thus well designed to supplement, though it can never supersede, Napier; and it must rank among the most important military studies which have been published in recent years in England. Comparison with the French Staff histories of the Napoleonic campaigns will prove that it is quite worthy to take its place as their equal; and this is bestowing high praise, as those will know who have followed the work of such officers as Colin, Alombert, Desbrière, de la Jonquière, and Balagny.



Digitized by Google

Art. IX.—MARCO POLO AND HIS FOLLOWERS IN CENTRAL ASIA.

1. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, translated and edited by Colonel Sir Henry Yule.* Third edition, revised by Henri Cordier. Two volumes. London: Murray, 1903.
2. *The World's History.* Edited by Dr H. F. Helmolt. Vol. II. London: William Heinemann, 1904.
3. *Central Asia and Tibet.* By Sven Hedin. Two volumes. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1903.
4. *The Middle Eastern Question.* By Valentine Chirol. London: Murray, 1903.
5. *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet.* By Sarat Chandra Das. London: Murray, 1903.
6. *Sand-buried Cities of Khotan.* By Dr M. A. Stein. London, 1904.
7. *Papers relating to Tibet.* London: Spottiswoode, 1904. (Cd. 1920.)

In attempting an estimate of the present conditions of Central Asia one is met at the outset by many difficulties. It is obviously necessary to consider the region as a whole, to take a bird's-eye view of all the Central Asiatic countries, in order to appreciate their relations with each other; and it is difficult, in the absence of any clear geographical, racial, or political demarcation, to decide the exact area to which the expression 'Central Asiatic' may be applied. For the purposes of this article we have included Russian Turkestan, Chinese Turkestan, Tibet, Afghanistan, the Pamirs, and a portion of northern Persia. This region is bounded by the Siberian lowlands on the north, and the mountain regions of Afghanistan and the Himalaya on the south; by the Chinese empire on the east; by the Caspian and Persian empire on the west. It is traversed by a desert region, part of that great Sahara which stretches through North Africa, Arabia, Persia, and Turkestan, to Mongolia, rising to great heights in its north-eastern development. The heart of Central Asia is that lofty plateau region known as the Pamirs, in reality a group of mountains, whose valleys have to a great extent been filled up. This 'roof of the world' is in many ways the 'heart' of the great continent, forming the water-shed for rivers flowing east, west, and

Digitized by Google

south, and gathering together in a sort of knot the three great mountain ranges of Asia—the Tian-shan, Kuen Lun, and Himalayas.

It is in the physical conditions of this region that our first difficulty arises. Nature framed this portion of the globe in one of her grand moods. Mountains of extraordinary altitude, plateau regions inaccessible save by a few passes, sandy deserts, vast, arid, and impenetrable, with a climate varying from intense heat to the most rigorous cold—all these superlative difficulties beset the traveller and explorer who attempts to penetrate the heart of Asia, and are equally distracting to the student of geography. The extent of the region as we have defined it (about the same size as Europe) is in itself hard to realise when taken in conjunction with the scantiness of population in most parts, and the absence of water communication, and even, in a large area, of water at all.

When we turn to the historical side of our subject, difficulties increase. Central Asia has, from time immemorial, been the home of nomad peoples, and became a highway between east and west, over which passed successive waves of invasion by Turkic and Mongolic hordes. The theory that Central Asia, if not the original home of the human race, was at all events the cradle of civilisation, has hitherto lacked the support of positive evidence; but the part in the world's history played by this region, and more especially by the two great routes crossing it from west to east, suggests to us a vista of fascinating study in a country as yet far from exhausted from the archæological point of view. The reader cannot do better than follow the history of Central Asia through the pages of the second volume of 'The World's History,' edited by Dr Helmolt.

'Around this citadel of the world [Central Asia] lay clustered in a wide semicircle the ancient countries of civilisation, Babylonia, China, and India; and even the beginnings of Egyptian culture point to Asia. All who believe in a common fountain-head of these higher civilisations must look for it in Middle Asia, or must assume that the germs of higher forms of life were carried through that region in consequence of migrations or of trading expeditions.'

Which was the route followed by these migrations?

Digitized by Google

Certainly one of the two, marked out by fertile oases, which run through the basin of the Tarim. These routes meet in the west at Kashgar, while the Chinese gate to Central Asia is at Hami in Siu-Kiang.

Despite the early rise of civilisations on the borders of Central Asia, and the fact that independent alphabets were invented by several races (as shown by the inscriptions in six different scripts on the gate of Kiu-yung Kwan, 1345 A.D.), there is little historical material on which to reconstruct a picture of ancient Asia. The Chinese accounts are the most trustworthy, but are narrow in their scope. Owing to the peculiarities of Chinese writing and language they are difficult to decipher, but may yet yield to some master-student material of great value. The earliest Western account, upon which Herodotus founded his own description, was written about the seventh century B.C., and is probably based on an actual journey made by the author along the famous trade route as far as the Tarim basin; and in the first century A.D. we are able to fix the stations on the East Asiatic route by the descriptions of a Macedonian merchant. It is from such scattered narratives of travellers and traders that the early history of Central Asia must be reconstructed; but, in an age when the scientific excavation of buried cities is revealing more and more the secrets of an inconceivably ancient past, we may still hope that fresh light will be thrown on this most interesting region.

In 1900 a modest scheme of exploration, lasting twelve months and accomplished at the cost of only 600*l.*, was carried through by Dr M. A. Stein, of the Indian Educational Department, in that portion of Turkestan through which the route, rendered famous by many travellers, used to pass. Owing to the encroachment of the desert, due to increasing desiccation, on the fertile oases which formerly studded this great commercial highway, it has now fallen into disuse. Dr Stein's purpose was chiefly archæological and antiquarian, and in this he differs from Dr Sven Hedin and others whose paths he crossed at times. The results of his expedition are, from the point of view of historical importance, so much out of proportion to the time and money expended, as to afford great encouragement for a more systematic examination of the sites of early civilisation in Central

Digitized by Google

Asia. If it be true that Babylon, as well as China, drew early inspiration from some common and as yet undiscovered source, it is far from impossible that the great preservative agency of sand, which has embalmed so many mighty cities, may yet yield up secrets of surpassing interest to the student of human development in Central Asia.

An even more interesting phase of Central Asiatic history is the rise and decay of nomad tribes. The earliest of whom we have records apparently succeeded a period of agricultural civilisation, and were in some cases absorbed into it. Later tribes seem to have vanished almost as rapidly as they appeared. Central Asia sent many conquerors to Europe, none more dreaded than the Huns, who had their origin in the high plateau of Mongolia, and, being driven from China, rolled westwards and eventually overran Europe. The rise of Turkish nomads, Mongolian in origin, but far more advanced in civilisation than the Huns (of which race they were probably descendants), began to roll the tide of conquest in a different direction, from west to east, through the Khanates and the Tarim basin, and so to the gates of China. A remarkable feature in the history of Central Asia is the resistance offered by the Celestial empire to encroachments and invasions which left Europe devastated and swept down to the richly cultivated plains of India. The Chinese policy was to sow dissensions among the various tribes which assailed their ancient and settled civilisation, and to push on from their frontiers colonies and settlements of traders, whose influence gradually transformed the nomads into a more settled population.

The invasion of Asia by Alexander in the fourth century B.C., was the one brilliant, if transitory, period of early European conquest in Asia. His kingdom was split up and became Asiatic in every respect; but traces of Hellenic culture survive to this day, and have become incorporated with the religion and art of more than one Central Asiatic country. To quote Dr Stein's preface:—

'The remarkable diversity of the cultural influences which met and mingled at Khotan during the third century A.D. is forcibly brought home to us by these records from a remote Central Asian settlement, inscribed on wooden tablets in an Indian language and writing, and issued by officials with

Digitized by Google

strangely un-Indian titles whose seals carry us to the classical world far away in the west.'

A still more remarkable relic of the Hellenic conquest was found by Sven Hedin in his excavations of the buried towns of Lou-lan, near that inland lake whose shifting waters have given rise to so much geographical controversy. This relic was a gem on which the figure of Hermes was cut; and as internal evidence shows that Lou-lan was destroyed by a desert storm or inundation, or perhaps by both, at the beginning of the fourth century, A.D., it is clear that at that date Hellenic influence had spread eastward to the confines of the Gobi desert.

The influence of religious missionaries has, to a great extent, decided the fate of Central Asia. Buddhism said to have been first introduced into Tibet from India by a princess who became the wife of a Tibetan king, was probably extended by slow degrees from the Indian frontier; but the foundation in Khotan of a Buddhist kingdom by a son of the great Asoka, about the second century B.C., which is amply attested by the dates of the extensive Buddhist relics excavated by Dr Stein, shows that once more the Tarim basin played an important part in Central Asiatic history. The later phases of Buddhism were of a peculiar character. No religion is less suited to a nomad or warlike people. The Chinese, perceiving this, did all in their power to propagate it, and were justified by the results. In the history of Mongolia and Tibet this policy has been extraordinarily exemplified. Monasticism, which was the outcome of Gautama's idealistic teaching, as it was of Christ's, at a period of history when the world was cruelly materialistic, was seized upon by the Chinese as a means to an end. The political and social advantages enjoyed by a more or less cloistered priesthood were similar in Asia and Europe; but in the former there was neither Renaissance nor Reformation, in the true sense of the word; and the system of lamaism, carried to an extreme, devitalised and debased the people.

The religion of Mohammed, which came to India by way of the Afghan passes, appeared late in Central Asia. Zoroastrian and Christian missionaries were already contending with the ancient forms of Shamanism, the original

Digitized by Google

belief of the Central Asiatic. The conflict resolved itself at last into a struggle between Mohammedanism and Buddhism, the former becoming entirely triumphant in the west, and pushing its conquests as far as the Tarim basin. Even China did not escape the Mohammedan invasion; and to this day the western borderlands contain a considerable proportion of followers of the prophet. It was at this time, probably, that Tibet, on account of its comparative inaccessibility, began to assume that position as the stronghold of Buddhism which it has ever since retained. Tibetan Buddhism, however, diverged widely from the pure doctrine taught by the Indian Gautama, being influenced by the Chinese and debased by the incorporation of ancient Shamanistic beliefs. While Buddhism died out in India, the hold which it had obtained over the Mongol peoples remained; and with the rise of the Mongol empire we see the leaders of that nation, both before and after their elevation to the throne of China, confirming the prestige of Tibet as the centre of the Buddhist world.

Political expediency no doubt dictated this policy. When the theocratic government was firmly established at Lhasa it became evident that no other agency could so well control the wild nomad tribes. Once it had become famed for its priests and monasteries, Lhasa was soon elevated into a sacred city; and, when the growth of priestly influence had placed both spiritual and temporal power in the same hands, it was but a step to proclaim the supernatural attributes of the ruler. This claim on the part of the Dalai Lama to be the reincarnation of the living Buddha was only made by the third in the pontificate; and it was followed by a journey through Mongolia to Peking (about 1653), in which every mark of honour and veneration was paid to the Dalai Lama as the most sacred personage in the Buddhist hierarchy as well as the ruler (under Chinese protection) of Tibet. The combined spiritual and temporal power of the Asiatic popes was less durable than that of their European prototypes. China contrived that the real head of the nation should always be a regent or guardian, nominated by Peking; and few Dalai Lamas attained age and influence enough to throw off the yoke. The practice of discovering the incarnate Buddha

Digitized by Google

in an infant of tender years was a feature in this scheme.

The evolution of mediæval Central Asia is too vast a subject to be treated in a single article. It is only possible to indicate some of the principal factors which shaped its history, so far as these can be ascertained from the scanty historical material at our disposal. In the fourteenth century we get a glimpse, through European eyes, of some of the cities and countries of a region then almost unknown to Western nations. At this period the wild nomadic character of Central Asia had almost entirely passed away, thanks to the spread of the Buddhist faith and the steady encroachments of Chinese civilisation on the east, and, on the west, to the settlement of Mohammedan conquerors and the adoption of an agricultural life. Nomadism survived, as it does to-day, in a restricted and ordered form in Turkestan and northern Persia; and the former had still to give birth to the greatest of nomad conquerors—Timur. But it seems certain, from the descriptions of Marco Polo, that from east to west Central Asia had assumed the character of a region under civilised influence. It was partitioned into kingdoms, each of which possessed cities, many of considerable size. Agriculture was commonly practised; and, though irrigation was already on the wane, and many tracts of cultivated land had been swallowed by the sands, still the whole region presented a less inhospitable aspect than to-day.

It is doubtful whether we should have enjoyed this insight into mediæval Asia save for the enthusiasm and industry of Colonel Yule, who, fascinated by the scope of the Venetian traveller's wanderings, devoted the best years of his life to the task of ascertaining and illustrating Marco Polo's itinerary. The thirteenth century merchant-adventurer does not appear to have possessed any peculiar qualifications for the task of description; but upon his brief, tangled, and sometimes inaccurate narratives Colonel Yule hung a mass of erudite commentary, drawn from a wide range of study and personal knowledge. The latest issue of this great classic will long remain the standard edition. It is annotated by M. Henri Cordier, the distinguished orientalist, in the light of the explorations and researches of the last thirty years.

Digitized by Google

Yule would have rejoiced to see so much of his work amplified or confirmed by evidence which the knowledge of his own time was unable to afford. The advances made in the equipment of exploration and research parties have given great advantages to the modern traveller; and M. Cordier had a mass of material of all sorts on which to draw. The last edition of Marco Polo appeared in 1875. Since that date we have had the later and more important journeys of Prejevalsky, the travels of Pyevtsoff, Kosloff, and Roborovsky, the various boundary commissions under Holdich and others, and the explorations of Younghusband, Sven Hedin, and Stein. In Tibet, the most inaccessible of Central Asiatic states, we have had the travels of Prince Henri d'Orléans, Bonvalot, Rockhill, Bower, Dutreuil le Rhins, Bonin, Littledale, and Sven Hedin, and, last but not least, the 'journey' of Sarat Chandra Das. Among the notable recent contributions to the literature which has grown up round the narrative of the old Venetian is that contained in Major Sykes's book on Persia, already noticed in this Review. There are many other names worthy of inscription in this roll; but the list is already long enough to show that the pioneer efforts of Yule have not been wasted. Besides the actual descriptions of explorers, M. Cordier has had a great number of illuminating monographs on which to draw, especially those of General Houtum-Schindler, Curzon, Bretschneider, Hirth, Devéria, Palladius, and Prince Roland Bonaparte.

In arranging his notes and commentaries M. Cordier, who was singularly well equipped for his task, has, of course, been slightly handicapped by a natural reverence for the text originally supplied by Yule. Hence the reader is at times bewildered by the number of notes, the commentaries on them, and the notes on commentaries; and a simplification of these in some future edition would be advisable in the interests of the general reader. No criticism, however, can mar the appreciation of a reader who has once fallen under the spell of historical travel; for in these two handsome volumes he will find condensed and compared, and strung like pearls on the chain of Marco Polo's narrative, the experiences, descriptions, historical deductions and speculations, not only of that profound and brilliant student, Henry Yule, but of

Digitized by Google

every traveller of note, every historian, however obscure, who could contribute to build up the picture of Asia as Polo saw it in the thirteenth century. Here is Yule's summary of what Marco Polo saw and did:—

'He was the first traveller to trace a route across the whole longitude of Asia, naming and describing kingdom after kingdom which he had seen with his own eyes; the deserts of Persia, the flowering plateaux and wild gorges of Badakhshan, the jade-bearing rivers of Khotan, the Mongolian steppes—cradle of the power that had so lately threatened to swallow up Christendom—the new and brilliant court that had been established at Cambaluc; the first traveller to reveal China in all its wealth and vastness, its mighty rivers, its huge cities, its rich manufactures, its swarming population, the inconceivably vast fleets that quickened its seas and its inland waters; to tell us of the nations on its borders with all their eccentricities of manners and worship; of Tibet with its sordid devotees; of Burma with its golden pagodas and their tinkling crowns; of Laos, of Siam, of Cochin China, of Japan, the eastern Thule, with its rosy pearls and golden-roofed palaces; the first to speak of that museum of beauty and wonder, still so imperfectly ransacked, the Indian Archipelago, source of those aromatics then so highly prized and whose origin was so dark; of Java, the pearl of islands, of Sumatra with its many kings, its strange costly products, and its cannibal races; of the naked savages of Nicobar and Andaman; of Ceylon, the isle of gems, with its sacred mountain and its tomb of Adam; of India the Great, not as a dream-land of Alexandrian fables, but as a country seen and partially explored, with its virtuous Brahmans, its obscene ascetics, its diamonds and the strange tales of their acquisition, its sea-beds of pearl and its powerful sun; the first in mediæval times to give any distinct account of the secluded Christian empire of Abyssinia and the semi-Christian island of Socotra; to speak, though indeed dimly, of Zanzibar, with its negroes and its ivory, and of the vast and distant Madagascar bordering on the Dark Ocean of the south with its Ruc and other monstrosities, and, in a remotely opposite region, of Siberia and the Arctic Ocean, of dog-sledges, white bears, and reindeer-riding Tunguses.'

When Marco Polo made his two journeys to and from China, a change was already taking place in the economic conditions of Asia. The Venetian traveller returned from Karakorum the second time by sea; and, though the voyage

Digitized by Google

took two or more years, and proved fatal to most of his companions, it was the precursor of a new state of world-conditions. The golden age of Portuguese and Spanish discovery had arrived; every nation, including that great commercial state to which Polo belonged, was developing its maritime resources; and very soon the seas were covered with the slow and stately argosies of the Western world seeking the treasures of the East. The encroaching sands, the drain of irrigation, and the consequent vagaries of the lakes and rivers of Central Asia, had already destroyed some of the oldest cities which marked the old trade routes. Stein believes the exodus from the buried cities of Khotan to have been complete about the seventh century A.D.; while the excavations of Sven Hedin on the sites of the ruined cities of Lou-lan prove that this interesting ancient kingdom, once powerful and independent, had not only lost its prestige early in the Christian era, but at the beginning of the fourth century suffered the destruction of its capital by earthquake or inundation, a fate which also seems to have overtaken the next city built by the Lou-lans. The rise of the quasi-nomad empire of Timur, which began shortly after Polo's travels, changed many of the landmarks described by him, and materially altered the position of the Chinese sovereign—the great Khan, descendant of an earlier race of Mongol nomads—towards Central Asia. The military despotism of Timur was held together by his personality, and fell to pieces with his death; but a descendant of his, Babar, invaded India from the mountains of Afghanistan, and was the founder of the great Mogul empire in the sixteenth century.

This political upheaval, the importance acquired by the Khanates of Eastern Central Asia, as the heart of Timur's empire, and the fact that his attention was ever turned towards the west and south—all this combined with various natural causes to work a great change in Central Asia. The diminution of the volume of trade and traffic to and fro, the development of communications by sea, the influence of conservative China on such portions of the Mongol empire as she retained—all these began to make themselves felt; and, in contrast with the constant waves of change or conquest, we see each section crystallising in a certain mould, aided very greatly by

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

the dominant form of religion. Tibet developed its theocracy; and Mongolia, knit to her by bonds of superstition, was also kept by Chinese domination, as well as by the scattered nature of its population and physical conditions, from producing any more complex civilisation than a restricted and ordered nomadism. The deserts and oases of East Turkestan relapsed into isolation and desolation. The Khanates, divided among fierce though often effeminate Mohammedan rulers, kept up a constant internecine strife; and Afghanistan saw the gradual collection of warlike tribes round a central authority in Kabul. The history of Afghanistan is, however, too stormy and eventful to be summarised so briefly. It has been the cradle of more than one dynasty whose powers stretched from Iran to the southern limits of India; but its greatness was subsequent to the journeys of the Venetian, and is more bound up with the history of India than with that of Central Asia.

Turning to modern times, we find the most important facts of Central Asiatic history to be the stagnation of China, the rise of British power in India, and the advance of Russia on the west and north. The beginnings of Russian advance in Central Asia date from Peter the Great. Repelled at first in the more promising regions, the Russians pushed on across the Siberian lowlands, subdued Caucasia, and from these vantage-grounds turned their attention to the Khanates, once seats of great Mongolian empires. It is probable that no purely European nation could have accomplished, with equal rapidity and success, the task of subduing and pacifying the warlike Turkoman tribes and the ancient Khanates. The Russian method was thorough, and did not stop short of extermination, where the resistance offered was obstinate. Afterwards, the conquerors displayed considerable tolerance for the racial and religious peculiarities of the vanquished peoples. The next step was to complete a system of communication; and a modern railway-line, with several branches, now runs through the heart of Timur's empire and links it to Europe. With Russia on the west and north pressing down to the heart, with Great Britain to the south, and a distracted China on the east, Central Asia to-day occupies a unique and anomalous position. Despite these rival influences, despite its his-

Digitized by Google

torical importance as the cradle of one of the most ancient civilisations, this region is remarkable for the fact that, so far, it has in most sections escaped the tide of modern Western progress, and remains primitive and Oriental, exclusive and mysterious.

Nevertheless, the *lacunæ* in our geographical knowledge of Central Asia have been almost filled up by the explorations and surveys of the last thirty years. Surveys have been steadily pushed on from both the British and Russian frontiers; and the work done by boundary commissions has been of great scientific interest. Of all independent travellers Dr Sven Hedin has been, perhaps, the greatest contributor to our geographical knowledge of the little-known region lying between the Pamirs and the Gobi desert. His patient and accurate method is well exemplified in his mapping, yard by yard, of the Tarim River. Except for a few gaps in the mountain ranges, whose inaccessibility and climate render exploration difficult, we have now a fairly complete knowledge of the geography of Central Asia; and in a short time it is to be hoped that a carefully-revised map will be at the service of the general reader.

Despite the political exclusiveness of Tibetans as regards their sacred city, and the province of U in which it stands, their country has been carefully surveyed, from the Russian side by Buriats, and from India by native surveyors; while many European travellers have crossed it from east to west, and, though few were as well equipped for scientific observation as Dr Hedin, yet each has added his quota to the sum of our knowledge. Lhasa, the sacred, the unattainable, the mysterious, is even revealed in a London 'weekly' through the medium of excellent photographs taken by some semi-Asiatic Russian subject.

It is well known that the embargo on foreign visitors to Lhasa has been strictly enforced only in modern times. Foreign visitors were always rare, because the country was not on the trade routes of Central Asia. The principal trade of the country was with China, and in a smaller degree with India; but relations with the latter were intimate down to the time of Anglo-Saxon domination. Accordingly, several travellers, Jesuit missionaries and others, made the journey between India and China by way of Tibet. Even so late as 1844–46 the Jesuits

Digitized by Google

Huc and Gabet were well received and entertained, and were allowed to arrange a chapel for Christian worship; while the eccentric Englishman Manning, who, in 1811, stayed five months in the sacred city, was unmolested although he behaved in a way which would have roused the wrath of a less mild-mannered people.

Notwithstanding the occupation by British troops of the valley of Chumbi in 1888, as a consequence of the troubles in Sikkim, no Englishman has set foot in Lhasa since Manning's time, but Indian surveyors have visited the sacred city in the guise of Lamas; and in 1882 Lhasa received a visit from one highly educated and capable of intelligent observation, in the person of Sarat Chandra Das, of the Indian Educational Department. His explanation of Tibetan exclusiveness, though no longer adequate, is of great interest.

'Throughout the nineteenth century' (he says) 'the Tibetans have followed the Chinese policy of exclusiveness, not from fear of annexation, but because they had been shortly before nearly conquered, and were entirely under Chinese influence. This fear has been sedulously encouraged by an ex-minister of the Rajah of Sikkim, the Dewan Namgyal, who was expelled from that country for his treatment of Doctors Hooker and Campbell, and subsequently obtained from the Grand Lama the post of frontier officer, to watch the "encroachments" of the Indian Government. . . . The exclusiveness of the Tibetan Government is to be chiefly attributed to the hostile and intriguing attitude of the frontier officials towards the British Government. Next to it is the fear of introducing small-pox and other dangerous diseases into Tibet, where the people, being ignorant of the treatment of this disease, die from it in great numbers. Death from small-pox is the most dreaded, since the victim is believed to be immediately sent to hell. Not the least important cause, however, is the fear of the extinction of Buddhism by the foreigners—a feeling which prevails among the dominant class, the clergy.'

Sarat Chandra Das dwells on the advantages offered by the British in the matter of trade with India, and says that the Tibetans thoroughly appreciate these facilities; whereas the Chinese Government naturally fears that, with the opening of free intercourse between India and Tibet, China will be a great loser so far as her commercial

Digitized by Google

interests are concerned. It is little understood that Lhasa, far from being remote or inaccessible, is only about eight to fourteen days' journey along a frequented highway from the Indian frontier.* The explanations of their exclusiveness which the Tibetans have from time to time vouchsafed, for instance to Sven Hedin, leave no doubt on the subject. It is a purely political measure, though, doubtless, the spiritual weapon is used to induce the co-operation of the more ignorant people. The situation was briefly put by Dr Sven Hedin, in an outburst of candour which will hardly earn him the thanks of fellow explorers. 'You are right,' he said in effect to the Tibetan officials. 'Europe is closing in round your country, and if you let her get in the thin end of the wedge she will soon overrun Tibet also.'

While this is the broad outline of Tibetan views, there are political subtleties which are more difficult to grasp. China, to whom Tibet has long paid fealty, no doubt encouraged, and even enjoined, the policy of exclusion for her own purposes. She trusted to the devitalising effects of a religion, by which so large a proportion of the population (one third to one sixth, according to various accounts) became monks, to prevent Tibet in her seclusion from becoming independently powerful; and by excluding foreigners she hoped to secure her vassal from the baneful influence of Europe and from the possibility of coming under the wing of either Russia or Britain. A significant feature in the situation, however, is the relations subsisting between China and Russia. We have seen the Celestial empire pass through a phase in which she yielded more and more to Muscovite persuasions. That period will not be safely passed so long as the Empress-Dowager, the quondam pupil and mistress of Li Hung Chang, is on the throne. There should be no mistake as to the nature of the Chino-Russian *entente*. It was purely a refuge on the part of China, distrustful of the Powers who clamoured at her gates, seeing in her semi-Asiatic neighbour at least a strong Power who would keep the others at bay, and who might perhaps be 'squared.' The diplomatic successes of Russia were for a time complete, for she

* Colonel Sir J. H. Holdich, 'Royal Geogr. Soc. Journal,'

Digitized by Google

retained the confidence of the Manchu Government while she deprived it of territory; but the recent Manchurian phase of Muscovite insincerity, added to a vigorous propaganda by Japan, has wrought a change in China's attitude, and even in that of the Manchu Government. She now goes as far as she dares in antagonism to Russia, and is receiving more and more eagerly the assurances of Japan that the Far East need not come under the domination of any Western nation if only the yellow races combine.

In this Far Eastern drama Tibet plays a part. The reader must have noted that the Chinese officials in Tibet appear to be falling between two stools. They are afraid to abet Russia for fear of vexing Britain, and still more afraid to provoke the former. We hear, moreover, that the Tibetans now express the greatest contempt for Chinese authority; that the *ambans*, who, in Sarat Chandra Das's narrative, appear as tyrants and autocrats, are now merely ambassadors; and that it is the express refusal of the Dalai Lama and his Tibetan advisers to admit the British commissioners, or to give them any satisfaction, which is the real obstacle. It is more than probable that this is the true aspect of the situation; nor is it wonderful that Chinese authority has waned, in view of the chaotic condition of that country and the frequent humiliations she has recently sustained. It is possible that she would use her influence, if it were strong enough, to pacify Britain, though she would prefer to do it in a manner which would not offend Russia. This equivocal attitude is not, however, that of Tibet. No one can study the course of the negotiations which have been going on for the last two years between the Indian Government and Tibet without being struck by the uncompromising attitude of the latter. In this we may see the ignorant arrogance of an isolated oriental theocracy; but it is impossible not to see something more. The Tibetans are not without a certain astuteness characteristic of their race; while their close association with the Chinese must have taught them some of the arts of diplomacy.

Many qualified observers have convinced themselves, and the conviction has, so far, been justified by events, that there is a connexion between the three facts—the waning of the Russo-Chinese friendship; the arrogant

Digitized by Google

attitude of Tibet as regards both China and ourselves; and the apparent growth of a 'friendly feeling' between Russia and Tibet. It must be remembered that a close connexion exists between Mongolia and Tibet. Each possesses a sacred city; and in the Buddhist hierarchy Urga is only second in importance to Lhasa. The dividing line between Siberia and Mongolia is extremely indefinite; and no one who knows that home of iniquity—the great, ancient, evil city of Urga—can fail to have been struck with the russification which a few years of intercourse have produced. Mongolia is honeycombed with Russian agencies; and steps have been taken to spread the Russian tongue by means of Chinese teachers, educated in Siberia. The importance of Lhasa to an empire containing half a million of Buddhists is greater than it seems at first sight. It is neither the intrinsic value of the country which makes Russia cast covetous eyes on it, nor is it merely her insatiable land-hunger. China, whose placability in 1901 stopped short of ratifying the clauses relating to Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan, even while she practically surrendered a much more desirable territory in Manchuria, is equally aware of the peculiar advantages possessed by the dominating influence at Lhasa. The possibilities of the case are well explained by Mr Chirol in a book made up of interesting and well-informed studies.

'What it would be impossible to view without some concern would be the ascendency of a foreign (other than Chinese) and possibly hostile power at Lhasa, controlling the policy of a great politico-religious organisation whose influence can and does make itself appreciably felt all along the north-eastern borderland of India. Lhasa is the stronghold of Lamaistic Buddhism, a debased form of Buddhism largely overgrown with tantric philosophy. Of the five great Avatari Lamas, in whose successive reincarnations its spiritual authority is vested, the Dalai Lama, who resides at Lhasa, is the chief. Two others live in Tibet. There is one in Bhutan, and I have already referred to the Taranath Lama of Urga in Mongolia. But they all derive their sanction from Lhasa. Lhasa is, in fact, the Rome of Central Asian Buddhism; and the many-storied Po-ta-la on the hill to the west of the city is its Vatican, whence its influence radiates through innumerable lamaseries or Buddhist monasteries, not only into Turkestan

Digitized by Google

and Mongolia and Western China, but across the Himalayas into the frontier states of our Indian empire. . . . The spiritual authority of the Lhasa theocracy, in alliance with the Great White Tsar, would enjoy under Russian tutelage an amount of material support which it has ceased to derive from its allegiance to Peking.'

Mr Chirol points out that it is no longer possible to direct our Central Asian policy altogether on the hypothesis of the 'latent power' of China as a counterpoise to our northern neighbour. There is no doubt that, whatever the issue of the present struggle, the initial successes of Japan have done much to destroy the reputation for invincibility which was Russia's most potent weapon in dealing with China. An allegiance already wavering would be broken by any more serious defeats. It is not, therefore, only the inimical interests of China, or her oriental policy of exclusiveness, to which we must look for an explanation of the Tibetan attitude; it is another influence which has been brought to bear. Whence can that influence come?

It is in no spirit of discourtesy that we feel obliged to discount the absolute denial given by Russian authorities when this point was raised. The exigencies of diplomatic relations demand that some express grounds should be found for any question as regards the foreign diplomacy of a friendly Power. The Russian ambassador, after communicating with his Government, was in a position to deny most absolutely the existence of any treaty between Russia and Tibet; while Count Lamsdorff repeated the assurance that the policy of Russia 'ne viserait le Tibet en aucun cas,' and ridiculed the idea of the missions from Tibet having any political character. The reception by the Emperor of Tibetan envoys was a purely social and unpolitical affair, in some hazy way connected with religious matters. One wonders whether, in the event of a similar mission to visit the Viceroy of India being arranged by an ingenious gentleman, half Buriat and half British, the Russian Government would accept so simple an explanation without comment. Nevertheless, Count Lamsdorff is no doubt technically correct; and the writer in a periodical who recently claimed to have first-hand information as to a Russo-Tibetan treaty, may also be correct in his picturesque details, but may have erred

Digitized by Google

in his terminology. The *format* of the agreement will not, however, affect its usefulness to Russia. The Russian assurance ended with the significant declaration that, notwithstanding the negative character of her relations with Tibet, Russia 'could not remain indifferent to any serious disturbance of the *status quo*,' which 'might render it necessary for them to safeguard their interests in Asia; not that, even in this case, they would desire to interfere in the affairs of Tibet . . . but they might be obliged to take measures elsewhere. They regarded Tibet as part of the Chinese empire, in the integrity of which they took an interest.'

The history of Russo-Tibetan intercourse, as publicly made known, is in itself sufficiently singular. That a Russian subject should have a place in the councils of the Dalai Lama; that a Russian professor, albeit of Buriat blood, should remain for twelve months in the sacred city; that two full-blown Tibetan missions should visit Russia, be received with high honours, and be escorted home by a Cossack guard of honour; and that the Dalai Lama should send an autograph letter to the Emperor—all this is singular enough; but the secret history of that intercourse would no doubt reveal a far more intimate relationship. It is well known that 'scientific' missions have been accorded special facilities, not only in the outer provinces of Tibet. Gold prospecting and mining are going on in the Tibetan highlands, which Prejevalsky once told the Tsar may one day become a second California. Thousands of Russian subjects go every year to Lhasa as pilgrims; many of the young men stay for a time in monasteries to pass their novitiate as lamas. It is impossible to view all this without a strong desire that Great Britain, as the Asiatic Power whose territory is closest to the heart of Tibet, should be admitted behind the scenes, and should be in a position to take a strong hand in the game, if necessary. As this country would on no account attempt territorial annexation in Tibet—a step which would at once destroy the advantages possessed by her Indian empire in the great northern rampart of the Himalayas—it is not clear what grounds Russia could have for objection to the present expedition; but it is certain that she is greatly dissatisfied, to put it mildly, at the action taken by the Indian Government; and

Digitized by Google

there are grounds for her belief that we have purposely seized an opportune moment for pressing our demands on Tibet.

There are indeed signs that Great Britain, thanks to an able and energetic Viceroy, has to a certain extent abandoned her traditional policy of dividing the world for diplomatic purposes into water-tight compartments. This new conception is well brought out by Mr Chirol, who, focussing his book mainly on the problem of the north-west frontier of India and its protection, makes very clear to us the part we are playing in Persia, and its bearing on Central Asia. For a long time Great Britain, relying on her position in the Persian Gulf, and believing the Near Eastern Question to have been finally settled under the walls of Sebastopol, was almost indifferent to the internal developments in Persia. The evolution of Russia as a great Asiatic Power, and her advance into Central Asia, brought her into a contact of over five hundred miles with Persian territory; but still Great Britain continued to rely on her influence on the sea-board. The construction of the trans-Caspian railway and its southern branches was a disquieting circumstance; but it was not until Russian designs on the Persian Gulf were actually disclosed that this country became fully alive to the issues involved. We found our influence at Teheran undermined; Khorassan, the richest province of Persia, entirely dominated by Russia; an embargo placed by Russian influence on railway extensions; trade routes of great antiquity between India and Persia interrupted by a 'quarantine' cordon drawn by Russian or Belgian officials; and many other signs that our whole position in Persia was in great jeopardy. The Indian Government, on whom responsibility chiefly rests in this matter, as the approach through Persia is an important frontier question, concentrated its energies on Seistan, the province lying midway between the Russo-Persian frontier and the ocean boundary. The commotion raised in Russia over an extension of the Indian railways to Nushki, to improve the line of communication on a trade route which had been increasing yearly in value under the supervision of Anglo-Indian officers, and to strengthen our position in an important region, was perhaps natural when it is remembered that this belt of British interest

Digitized by Google

cuts Russia off from the southern waters to which she desires an outlet.

The importance of Seistan is illustrated by its stormy history. 'The possession of Seistan' (says Mr Chirol), 'the land of the Scythians, the favourite haunt of Nimrod the mighty hunter, the legendary birthplace of the heroic Rustum' (and, it may be added, a great wheat-growing country in former days), 'has been at various periods a bone of sanguinary contention between Persians and Afghans.' He goes on to explain the part played by Britain in settling this vexed question, in which we failed to satisfy either claimant or to forward our own interests. Notwithstanding this and many other mistakes, there is no doubt that the proximity of the Indian empire, joined to British command of the sea, has given us in southern Persia advantages which only the most reckless folly can discount. Still, there is great need for vigilance, and especially for a concentration of our policy on certain well-defined objects, such as the development of trade and communications in southern Persia, where our prestige is as yet intact. Northern Persia, which comes within the scope of this article, is acknowledged by the most optimistic observers to have fallen commercially and politically under the domination of its great neighbour. When a great, expansive, and ambitious country has a frontier of five hundred miles coterminous with a weak and decadent one, this result is inevitable; and it must be taken into account that the present conflict in the Far East, should it result in the restriction of Russian ambitions in that region, may lead to an outbreak of activity in other quarters.

One of the cardinal points in British Asiatic policy is the preservation of Afghanistan as a buffer state. Although the theory of buffer states is now more or less exploded, Afghanistan certainly occupies a unique position in the cosmogony of Asia, which renders this policy reasonable. It is made up of a tangle of mountain spurs, inhabited by traditionally warlike and unruly tribes. On the borderland between Afghanistan and India we have a belt of semi-independent tribes, over which we exercise a sort of suzerainty. Our object is to leave them alone as much as possible; but our responsibility on their behalf has made necessary a series of small punitive expeditions, when

Digitized by Google

they have overstepped the limits we are obliged to set for their action. The Afridis, who inhabit the Khyber Pass, are perhaps the best known of these; and their habitat is both historically and practically of great importance. Through this pass came the ancient conquerors of India, either from Iran, settling for a time at Ghazni, and waxing strong and ambitious, or, in the case of the Mogul emperors, coming from Central Asia by this wild inhospitable route to the land of dreams—India, the great and magnificent. The method by which Britain now controls these borderland tribes is the simple one of enlisting them in irregular corps and turning their energies into a new and congenial channel; but it is a remarkable fact that, despite the proximity of British India, and the existence of this belt of country under direct British influence, no European has for many years crossed the actual frontier into Afghanistan, save the few engaged by the late Amir to fill certain posts.

'Twice a week' (says Mr Chirol) 'a British escort receives at the frontier from an Afghan escort the trading caravan which brings down the produce of Afghanistan into the markets of India, and hands over to its charge the return caravan which supplies the demands of Kabul upon the industries of the West. The caravans pass up and down the road through the Khaibar with undisturbed regularity—hundreds of huge, ungainly, Central Asian camels, sure-footed and powerful, bellowing and gurgling under their heavy loads; big, broad-shouldered, bearded Afghans, shouting and blustering, but good-humoured and easy-going, though their bold erect carriage and the fierce gleam of their eyes show the mettle they are made of; and every year at the approach of winter hundreds of Pathan tribesmen . . . from the other side of the frontier, who troop down with their women and children, some of them blue-eyed and fair-haired like a northern race, with their herds and flocks, with their dogs and their cats and their hens, to seek work and to find pastures for a time in the milder climate of the Peshawur plain. But, when the caravans have passed, the Khaibar closes its gates and all intercourse ceases as absolutely as if there were a Great Wall of China between India and Afghanistan.'

Yet we know that this essentially cut-off region, inaccessible to railroads, telegraphs, and tourists, has not been altogether deaf to the voice of civilisation. From

Digitized by Google

Europeans employed by the Amir as doctors or engineers we learn something of what is going on behind the veil; and so much has the Afghan mind lent itself to modernity that Abdurrahman even entered the lists against Marie Bashkirtseff as a diarist. On one point we have certain information—as to the improvement made in the arming and organisation of the army; but whether it would enable the present Amir to quell internal strife, were it to break out again, as effectively as his father quelled it, it is impossible to say. Habibullah remains an unknown quantity; so far there has been no proof that he possesses the eminent qualities of his father; and every now and then we hear disquieting rumours of palace intrigues and jealousies—those fertile sources of trouble in Asiatic countries, which Abdurrahman probably discounted by a very unoriental contempt for the pleasures of the harem, at least if his diary is to be believed. His son is undoubtedly reaping the benefit of the real constructive statesmanship of the great Amir; but, so far as our own interests are concerned, we have as yet had no assurance that he intends to adopt his father's friendly attitude towards Great Britain.

The limits of this article will not allow a dissection of the delicate question of British-Afghan relations, which are, of course, involved chiefly in the still more delicate question of Russo-Afghan relations. It may, perhaps, surprise some people to know that Russia has gone to the lengths of ignoring our claim to be the intermediary of foreign negotiations with Afghanistan, and that there is more than one proof of attempts to open communication direct with Kabul. The approach of a Russian railway within a few miles of Herat is a circumstance which, significant in itself, derives more interest from the mystery in which it is enveloped. No Europeans, save Russians, have succeeded in examining this line. Sven Hedin, when he casually asked the suave official at Merv to uncouple the special coach (placed by Russian politeness at the disposal of the man who travelled under the special protection of the Tsar) and attach it to the train for Kushk, was shown a telegram from headquarters directing that, in case Dr Sven Hedin should express such a desire, he should be told that the line was closed to all save official traffic.

Digitized by Google

The extension of Russian influence in Afghanistan has been rather in the direction of a growth of prestige and of respect for a country which had swallowed up half Asia. Megalomania is a more common failing among peoples of primitive civilisation than is imagined; and Russia has impressed the imagination of the Afghan, who has been unable to appreciate the solid but less showy work of consolidation going on in British India. Despite the sternness of her government in many respects, religious tolerance of the widest sort has been the rule in her conquered territories; but in the Khanates she has won the allegiance of the religious world by a judicious method of putting a premium on the proper observance of rites which the Central Asiatic, a lax Mohammedan, is inclined to neglect. The most dangerous feature in the situation, and one that keeps Indian frontier officials for ever on the alert, is the possibility that some fanatic in the mountains may at any time set alight the embers of a 'holy war,' and may raise the battle-cry of Mohammed, which in old times led so many conquering tribes down to the plains of India. Fortunately, the modern civilisation which comes with railway lines and electric light is creeping slowly through the ancient empire of Timur in the wake of Russian advance; and the commercial spirit of the Central Asiatic, stimulated by these agencies, will probably triumph over superstition and warlike tendencies, so that it may reach in time even the rugged mountaineers of Afghanistan.

With the future of Central Asia this article is not concerned. Its fate is bound up with that of great nations; and its peoples have no longer an independent existence. We have briefly traced some of the phases of its history, and indicated the relations between its several parts and their place in the problems of to-day. Our chief aim, however, has been to set before our readers the work done by travellers, explorers, and students in completing our knowledge of a region still fascinating because it is still mysterious.

ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

Digitized by Google

Art. X.—RUSSIA AND JAPAN.

1. *Russian Affairs.* By Geoffrey Drage. London: Murray, 1904.
2. *Korea.* By Angus Hamilton. London: Heinemann, 1904.
3. *Manchuria and Korea.* By H. J. Whigham. London: Isbister, 1904.
4. *Li Hung Chang.* By Mrs Archibald Little. London: Cassell, 1904.
5. *The Expansion of Russia.* By F. H. Skrine. Second edition. Cambridge: University Press, 1903.
6. *Correspondence respecting China.* Presented to Parliament 1887–1904.

And other works.

THE late Mr David Urquhart's portentous picture of the Russian ogre pursuing a deliberate scheme of world-dominion with an aggressiveness and diplomatic subtlety alike miraculous, has long passed into one of those popular superstitions which acquire almost the force of a creed. For the average Western intelligence, accustomed to watch the prosaic workings of the political machine as they are presented day by day in parliamentary debates and blue-books, there is something uncanny in the hidden power which directs the onward movements of the Russian people. The personal element at the back of it, with its disenchanting routine, its cross purposes, its hesitations, its mistakes, is invisible. The same mysterious silence leaves neglected opportunities unarraigned and errors of action unavowed. All that is apparent is the net result of the expansive energy of a great nation, its natural impressiveness unimpaired by vulgar details of how that result is attained.

More or less consciously Mr Urquhart's convenient hypothesis is the starting-point of a very large body of English thought in its attitude towards the present crisis in the Far East. It seems, indeed, to find a triumphant justification in the imposing magnitude of the very task on which Russia is now engaged. If the postulate of the congenital and abnormal earth-gluttony of the Muscovite seemed requisite to explain the invasions of Turkey, the encroachments on Persia, and the successive annexations

Digitized by Google

of the Central Asian Khanates, how much more necessary is it to account for the menacing appearance of the legions of the Tsar on the far away Yalu, at the end of a colossal chain of colonies and dependencies which girdle the north of Asia and reach half-way across Europe! It is, however, a misfortune that this should be the case; for, although no doubt heavy blame attaches to Russia in respect of the conflagration that has been lighted in the Far East, the postulate in question involves a fundamental misconception, historically false and morally unjust, which is calculated to add seriously to the far-reaching perils of the crisis.

How superficial are the observations on which this assumption rests may be seen from the fact that those who hold it never dream of attributing to Japan an appetite comparable to that of Russia. The contrast of the immense expanse of Greater Russia with the relatively small acquisitions of Japan in the Eastern Sea is apparently enough to stamp such an idea as preposterous. And yet such contrasts are not so much a matter of appetite as of opportunity. There is a certain energy in almost all highly civilised races which, under favourable conditions, invariably makes for territorial expansion; and there is no reason for believing that the expansive energy of the Japanese is one whit less intense than that of the Russians. We have abundant proof to the contrary in the colonies founded in southern Korea at an early date, and in the many attempts to conquer that country with which Japanese mediæval history is filled. The expansive energy of the Japanese on its political side was not fully liberated until the revolution of 1868; and then it had to equip itself with Western appliances and methods before it could hope to take part in the scramble for Asia with any chance of success. Germany was not in a position to employ its expansive energies until three years later; and the record of the Japanese—the Kuriles, the Loo-Choo Islands, the Pescadores, and Formosa, together with the bold attempt to appropriate the Liao-tung peninsula after the great war with China—may well stand by the side of the colonial achievements of Prince Bismarck. There can be little doubt that, if the Japanese revolution had taken place a century earlier, it would not have been on the

Digitized by Google

Yalu but probably on the Yenisei that the struggle with Russia for the hegemony of Eastern Asia would have been fought out.

Not only is there no real difference between the earth-appetite of the Muscovite and that of other great colonising nations,[1] but there is also nothing in the policy which has enabled it to achieve such stupendous things that differentiates it in any essential way from the motives and methods of rival empire builders. The enormous expansion of the Russian dominion and the rapidity of its advance have been mainly due not so much to conscious statesmanship as to ethnological and geographical conditions. The vast scene of that expansion is a prolongation of the *mère patrie* generally analogous to it in physical features, and peopled with races with whom the Russian colonists easily establish terms of sociability if not of assimilation. In these circumstances Russian colonisation was a comparatively natural and rapid process, and the political consolidation of the conquests thus affected was correspondingly accelerated.

Nevertheless, the policy of the Government has been distinctly opportunist. For the most part Siberia, as far as Kamchatka, was conquered without plan, and at a time when the Tsars were preoccupied with Poland and the Near East. When the subjugation of Poland and the *impasse* of the Crimean War turned the political aspirations of the nation towards Central Asia, the aim of Russian statesmanship was less conquest than the discovery of a defensive frontier. As we have found in India and Africa, the establishment of such a frontier is a matter of reciprocity. Where the contracting parties are, on the one hand, a highly organised state and, on the other, weak Sultanates unable to guarantee the execution of their international obligations, there can be no real reciprocity; and consequently further conquest becomes inevitable unless established colonies are to be for ever abandoned. Nevertheless, the Government at St Petersburg frequently turned a deaf ear to the appeals of the commercial classes for energetic action; and not a few conquests were made by daring generals in defiance of orders to the contrary from headquarters. This was roughly the history of the Russian advance in Central Asia until about ten years ago.

Digitized by Google

In the Far East Russian policy has been still more strikingly opportunist. But for the Crimean War the Anglo-French campaigns against China in 1858–60, and the Afghan crisis of 1885, there can be little doubt that the Russians would not be to-day on the Yalu. In 1858, when China was at the mercy of the allies, Russia seized the opportunity to extort from her the Treaty of Aigun, by which she acquired the territories north of the Amur. So little, however, had this step been dreamed of ten years previously that when, in 1849, Admiral Nevelskoy proposed only to explore the mouth of the Amur, Count Nesselrode vetoed the scheme as likely to lead to political complications. A year later Count Muravieff's project for the annexation of the Amur was unanimously rejected by a committee of ministers which examined it under the presidency of the Tsar Nicholas. It was even resolved to dismantle the fort at Nikolaievsk, founded by Nevelskoy and destined to become the capital of the Amur province, together with other illegal settlements.*

This timorous policy was reversed, not by any native jingoism, but by the exigencies of the Crimean War. Only a few of the Amur ports had been evacuated when the war broke out; and it became necessary to send supplies to the others as well as to the small Russian squadron in the Sea of Okhotsk, then threatened by an Anglo-French squadron under Admiral Price. The only feasible plan was to carry the provisions down the Amur; and this was done by Muravieff without the permission of China. The squadron was successfully victualled, and the settlements were effectively defended. The need of the Amur and also of a good port in the Far East having been thus demonstrated, the Treaty of Aigun was only a question of opportunity. It was, however, soon found that the Amur was not enough, that the fertility of the annexed territory had been exaggerated, that Castries Bay was not the ideal harbour it had been pictured, and that the whole colony was costing far more than it was worth.† Again there was talk of evacuation; but in the nick of time the Powers came once more to the aid of Russia. War had been resumed by the allies against

* Vera Vend, 'L'Amiral Nevelskoy,' pp. 39–40, 65, 69–72, 83, 84, 88–89.

† Ib. pp. 212, 213, 217–220; Ravenstein, 'The Russians on the Amur, pp. 117 et seq.

Digitized by Google

China owing to the treacherous affair of the Peiho; and the Son of Heaven for a second time was as wax in the hands of the barbarians. Russia seized her opportunity and made another demand; and this time China gave her all she had to give in the Sea of Japan, that is to say, the whole eastern coast-line of Manchuria down to the Korean frontier, with a magnificent series of bays and harbours, including the site of Vladivostok.

Thenceforward the Far Eastern dominions of the Tsar became year by year a more valuable possession. Owing, however, to the circumstance that the whole of the new seaboard was icebound in winter, its defence still gave rise to anxiety in St Petersburg. We have a further illustration of the opportunism of Russian expansive policy in the fact that for fifteen years no attempt whatever was made to find a remedy for this grave defect. If we may judge by the suspicious proceedings of the Russian corvette 'Possadnik' at Tsushima in 1861, Muravieff, with his bold grasp of the whole problem, had probably a scheme of his own not unlike that which was placed on paper in the famous Cassini Convention of 1896. But, if he had such a scheme, nothing came of it; and the Russians, with a precipitation strongly contrasting with their recent manœuvres in Manchuria, abandoned the island at the first growl of Admiral Sir James Hope.* The crisis of 1885, however, rendered the solution of the problem urgent. The Penj-deh affair had brought Russia and Great Britain to the brink of war; and an ice-free port in the Pacific, in which the local squadron could rendezvous, became indispensable. The idea of the Russian Government was to obtain from Korea the facilities they required; and, through a German named Von Möllendorff, who occupied the post of adviser to the King of Korea, negotiations were secretly set on foot for a lease of Port Lazareff. Lord Granville got wind of the intrigue and promptly ordered the occupation of Port Hamilton, which was held until Russia gave a formal assurance never to occupy Korean territory 'under any circumstances whatsoever.' Of the ultimate consequences of this pledge we shall have something to say presently. For the moment the point to be borne in mind is that the imminent danger

* Michie, 'The Englishman in China,' vol. ii, pp. 112–115.

Digitized by Google

of war with Great Britain in 1885, and not any fixed and long-standing design, first brought the need of an ice-free port in the Pacific into the forefront of Russian policy, just as the accidents of the Crimean War and the Anglo-French expeditions to China in 1858 and 1860 transformed a few miserable and grudgingly-held trading posts on the inhospitable shores of the sea of Okhotsk into the present imposing viceroyalty of the Far East.

While the gradual aggrandisement of Russia in the remote solitudes of Eastern Asia was for decades regarded in Europe with indifference—if, indeed, it was thought about at all—in Japan it gave rise to serious apprehensions at a very early date. Nearly a century before Nevelskoy circumnavigated Sakhalien, the Russian settlers in Kamchatka had begun to meddle with the Kurile Islands, which extend like so many stepping-stones southwards from Cape Lopatka to Yezo. At that time Japan had for over a hundred years rigorously excluded all intercourse with the rest of the world. Hence the approach of the white strangers from the north, whom the popular imagination pictured as giants twelve feet high, was at first superciliously ignored. Another Russian landing in 1798, however, aroused some misgivings; and a commission was sent north to fix a frontier between the Russian and Japanese possessions, and to study a plan for the colonisation of Yezo. The negotiations failed; and the Japanese took measures to strengthen their hold on the Kuriles and especially on Sakhalien—the northern key to the Sea of Japan—where they possessed fishing colonies. During the next few years collisions with the barbarians were frequent. Not only did the Russians seek to break down the seclusion of the Japanese by demanding trading rights, but they violently attacked the country itself. In 1806 Khvoslow plundered the settlements in Yezo; and in the following year there was serious fighting in the Kuriles, in which the clans of Nambu and Tsungaru suffered severely from the Russian cannon. Then for some years the irruptions ceased, owing to the Napoleonic struggle in Europe and the subsequent Russian campaigns in the Caucasus and Turkestan.

When next the Russian peril appeared in a serious form, it was in the midst of the great political upheaval, domestic and external, with which the name of Commo-

Digitized by Google

dore Perry is so conspicuously associated. Japan awoke to find all her earlier dread of the Russian justified and strengthened. The other barbarians had extorted their treaties of commerce and sailed away; but the Russian had remained on the threshold, a palpable menace to Japanese expansion, perhaps even to Japanese independence. The first opening of Japan to foreign intercourse synchronises with Muravieff's descent of the Amur, and the establishment of Russian authority in northern Sakhalien The rapidity of the subsequent Russian advance could not fail to alarm the Japanese. Within three years the whole of the Amur became Russian. Two years more and the Sea of Japan itself was invaded, and Russia was firmly fixed on the northern boundary of Korea. Yet another year, and Russian sailors even attempted the annexation of Tsushima, the key to the Straits of Korea, but were happily warned off by the British. Japan's first experience in the higher diplomacy was the negotiation in 1867 of a 'condominium' with Russia on the island of Sakhalien, a vain attempt to save her tardily realised strategical position in the north.

It was in these circumstances of foreign policy that the new Japan was born of the revolution of 1868. The young nation drew Russophobia with its first breath; and subsequent reflection did not tend to diminish its justification. When the Iwakura embassy returned from its mission to Europe and America in 1873, Okubo Ichizo, the most eminent of the revolutionist statesmen, and a member of the embassy, drew up a memorandum on foreign relations in which he said: 'Russia, always pressing to the south, is the chief peril for us.'* And Okubo was not wrong. However weak and aimless Russian Far Eastern policy may have been down to 1860, it was acquiring a definite and aggressive purpose in 1873.

While the danger was fully realised in Japan, it was not so easy to think out a policy for averting it. Irresolution and incapacity, not unnatural in the circumstances, mark the first dealings of the new Japan with the Russian peril. It is to be borne in mind that, from the very beginning, it was the Russian peril, and not, as is generally imagined, the pretensions of China in Korea,

* Maurice Courant, 'Okoubo' (Paris, 1904), p. 159, cf. p. 161.

Digitized by Google

which chiefly preoccupied Japanese statesmen. Of China herself they had little fear. Indeed, they had long taken an accurate measure of her strength, as their *sans gêne* in the Loo Choo and Formosan affairs amply showed. The danger to Japan from the Chinese side was not in the strength but the weakness of China. While the Power which had surrendered to Russia without a blow the whole of the eastern coast of Manchuria remained suzerain of Korea, there was no guarantee against an extension of Russian dominion southward. Nor did the problem wholly consist in the preservation of a great natural market and source of supplies for Japan, or of a possible outlet for her expansive energy. The encroachments of Russia threatened to create in the Sea of Japan a situation similar to that which existed in the Black Sea. Already the double eagle flew over the northern entrance and half the western coast. Another crisis like that of 1858–1860, and the Korean Balkans down to the Masampho Dardanelles would be at the mercy of the Tsar.

The first instinct of the Japanese, flushed with the contests of their civil war, was to fight. So early as 1868—a year after the condominium agreement in Sakhalien—they had fortified Tsushima in order to secure at least the south of the Sea of Japan. Five years later they made preparations for the conquest of Korea. A complete scheme was matured by Soyegima, then Minister for Foreign Affairs; and it would have been put into execution but for the interposition of Okubo, who, fresh from his political studies in Europe, perceived all its dangers. He pointed out that such an enterprise would only play into the hands of Russia, who, in the complications that might ensue, would certainly secure the opportunity for the aggrandisement she needed.* This argument prevailed; and a policy of making Korea independent, and coaxing her into the path of reform, took the place of the scheme of conquest.

The reasoning which led to the adoption of this policy is not difficult to understand. A struggle with Russia at that period would probably have ruined Japan, while any war on a large scale would have been a serious misfortune

* Lane-Poole, 'Life of Sir Harry Parkes,' vol. ii, p. 201; Courant, *op. cit.* pp. 159–161.

Digitized by Google

to her. The immediately essential thing was to eliminate the Chinese suzerainty and substitute for it Japanese influence. For this the political independence of Korea was necessary; and this the Japanese were sanguine enough to think was practicable without war. An independent Korea, with a vigilant Japanese representative at Seoul, would prove an effectual safeguard against all opportunity for the extension of Russia along the south-western shores of the Sea of Japan, while amply reserving Japanese ambitions in the future. Meanwhile, fresh and very disagreeable reminders of the reality of the Russian peril were not spared the Government at Tokyo. In 1869 a Russian force had been concentrated in the south of Sakhalien, with a view to the invasion of Yezo; and in 1875 Russian diplomacy secured possession of the whole of Sakhalien. The shame of this last surrender by Japan was deeply felt by the Samurai, and filled the whole nation with the dread of Russian aggression.*

These were the circumstances in which the first important treaty between Japan and Korea was negotiated in 1876. The wisdom of Okubo's advice at first justified itself at every step. Korea afforded Japan all the opportunities for intervention she required, while China fully realised the low opinion of her powers of resistance formed in Tokyo. In 1868, when an envoy from the Mikado attempted to present a letter to the Korean Government, informing them of the revolution of Meiji, he was arrogantly dismissed. Two similar missions in 1873 and 1874, conducted respectively by Hanabusa and Moriyama, met with the same fate; and finally, in 1875, the Koreans, unaware that the old rough and ready methods of international intercourse were no longer countenanced by their eastern neighbours, fired upon a Japanese steamer, the 'Unyokan,' which was engaged in taking soundings for the purpose of assuring its position on the coast.

This outrage Japan resolved to deal with precisely in the same way as similar outrages perpetrated by her on the Barbarians in the fifties and sixties had been dealt with by them. In the first place, the inhospitable Koreans were promptly punished. Then China, as the suzerain of

* Lane-Poole, *op. cit.* vol. ii, p. 239.

Digitized by Google

Korea, was asked for explanations. The Tsung-li-yamen fell into the trap with charming simplicity. Against a war of conquest in Korea they knew they were secure, owing to the position of Russia on the north-eastern frontier; and they never dreamt that Japan had an alternative policy—a policy of insidious moderation—which was even more deadly than invasion. Accordingly, they disavowed all responsibility. The obvious conclusion was that the Chinese suzerainty was a sham, and consequently Japan proceeded with her plan for establishing the independence of Korea on a firm and legal basis. Following the example of the Western Powers towards herself, she compelled the peninsular kingdom to sign a treaty of friendship and commerce, containing the usual stipulations with regard to diplomatic representation, trade facilities, open ports, and extraterritoriality. In one signal respect, however, this treaty differed from the Japanese conventions. Article I opened with the following statement: 'Chöseu (Korea), being an independent state, enjoys the same sovereign rights as does Japan.' Thus the initial step in Japanese policy for checkmating the advance of Russia was accomplished. Chinese suzerainty in Korea had been apparently exploded; Japanese interests had been firmly founded in the peninsula; and the Koreans had been taught that there was a new power in the Pacific with whom they must reckon in fashioning their political destiny.*

The road now seemed clear for the establishment of that predominance of Japanese counsels in Seoul which was the next aim of the Mikado's policy. Here the statesmen of Tokyo encountered unexpected obstacles; and their notion that their object would be attained without war or other serious international complications was doomed to disappointment. China had no idea of giving up her suzerainty over Korea so easily as the Japanese imagined, and she soon resumed all her old pretensions in Seoul. The game of opening up Korea was one at which two could play. Japan had only concerned herself with her own interests in the treaty of

* Parl. Pap., C. 1530; Lane-Poole, *op. cit.* vol. ii, pp. 201–205; Laguérie, 'La Corée Indépendante, Russe, ou Japonaise' (Paris, 1898), pp. 20–22, 30, 31.

Digitized by Google

1876; and this gave Li Hung Chang an opening for working on the fears of the Korean Government of which he deftly availed himself. His idea was to establish foreign interests in Korea analogous to those created for Japan in 1876, and to obtain the recognition of Chinese suzerainty in the treaties governing these new interests. The Korean court was easily won over to the scheme, as it was calculated to prevent Japan from gaining a monopoly of foreign trade which might easily lead to political interference. Li Hung Chang's policy, however, only partially succeeded. The foreign treaties were negotiated, but the suzerainty was not in all cases recognised; and China addressed a circular to the Powers insisting on her rights.*

This was in 1881. In the following year an opportunity offered itself to Li Hung Chang for a more energetic *coup*. An attempt was made to assassinate the king and queen of Korea; and China at once offered to send a garrison to Seoul to protect the royal family. The offer was accepted; the troops were sent; and Chinese suzerainty was once more a reality. It was difficult for Japan to interfere, seeing that the king was independent, and that, if he chose to solicit the help of China, he was acting entirely within his rights. Japan, however, had not long to wait for her turn of the wheel. Before the year was out the anti-foreign party in Seoul, encouraged by the presence of the Chinese, rose against the Japanese and attacked their legation. Several members of the mission were killed, and the Japanese minister himself narrowly escaped death. The Tokyo Government promptly demanded reparation, and sent troops to Seoul. When, after the restoration of order, China requested that the troops should be withdrawn, Japan bluntly replied that she would recall them when the Chinese garrison were also sent home.

This situation lasted until April 1885. Meanwhile, the simultaneous presence of Chinese and Japanese soldiers in Seoul gave rise to further disorders and more than once threatened to precipitate war. Owing to the Chinophil proclivities of the court, Chinese influence grew stronger day by day; and, in spite of the treaty of 1876,

* Lane-Poole, *op. cit.* vol. ii, pp. 205, 206; Laguérie, *op. cit.* pp. 31–34.

Digitized by Google

the old suzerainty was tacitly acknowledged. Evidently nothing was gained by prolonging the abnormal situation in Seoul; and, if Japan could obtain some advantage by recalling her troops, she would do better than by merely waiting for a doubtful solution. Negotiations were accordingly opened; and in April 1885 a treaty was signed by the Marquis Ito and Li Hung Chang virtually establishing a 'condominium' in Korea. Both Governments agreed to withdraw their troops, to advise Korea in common, and to give previous notice to each other in the event of military intervention becoming necessary.

On the face of it this seemed to be an improvement in the position of the Japanese. They had secured the withdrawal of the Chinese garrison; and, although they had not formally abolished the suzerainty of Peking, they had established equal rights for themselves. Mere parchment, however, weighed little with the wily Li and his submissive henchmen at Seoul. From their point of view, all that had happened was that the Japanese had been got rid of. For the rest, nothing was changed. Towards the end of the year, when the Port Hamilton difficulty arose between Russia and Great Britain, so securely had the idea of the Chinese suzerainty over Korea been re-established that this question of a violation of Korean territory was exclusively settled by direct negotiations between Great Britain and the Tsung-li-yamen at Peking; and this notwithstanding that Great Britain, like Japan, had recognised the independence of Korea by treaty.

War was now only a question of time and opportunity. The eradication of Chinese influence in Korea had ceased to be merely a policy of the Tokyo Cabinet and had become a national obsession. In 1889 a campaign against Korea itself was nearly precipitated by the prohibition of the export of beans from two of the Korean provinces. The Japanese declared that this was a violation of their treaty rights, and demanded compensation for advances made by them to the cultivators. The Seoul exchequer was empty, and the king was disposed to resist; but Yuan-shi-kai, the Chinese resident, intervened and skilfully turned the crisis to the advantage of China by lending Korea the money and taking in exchange a charge on the customs. When in the following year the first Japanese

Digitized by Google

Parliament was convoked, the situation became still more menacing owing to the jingoism of the Japanese people. Parliamentary crises succeeded one another with demoralising rapidity; and the prospect of a war as a means of escape from domestic difficulties offered not a little temptation to the most prudent statesman. The crisis came in 1894. A rebellion broke out in the southern provinces of Korea, aimed partly at the growing influence of foreigners and partly at the scandalous maladministration of the provincial governors, which had brought unbearable sufferings on the peasantry. The royal troops were twice defeated by the rebels, and the king appealed for assistance to his suzerain. China responded by sending a force of 2000 men to Seoul, having previously notified the Japanese Government, in accordance with the condominium treaty of 1885.

There can be little doubt that, had the crisis been allowed to work itself out on these lines, a normal situation would soon have been restored. Japan, however, was in no mood for normal situations. Her patience was exhausted. Besides, she felt that the rebels, so far as they were actuated by a spirit of antagonism to the existing misgovernment, were justified in their action. Accordingly, she sent a large military force to Fusan and Chemulpo to 'watch her interests.' When the time came for the simultaneous withdrawal of the Chinese and Japanese forces, the Tokyo Government demanded as a condition of the evacuation that a scheme of reforms, to be carried out jointly by China and Japan, should first be accepted by Korea. This was haughtily resisted by China on the ground that she never interfered with the domestic affairs of her 'vassal states'; whereupon Japan occupied Seoul and took the question into her own hands. The long-expected war followed, with the results we all know; and in April 1895 Li Hung Chang signed the epoch-making treaty of Shimonoseki, by which the complete independence of Korea was recognised, and Formosa, the Pescadores, and the Liao-tung peninsula were ceded to Japan.

So far it has been necessary to narrate the story of Japanese relations with Russia in the Sea of Japan and with China in Korea in some detail, because the authentic

Digitized by Google

literature relating to it, especially the official documents, is neither plentiful nor easily accessible. The history of the Far Eastern question, previous to Shimonoseki, is very imperfectly known in Europe. The result is that the relative values of the forces which have brought about the present crisis, and, to a great extent, the real nature of the interests at stake, have not been accurately understood. From Shimonoseki to the Anglo-Japanese alliance, on the other hand, the sequence of events and their significance are better known; and consequently, in dealing with them, it is not necessary to do more than touch upon such of their less familiar aspects as may help to throw further light on their development and on their degree of responsibility for the explosion to which they each contributed.

The main stages by which the present struggle have been reached are (1) the retrocession of the Liao-tung peninsula; (2) the German raid on Kiao-chou, with its counterpoise in the acquisition of Port Arthur and Talienwan by Russia; (3) the Boxer outbreak, and the consequent Russian occupation of Manchuria; and (4) the Anglo-Japanese alliance.

The motives of the Japanese in stipulating for the cession of the Liao-tung peninsula in the treaty of Shimonoseki have been not a little obscured by the proximate causes of the war. During the previous ten years the Russian spectre had paled in the imagination of the Japanese people, preoccupied and exasperated as they were by the elusive problem of the Chinese suzerainty in Korea. The main object to be served in securing the independence of the neighbouring kingdom had been almost forgotten in the excitement of the immediate fray. The statesmen who negotiated the treaty of Shimonoseki, however, had not lost sight of it; and it was with this danger uppermost in their minds, rather than with any wild-cat scheme of holding China in perpetual tutelage, that they demanded the cession of the peninsula. They were impressed by the fact that in the past all effective interference with Korea had come from the north. By taking up a position on the Yalu, Japan would assure to herself equal land access to Korea with China and Russia, besides obtaining a starting-point for continental expansion in the event of a scramble for China. The

Digitized by Google

chief point, however, was that with Korea independent and the Liao-tung peninsula Japanese, Russian expansion would be blocked, and the naval power of Russia in the Pacific would remain restricted by the more or less ice-bound area to which it was already confined. In this way the traditional peril to the nation on which Okubo had dwelt in 1873 would be not ineffectually guarded against.

The demand for Liao-tung was thus a conscious act of hostility to Russia, however justifiable it may have been from the point of view of the defensive interests of Japan; and it is therefore not surprising that Russia bent all her energies to defeat it. To Russia, however, it was something far more important than an attempted exclusion of her expansive energy from the field of Japanese interests. Of aggression towards Japan she did not dream. Her own threatened interests were exclusively in her mind, especially the large empire she had built up in Eastern Asia, exposed as it was to naval attack in the event of war. She had felt the need of an ice-free port in 1885; and subsequent events had by no means diminished the chance of that need recurring. Since 1885, however, her area of choice had become reduced. By the pledge she had given to China, in exchange for the British evacuation of Port Hamilton, 'not to occupy Korean territory under any circumstances whatsoever,' she had shut herself out from a warm-water harbour in the Sea of Japan. Hence her thoughts had wandered, not unnaturally, to Liao-tung, although the problems to which a settlement in that region was likely to give rise were of obvious gravity. It was, of course, possible that her exclusion from north-eastern Korea might eventually be overcome; but at the time of the signature of the Shimonoseki treaty, there was no prospect of any such solution of her difficulties. In these circumstances it was essential to her that the question of the reversion of the Liao-tung peninsula should at least be kept open; and, to that end, she organised the coalition with Germany and France which compelled Japan to abandon her continental aspirations. The pill was skilfully gilded to represent a service, not to Korean ambitions, but to the independence of China and Korea and to 'the permanent peace of the Far East'; but it was none the less a bitter humiliation and dis-

Digitized by Google

appointment for Japan, and it once more placed Russia in the forefront of her keenest dreads and antipathies.

To the forces which at this moment were driving Russia, whether she liked it or not, towards the Gulf of Pechili a contribution of no small importance was made by the attitude of Great Britain. The action of Lord Rosebery in declining to join the coalition against Japan has been much praised as a stroke of far-seeing statesmanship which sowed the seed of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. The wisdom of his policy is, however, doubtful; for, had Great Britain not stood aside, she might have insisted on a joint guarantee which would have secured the neutrality of Korea and thwarted Russian designs on the Liao-tung peninsula. What was still more unfortunate, her refusal was preceded and followed by statements of positive policy calculated in an eminent degree to increase the keenness of Russia in regard to those designs.

On two occasions—on July 10, 1894, and on June 13, 1895—Sir Edward Grey formally announced to the House of Commons that the Government held Russia bound by her engagement of 1885 not to occupy Korean territory in any circumstances whatsoever. The first announcement was of course justified, for at that time the position of China's suzerainty in Korea had not been finally decided; and, as the Russian pledge was given to China, it clearly still held good. But on the second occasion Chinese suzerainty was at an end, and China's qualification for holding the pledge had disappeared. Moreover, Russia had already disclosed the direction in which her aspirations were being deflected by her protest against the cession of Liao-tung to Japan. Clearly then it would have been to the interest of both this country and Russia herself had the exclusion from north-eastern Korea—for that was what it came to—been dropped. Russia at Port Lazareff, for example, might, and no doubt would, have been profoundly disagreeable to Japan, although it is questionable whether it would have seriously menaced her in the end. But it certainly would not have been a peril to Peking. Port Lazareff would also have suited Russia better than Port Arthur, for it lies within a convenient distance of her own frontier, and it would have raised no perilous questions like that of the fortification

Digitized by Google

of the Straits of Korea, which became inevitable as soon as Port Arthur was annexed. As a mere choice of evils Port Lazareff was certainly preferable to Port Arthur. Whatever the value of these considerations, it is at any rate a fact that, by insisting on the pledge of 1885, Lord Rosebery helped to develope and strengthen the whole aggressive tendency of Russia in regard to Manchuria; and hence Great Britain incurred some measure of responsibility for the consequences.

The German raid on Kiao-chou which followed towards the end of 1897 affords another striking illustration of the accidents by which Russian expansion has been favoured if not actually controlled. Although Germany had not profited by her effusive support of the dual alliance in the matter of Liao-tung, nothing seemed more unlikely than that she would take independent action to secure her share of the booty in a form which would be equally distasteful to Russia and Great Britain. Germany, of course, counted on the atmosphere of invincible suspicion which always envelopes the relations of the two dominating European powers in Asia, and she did not count in vain. In St Petersburg her action was regarded as explicable only on the hypothesis of an understanding with Great Britain; while in Downing Street the only plausible theory seemed to be that the *coup* was an outcome of the recent coalition against Japan. German diplomacy, of course, took good care that neither hypothesis should be confuted; and so this 'bolt from the blue' led Russia to demand the virtual cession of Port Arthur and Talienwan as a protection against what seemed to be an Anglo-German understanding in North China.

Here, again, mismanagement in Downing Street was not a little responsible for the dangerous developments of the crisis. From the beginning Great Britain held the solution in her own hands. Had she resolutely set her face against the pretensions of Germany, on the sufficient ground that a foreign political settlement in North China raised questions vitally affecting the independence of China, it is probable that Port Arthur would to-day still fly the Dragon flag, and the Far East would be undisturbed by war. Russia has always protested that she had no desire to take Port Arthur; and, whether we

Digitized by Google

believe her or not, we must admit that there is a strong body of evidence to support her. The Cassini Convention, for example, clearly shows that, while wishing to keep open the road to Liao-tung, she shrank from opening the Manchurian question; and that, though she required a warm-water naval base, she still preferred to seek it elsewhere than in Liao-tung, and then only when war should render it indispensable.* Her reasons for this attitude are perfectly intelligible. They are to be seen in the immediate causes of the present war; for, once in Manchuria, it was obvious that the adequate defence of Russian interests would become absolutely irreconcilable with the vital interests of Japan. Hence the opposition of Great Britain to the designs of Germany would have been welcomed and supported by Russia; and in that case Kiao-chou would have remained Chinese.

Unfortunately, it was not only by our inaction that Russian aggression was precipitated. If, after the acquisition of Kiao-chou by Germany, the advisers of the Tsar were in any doubt as to their duty, the ambiguous proceedings of Great Britain speedily determined them. Two years before, when Lord Salisbury had been anxious to solve the Armenian question with the aid of Russia, the friendliest overtures had been made to St Petersburg by Downing Street. Among other things, Mr Balfour had, in a public speech, assured Russia that Great Britain regarded her desire for a warm-water port in the Pacific as perfectly legitimate, and that she would not place any obstacles in her way. What did this mean?† Was it a

* The Cassini Convention stipulated for the non-alienation of Liao-tung, and for the concession of a lease of Kiao-chou in the event of Russia being involved in war ('North China Daily News,' October 28, 1896). The authenticity of the convention has been denied, but internal and corroborative evidence, not to speak of the rooted custom of the Russian Foreign Office to deny all secret treaties which it is not convenient to acknowledge, are against the Russian *dementi*.

† 'Times,' February 4, 1896. It is true that Mr Balfour spoke of 'a commercial outlet for Russia'; but if this did not imply political control it was meaningless. A commercial outlet which should not be political would have been either a port exclusively reserved for Russian trade or a treaty port. In the one case it would have meant a privileged position for Russia in an otherwise closed Chinese port, which was contrary to all treaties; in the other case it would have been no concession at all. Hence, without the explanation Mr Balfour subsequently gave ('Times,' January 11, 1898), the only possible conclusion was that which the Russian Government adopted.

Digitized by Google

renunciation of the Port Hamilton pledge? The solution came seventeen days later, when a statement was made in the House of Commons by Lord (then Mr) Curzon, adhering to the policy laid down by Sir Edward Grey in 1894 and 1895.* Clearly then it was an invitation to Russia to seek a port somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Yellow Sea. Whither should she go? With Kiao-chou in German hands, and Wei-hai-wei still occupied by the Japanese, she arrived, by a process of exhaustion, at the Liao-tung peninsula. But here again her choice was limited. From the Yalu to Talienwan there was not a bay or inlet capable of being transformed into a good harbour; and Talienwan itself was dominated by the great Chinese fortress at Port Arthur.† In these circumstances she might well hesitate, especially as there was no convincing evidence that Kiao-chou really represented an Anglo-German conspiracy against her. At this moment, however, China was negotiating with the British Government for a loan; and by some unhappy inspiration Sir Claude Macdonald, with the approval of the Foreign Office, demanded, as one of the conditions, that Talienwan should be transformed into a treaty port. Here, then, was Russia's last chance fading away in the wake of Port Lazareff and Kiao-chou. Downing Street, of course, had no idea of the unfriendly *portée* of its demand; but to St Petersburg it admitted of only one interpretation. It was a convincing proof of the perfidy of the British Government, and a warning that immediate action was necessary. So the momentous resolution was taken to annex both Port Arthur and Talienwan, which, together with the concession of the Manchurian railway granted in the Cassini Convention, definitely opened the Manchurian question with all its tragical consequences.

We now arrive at the beginning of the end; for the two remaining stages of the prelude to the war—the Boxer outbreak and the Anglo-Japanese alliance—were not so much in the nature of fresh fermenting elements fortuitously introduced into the evolution of the crisis, as direct consequences of the two preceding stages. The

* 'Times,' February 20, 1896.

† 'The China Sea Directory' (Admiralty, 1894), vol. iii, pp. 573–583.

Digitized by Google

causes of the Boxer outbreak are less obscure than the origins of any other popular rising in China. They are set forth explicitly in the inflammatory edicts of the Dowager-Empress, in which the people were called upon to resent the aggressive action in which the Powers had indulged since the war with Japan in 1894–95—the predatory leases and other annexations of Chinese territory, among which the British occupation of Wei-hai-wei was now to be reckoned, the extortion of railway and similar concessions with quasi-political privileges, and the humiliating assumptions of the inevitable break-up of the Empire implied in the non-alienation and sphere-of-influence agreements negotiated by the several Powers. The consequent attack upon the Legations at Peking necessarily led to the armed intervention of their Governments; and thus Russia found herself charged with the pacification of Manchuria. When it was found that Russia was not disposed to evacuate the province in spite of her repeated pledges to do so, and that she was inclined to make use of her new position to extend her influence in Korea, the interests of Great Britain and Japan became simultaneously imperilled, and their defensive alliance followed as a matter of common necessity.

In this causal sequence of events there is one weak link, and that the most important. The flagrantly dishonest protraction of the Russian occupation of Manchuria was not an obviously natural consequence of the Boxer outbreak. It is contended that it could and should have been avoided; and, doubtless, if it had been avoided, the peace of the Far East would, for a time at least, have been secured. While there is a great deal of truth in this view, it is to some extent vitiated by its spirit of 'unctuous rectitude,' which invariably ignores the force of temptation and of political exigencies. With Egypt and Chitral in their minds, Englishmen can ill afford to throw stones at the Russians for their broken pledges in Manchuria, although it is true that so long as the evacuation of Egypt was practicable, it was not the fault of Great Britain that it was not carried out. In the case of Russia, too, the practical temptation to remain in Manchuria was more pressing than the similar inducements that beset us in Egypt. With us it was to a greater extent a question of Imperial sentiment than

Digitized by Google

of strategical necessity. With Russia, isolated at Port Arthur, it was certain that one day or another the linking of Liao-tung with Vladivostok and more besides would be an urgent strategical necessity; and the only question was whether she should postpone the *coup*, or accept the opportunity which chance seemed to have given her. She decided for the latter course, and in doing so did not so much a wicked, as a very stupid thing. Where she went wrong was in adopting a course of which the conventional idea of her supersubtle statecraft has always held her to be incapable. She wholly miscalculated her position. She omitted to weigh adequately the risks against the opportunity; and she failed to perceive that, whereas the risks were serious and imminent—for besides a possible war with Japan, she had 'open accounts' in a very unstable state in the Balkans, in Persia, and in Central Asia—the opportunity was one which, if not seized then, would still not be lost, and, indeed, might be rendered more propitious the longer it was shelved. How gross the miscalculation was, we shall presently show in greater detail.

Nevertheless, whether stupid or wicked, her responsibility for the disastrous consequences of her actions remains. There is an idea, indeed, that her wrong-doing is essentially enhanced by the duplicity of the methods with which she pursued her ends. Here again a mild caveat may well be entered against what is really a further intrusion of the Urquhart superstition. It rests on the assumption that from the beginning there was a fixed and deliberate purpose in the minds of the Tsar and his advisers to retain possession of Manchuria and to tire out the opposition of the Powers by procrastinating excuses. This view is scarcely borne out by the course of the negotiations. It is true that solemn pledges to the Powers alternated with demands made privately upon China in flagrant and indeed extravagant contradiction with the policy publicly announced. But the very extravagance of this contrast—the solemnity and earnestness of the pledges given by the St Petersburg Foreign Office on the one hand, and the naked and unashamed disregard of them shown in the Peking negotiations on the other—must raise a doubt as to whether all is explained when the Urquhart synthesis is invoked. And

Digitized by Google

this doubt becomes still more embarrassing when we find that, in the end, a treaty of evacuation satisfactory to Great Britain and Japan was actually signed, ratified, and partially executed, when suddenly—and, so far, without adequate explanation—the policy it embodied was ignored, and even reversed.

The truth is that, from the beginning, the action of Russia was hampered by discordant counsels in high places. The circumstances under which Port Arthur was acquired disarmed all opposition; but when it seemed likely that Manchuria would follow suit, there was no unanimous enthusiasm in the Empire for the perilous adventure. At first the military party sought to force the hands of the authorities in St Petersburg just as General Kaufmann had compromised them at Khiva in 1874*; and, as soon as the troops under General Gribsky crossed the Amur, a proclamation of annexation was issued by that officer. Although this was promptly disavowed by the Imperial Government, the struggle of which it was a symptom proceeded with the varying fortunes reflected in the diplomatic see-saw. The conflict was fiercest in the entourage of the Tsar. On the one side were Count Lamsdorff and M. de Witte, and, it is believed, General Kouropatkin; on the other the reactionary ministers, whose dependence on the military element had grown with the increase in internal disaffection, together with Admiral Alexeieff and M. Bezobrazoff, the latest of the Tsar's private advisers. Outside, the Advance party was represented by Prince Uchtomsky, editor of the St Petersburg 'Viedomosti,' with his semi-mystical Panslavism enlarged to embrace the whole Asiatic continent; while the party of prudence and good faith found its strongest exponent in M. Syromiatnikoff-Sigma, the famous Far Eastern traveller and journalist, who felt strongly all the peril and inconvenience of the projected annexation. It will surprise many persons to learn that M. Lessar himself was a consistent advocate of evacuation. In proportion as one or other of these parties gained the upper hand or seemed to be justified by the course of events, the decision

* See, on this question, Loftus, 'Diplomatic Reminiscences,' second series, vol. ii, pp. 45–47, 104–106. 'General Kaufmann was the person to blame, and he was so well aware of it that, when he had the courage to face Prince Gortschakoff, his first words were, "Je vous apporte ma tête."'

Digitized by Google

of the Tsar oscillated between their two policies; and the oscillation was rendered all the easier by the masquerade of evacuation in which the schemes of annexation were decked out. Similar phenomena have been observed in countries less autocratic than Russia; but it is precisely because Russia is autocratic that she is so amenable to the distracting influences of conflicting counsels which in other countries are kept separate by party classifications and constitutional safeguards.*

While all this may help to dethrone Russian bad faith from its Satanic pedestal and to assimilate it to the commonplace frailties of more conventional states, it does not, of course, render it less dishonest or less maleficent. Since other Powers have also their own interests to look after, it is only by the effects of Russian bad faith on those interests, and not by extenuating circumstances in its disagreeable growth, that they can be guided in their defensive measures. Accordingly the Anglo-Japanese alliance was the natural retaliation for the broken pledges of the Tsar; for whether rightly or wrongly, Great Britain held that the occupation of Manchuria menaced the independence and integrity of China, which she regarded as amongst her important interests; while Japan maintained that the occupation threatened the independence and integrity of Korea, which to her have always been interests of vital consequence.

In concluding the alliance there can be no question that the statesmen of both countries believed that it would work for peace. As a matter of fact, through no fault of either, its ultimate effect was the exact opposite. In the days of her isolation Japan was wholly at the mercy of Russia, not because she did not feel herself equal to a struggle with the northern colossus, but because she had no guarantee that in the event of war she would not be confronted by a revival of the coalition of 1895. The result was that she had to be content with such largesse as the Tsar in his generosity chose to bestow upon her. He was certainly not a hard taskmaster. Outside the limits of what were held to be Russian interests he was disposed to be equitable and even friendly.

* Mr Drage in his 'Russian Affairs' gives an excellent summary of these conflicting ambitions. See pp. 43–78.

Digitized by Google

Although the chance of Great Britain emerging from her policy of 'splendid isolation' never probably crossed his mind or the minds of his advisers, he none the less saw all the advantage of humouring Japan and, if possible, of securing her as one of his Asiatic satellites. Even after the humiliation he inflicted on Japan by forcing on her the retrocession of Liao-tung he was not disposed to assume a dictatorial tone in Korea. He took no advantage of the blundering and bloodthirsty intrigue which resulted in the assassination of the queen at Seoul in October 1895 and in the flight of the king to the Russian legation. He even offered, with the other Powers, to give Japan a mandate to restore order, and in the following year agreed, by the Komura-Waeber Memorandum and the Yamagata-Lobanoff Protocol, to the establishment of a Russo-Japanese 'condominium' in the country.* When Russia acquired the lease of Port Arthur and Talienwan, she readily recognised Japan's right to compensations, and agreed without demur to a fresh protocol in which the 'condominium' was essentially modified to the advantage of Japan.†

The first ominous cloud settled on these harmonious relations in the spring of 1900, when Russia seems to have thought the moment opportune for securing her communications between Vladivostok and Port Arthur. She applied to Korea for certain privileges in Masampho, the important harbour which faces Tsushima, and, together with that island, commands the Broughton Strait. What the privileges were is not precisely known; but owing to the opposition of Japan and Great Britain, she had to satisfy herself with the lease of a coal-store in the port, and a pledge from the Korean Government that the island of Kojedo, opposite Masampho, should not be ceded to any other Power. This prelude to the occupation of Manchuria did not predispose Japan to regard the further proceedings of Russia in China with confidence. The St Petersburg Government could not indeed have taken a step more likely to arouse Japanese apprehensions, seeing that the memory of Sakhalien, by which the

* Mrs Bishop, 'Korea and her Neighbours,' vol. ii, pp. 74, 75, 260, 290; 'British and Foreign State Papers,' vol. lxxxviii, pp. 471-473.

† The Nishi-Rosen Protocol, April 25, 1898.

Digitized by Google

northern entrance to the Sea of Japan had been lost still rankled in the national consciousness.

Nevertheless Russia did not despair of conciliating Japan and having her own way in the end. After the failure of her first attempt to secure a sort of protectorate of Manchuria, in consideration of a sham evacuation, by means of the Tseng-Korostovitch protocol and the Draft Treaty of February 1901, she set to work in earnest to arrive at a settlement. The Russian press exhausted itself in amiabilities for the Mikado and his people,* and at the same time diplomatic *pourparlers* were set on foot at Tokyo. It has been publicly stated† that on that occasion Russia proposed a Treaty of Alliance against Great Britain; but this is quite inaccurate. As a matter of fact, the negotiations never got beyond the preliminary stages of an exchange of views in regard to a basis of settlement. So informal were they, that the Russian minister himself was not concerned in them; and they were exclusively conducted on the Russian side by M. Poklevsky, now First Secretary of the Russian Embassy in London. The suggestion made was that, while Russia adhered to all her pledges, Japan should agree not to oppose Russian action in Manchuria or her acquisition of Masampho, in consideration of a modification of the Nishi-Rosen Convention of 1898, which would leave the government of the Mikado absolutely unfettered in its relations to Korea. This being the proposal, it may readily be imagined that a detailed discussion was never entered upon. How it struck the Japanese may be gathered from the Marquis Ito's own description of it. 'A free hand in Korea, with Masampho in the power of Russia,' he said to one of his colleagues, 'would be like a free hand in a bag of gold, with the mouth of the bag drawn tightly round one's wrist.' The rejection of the proposal did not disconcert Russia. In the friendliest way she expressed her willingness to re-open the negotiations at any moment convenient to Japan; and, when subsequently the Marquis Ito visited Europe, it was his intention, if other projects failed, to sound the St Peters-

* See, for example, the extracts quoted in the 'St Petersburger Zeitung,' March 7–20, and 11–24, 1901.

† 'National Review,' March 1904, p. 83.

Digitized by Google

burg Foreign Office with a view to discovering whether they had a more acceptable scheme to propose.

Meanwhile this very proposal convinced Japan that if she was to enjoy a free hand in the Far East an alliance with one of the great Powers was essential to her. Naturally her thoughts first turned to Great Britain. Since the days of Port Hamilton the identity of the interests of the two Powers had become more and more marked. Great Britain had been her only friend—certainly not a very helpful one—in 1895; she had been the first to place Japan on an equal footing with other civilised states; she had assisted her to save Masampho in 1900; the two Powers had acted together during the Boxer crisis; and it was owing to the united stand they had made in February 1901 that the first efforts of Russia to secure a permanent hold on Manchuria had been defeated. Moreover, by a curious circumstance, there was already the germ of an alliance in official existence in no less a document than the Anglo-German agreement of October 1900. Article III of that agreement provided that,

'In case of another Power making use of the complications in China in order to obtain under any form whatever advantages calculated to impair the undiminished territorial condition of the Chinese Empire, the two contracting Powers reserve to themselves to come to a preliminary understanding as to the eventual steps to be taken for the protection of their own interests in China.'

It happened that Lord Salisbury had laid it down at the time that third Powers accepting the principles of the agreement became not merely adherents but contracting parties. All the Powers had adhered to the principles; but only one — Japan — had specifically accepted the position of a signatory. Thus, as a compact providing for action, the agreement only concerned Great Britain, Germany, and Japan; and when Germany refused to recognise its application to Manchuria it became, so far as that incidence of it was concerned, an exclusively Anglo-Japanese agreement. Here then was a ready-made clue to an alliance; and, in pursuance of it, Viscount Hayashi was instructed in April 1901 to open negotiations with Lord Lansdowne.

The overtures were received in a very friendly spirit

Digitized by Google

by the British Cabinet, but for four months no practical progress was made towards a definite treaty. When, after the signature of the final protocol between the Powers and China, it was found that Russia was still indisposed to observe her pledges in regard to Manchuria, and that she was even tightening her hold on the treaty-port of Niu-chwang, the negotiations were taken in hand in earnest. They were so far advanced in November 1901 that, when the Marquis Ito reached Paris from New York on his way to St Petersburg and Berlin, a special emissary was despatched to warn him not to entertain any proposals that might be made to him by the Russian Government, nor to carry out his design of sounding Germany on the subject of an alliance.* The warning was superfluous; for, although M. de Witte strongly urged the Marquis to come to an agreement, he had nothing better to offer than the basis of settlement outlined by M. Poklevsky earlier in the year. The fact that an exchange of views—the exact nature of which was then unknown—had taken place in St Petersburg gave a strong impetus to the negotiations in London, for it was obviously not desirable in the interest of Great Britain that a Russo-Japanese alliance should be concluded. The news in the middle of December that Russia had proposed to China a modified revival of the Manchurian agreement of February 1901, and that it had been rejected by Prince Ching, finally decided the two Powers; and in January 1902 the treaty of alliance was signed.

Japan was now free. Henceforth she had no fear of coalitions against her in the Far East, and she could defend her interests against Russia or any other Power on equal terms. The anticipation that the alliance would make for the permanent peace of Eastern Asia seemed at first destined to be fulfilled. In the belief that Japanese isolation was assured, and that the visit of the Marquis Ito to St Petersburg implied that Japan was even disposed to nibble at the Poklevsky scheme of settlement, the party of annexation in Russia had once more secured the ascendency. Throughout November and December 1901,

* So far as Germany is concerned the intentions attributed to the Marquis Ito rest on the authority of Mr. Alfred Stead. ('Review of Reviews,' January 1902, p. 27.)

Digitized by Google

and even down to the conclusion of the alliance, the foreign settlements in Eastern Asia had been full of rumours of fresh exorbitant demands presented to China by the Russian Government.* As soon as the Alliance was announced these rumours died away. It speedily became evident that the Russian Annexationists had suffered a serious check. The feebleness of the Franco-Russian counterblast, which showed that in the Far East the *nation amie et alliée* could not be prevailed upon to depart from its cautious attitude, gave the measure of the predicament into which Admiral Alexeieff and his clique had dragged the St Petersburg Cabinet. It was suddenly discovered that 'latterly the pacification of China had progressed with notable success,' and hence that 'the problem was solved.' Instructions were accordingly given to negotiate an honest evacuation treaty with China; and this was forthwith done. On April 8, 1902, the treaty was signed; and, together with the publication of the text in the 'Official Messenger' of St Petersburg, came a fresh assurance of the unalterable fidelity of the Imperial Government to 'the principle of the integrity and independence of China.' In the following October the evacuation began. In November a further withdrawal took place. In April, 1903, Mukden was evacuated. Then there came a mysterious pause. This was followed by sinister rumours of the revival of the Tseng-Korostovitch agreement;† and at the same time it was announced by the British Minister at Peking that Russia was demanding further concessions before proceeding with the evacuation. Protests from the Powers followed. There were angry scenes in Peking and a brisk interchange of polite innuendoes at St Petersburg; and then it became clear that the old dead-lock had reappeared, with a firm intention on the part of Russia to stay.

It is not difficult to understand what had happened. when Count Lamsdorff was first interrogated about the new conditions, he indignantly expressed his ignorance of them. We have no reason for doubting the sincerity of the protest, especially as two days later the Russian

* 'Hong-Kong Daily Press,' January 7 and 23, 1903. 'Japan Daily Herald' (Mail Summary), November 15, 1901; January 7 and 9, 1902.

† 'Hong-Kong Daily Press,' May 18, 1903.

Digitized by Google

chargé d'affaires at Peking told Prince Ching 'that the delay in the evacuation was due to the military party in Russia;' and General Kouropatkin, in a conversation with the Chinese Minister at St Petersburg, stated that the whole difficulty had originated with Admiral Alexeieff. A year's reflection had in short revived the drooping spirits of the Annexationists. The Anglo-Japanese alliance had lost its terrors for them. Great Britain, they were convinced, would not fight, and Japan could not. Consequently it was childish to carry out the evacuation. Setting aside stories about private commercial concessions, as to which our recollection of South African slanders should make us careful, the fact remains that after two years and a half of solemn promises to evacuate Manchuria, Russia was as firmly fixed in that Chinese province as she was on the northern bank of the Amur.

The indignation in Japan was, of course, intense, but this did not disturb the equanimity of the Alexeieff party. They knew the 'unpricked bubble' of Japanese resentment—as well as Mr Rhodes had known the Boers. The Anglo-Japanese alliance had been openly defied. The question was not what its members would say, but what they would do. The answer came towards the end of last July. To the utter confusion of the apologists for evacuation, it took the form, not of an ultimatum from the allies, but of a polite enquiry by the Japanese Government alone whether Count Lamsdorff would be disposed to resume negotiations on the Manchurian and Korean questions. One can imagine the elation of the Alexeieff-Bezobrazoff combination. The game of Russia's enemies was evidently up. It was clear on the face of it that, in spite of the alliance with Great Britain, Japan's only course was to make the best terms for herself—probably on the basis of the Poklevsky scheme.

Since the beginning of the war there has been much exultant talk among the Russophobes about the military and naval 'collapse' of Russia. On that point, perhaps, the last word has not yet been spoken; but of the diplomatic collapse of Russia, or rather of the collapse of the legend of Russian diplomacy, there can be no question. It is difficult to conceive a more hideous miscalculation than that which the St Petersburg Foreign Office based on the Japanese overtures of last July. The idea that

Digitized by Google

Japan was making a last effort to avert war, that she was honestly striving by good temper and moderation to deserve the immense confidence reposed in her by the great Power which had been the first, as Viscount Aoki said, to receive her 'into the fellowship of nations,' and had then so far trusted her as to form an alliance with her, was inconceivable to the cynics of St Petersburg who 'knew their Asiatics' so well. What they thought of the attitude of Japan is shown by their own actions. On August 12—the very day that the first draft treaty was despatched by Japan to St Petersburg—the viceroyalty of the Far East was created, with Admiral Alexeieff as Statthalter; and the control of the Far Eastern Question was transferred to a special Secretaryship of State, to which M. Bezobrazoff was appointed with an advisory committee. Seventeen days later M. de Witte, who had been an uncompromising opponent of the Annexationists, was relieved of his portfolio. On September 9 supplementary conditions of evacuation were presented to Prince Ching; and, when they were rejected, Mukden was reoccupied. This shows what the statesmen on the Neva thought of the peril that was hanging over them.

When the official correspondence between Japan and Russia is disclosed, it will be found that the assertions so frequently made with regard to the moderation and courteous patience of Japan owe nothing to the sympathies of those who make them. Meanwhile, we may be permitted to give an authentic sketch of these momentous negotiations.

After the St Petersburg Government, in reply to the enquiry of July 28, had intimated its readiness to enter upon the *pourparlers* suggested by Japan, the first step of the Tokyo Cabinet was to draft a treaty embodying its proposals. So anxious, however, were they that the scheme of settlement should not offend the susceptibilities of Russia that it was actually drafted by Baron Komura in consultation with Baron de Rosen, the Russian Minister at Tokyo, who approved its scope although he reserved certain points. This draft consisted of six articles, and was to the following effect:—

I. Independence and territorial integrity of China and Korea to be mutually respected, and the principle of the Open Door in both countries to be preserved.

Digitized by Google

II. Japan's preponderating interests in Korea and the interests accruing to Russia through her railway in Manchuria to be recognised, both Powers being at liberty to take such measures as may be necessary for the protection of their interests subject to Article I.

III. Subject to Article I, both Powers to be at liberty to promote the development of their industrial and commercial activities in their respective spheres of influence without interference from the other. Russia also to bind herself not to oppose the eventual connexion of the Korean and Manchurian railway systems.

IV. In the event of either Power finding it necessary to take military measures for the protection of her interests as set forth in Article II, or for ensuring order in her sphere of interest, only a sufficient force for the purpose to be sent, such force to be recalled as soon as its mission is accomplished.

V. Russia to recognise the exclusive right of Japan to give advice and assistance in Korea, including military assistance, for the promotion of reform and good government.

VI. All previous agreements respecting Korea to be abrogated.

Of the fairness of this scheme there can be no question. It placed Manchuria and Korea on approximately the same basis, and assimilated the position of Russia in the one country and Japan in the other. In one respect (Art. V) it seemed to propose an advantage for Japan, but as a matter of fact it did nothing of the kind. Article V was intended to balance the concession to Russia of the freedom in the development of her commercial and industrial activities in Manchuria granted to her in Article III, since the corresponding concession to Japan in Korea had already been secured to her by the Nishi-Rosen convention of 1898. It should be added that, besides the concessions in this Draft Treaty, Japan expressed her readiness to define the interests accruing to Russia through her railway in Manchuria as comprising the administration, military and civil, of a strip of territory measuring thirty miles on each side of the line and including the town of Harbin. Nevertheless, this scheme did not satisfy Russia. Believing that Japan was bluffing, and that she was perfectly aware she would

Digitized by Google

ultimately be compelled to acquiesce in the hitherto undisclosed ambitions of her adversary, the Alexeieff-Bezobrazoff negotiators at once threw off the mask. The following is a summary of their counter-proposals, which were presented at Tokyo on October 3:

Art. I. Integrity and independence of Korea to be mutually respected.

Art. II. Russia to recognise the preponderating interests of Japan in Korea as well as the right of Japan to advise and assist Korea in her *civil* administration subject to Article I.

Art. III. Subject to Article I, Japan to be at liberty to promote her commercial and industrial interests in Korea, and to take such measures as may be necessary to protect them without interference from Russia.

Art. IV. Japan to be at liberty to send troops for this purpose to Korea after giving notice to Russia, such troops not to exceed the number actually required, and to be recalled as soon as their mission is accomplished.

Art. V. Both Powers to agree not to use the territory of Korea for strategic purposes, and not to erect any fortifications on the coast calculated to impair the freedom of the Straits of Korea.

Art. VI. That part of Korea to the north of the 39th parallel to be a neutral zone, not to be occupied or invaded by the troops of either Power.

Art. VII. Manchuria and its littoral to be recognised by Japan as outside her sphere of interest.

Art. VIII. All previous agreements respecting Korea to be abrogated.

In this scheme it will be seen that the equitable basis kept in view by the Japanese Government was altogether discarded. By limiting the treaty to Korea, except in one significant particular, restrictions were imposed upon Japan in that country, while Russia was left free to do as she pleased in China. The only concession made to Japan was in the complete dissolution of the 'condominium' in Korea (Art. II); but even this was accompanied by a restriction limiting her to civil control. On the other hand, Russia declined to pledge herself to the Open Door, and to the connexion of the Korean and Manchurian railway systems, while she made three further and uncompensated demands, stipulating for (1)

Digitized by Google

no fortifications on the Straits; (2) a neutral zone exclusively Korean; and (3) the abandonment by Japan of all political interest in Manchuria. We need not insist on the unfairness and even extravagance of these demands.

In these two documents issue was joined by the two Powers; and neither deviated subsequently in any important point from the positions therein taken up. It is consequently not necessary for us to deal at length with the six further drafts which were exchanged on October 16 and 30, December 11 and 21, and January 6 and 13.

The scheme of October 16 calls for no notice, as it was withdrawn in favour of that of October 30, on the friendly advice of Baron de Rosen. The chief features of the Japanese scheme of October 30 were that it developed Articles VI and VII of the Russian counter-proposals in such a way as completely to turn the tables on the Alexeieff-Bezobrazoff negotiators. The neutral zone was made reciprocal, and limited to fifty kilomètres on each side of the Yalu. The demand that Japan should recognise Manchuria as outside her sphere of interest was acceded to on condition that Russia gave a similar undertaking with regard to Korea. Japan also took the opportunity of recognising Russian 'residential rights and immunities in Korea,' and claimed similar rights for herself in Manchuria. The pledge not to fortify the Straits was agreed to; but the reference to 'strategic purposes' in the same article was expunged. For the rest, Japan maintained her original proposals.

Russia saw her mistake in introducing Manchuria at all into the agreement, and in her reply of December 11 rejected all the Japanese counter-proposals relating to it and omitted her own. On the other hand, she accepted the railway clause, but made no further concession. So far, the only approximation was represented by the adoption of the railway clause and of the engagement not to fortify the Straits. On December 21, Japan presented what she called her 'last amendments.' These consisted of a revival of the original draft with the addition of an article guaranteeing the freedom of the Straits. Russia replied on January 6. She agreed to omit the word 'civil' from Article II, thus completing the right of Japan to intervene in Korean affairs subject to the independence and integrity of Korea, but refused

Digitized by Google

the remaining Japanese amendments. At the same time, not content with declining to pledge herself to the integrity and independence of China (Art. I), she returned to the charge in regard to Manchuria and proposed that Japan should recognise that province as outside her sphere in consideration of Russia recognising her treaty rights, with the exception of the right to settlements, in that province. Imperturbably Japan once more responded on January 13. She refused to modify her draft of December 21, and in regard to Manchuria again intimated that she had no objection to the Russian article provided it was made reciprocal in regard to Korea.

It was now so clear that an agreement was impossible on the one vital question—the independence and integrity of China, or, reduced to its final expression, the position of Russia in Manchuria—that, in presenting the last draft to Count Lamsdorff, M. Kurino, the Japanese minister, was instructed to ask for an 'early reply.' The request had become all the more necessary, in view of the discovery that Russia was busily employed in strengthening her military and naval position, and in particular had ordered a strong squadron to start from the Mediterranean for the Far East. Russia had indeed partially awoke to the danger of her position. Believing that the Japanese were bluffing, she had committed the *bêtise* early in the negotiations of declaring publicly that under no circumstances would she consent to make Japan the custodian of her 'good faith' in regard to Manchuria. She had consequently burnt her boats on the one issue which involved war. She still, however, had a lingering belief in the braggadocio of the Japanese, for it was almost inconceivable to her that any Asiatic state in its senses would dare to defy her, especially after Blagovestchensk; and she imagined that she might yet buy off the Mikado's ministers by further concessions on minor points, accompanied by a little wholesome intimidation. The consequence was that she delayed her reply to the last Japanese proposals while she hurried men and ships to Eastern Asia. M. Kurino was, however, not unnaturally pertinacious. On January 26, at his weekly audience of the Tsar, Count Lamsdorff was told that it had been finally resolved by the Far Eastern Committee not to yield on the Manchurian question, but

Digitized by Google

to make substantial concessions to Japan on other points. The following day M. Kurino met M. Bezobrazoff, and casually learnt from him the decision that had been arrived at. From that moment the die was cast. There was no necessity for Japan to await the arrival of the formal note, more especially as it would probably have been accompanied by Admiral Wirenius and the Russian Mediterranean squadron. Nevertheless she did wait, for it was not until February 5, when Russian troops had already invaded Northern Korea, that M. Kurino was instructed to break off negotiations.

This is the story, set out, we believe, truthfully and without *parti pris*, of the long gathering of the clouds which have now burst in the Far East. Its moral is a trifle *banal*, for it bears a suspicious likeness, in its illustrations of the limitations of human wisdom and of national self-control, to too many of the prolegomena of great wars with which the history of our race is seared. But, if the origins of this struggle are commonplace, its possible results are unconventional enough. This is scarcely the time to speculate upon them, nor, if it were, does it enter into the scope of this paper to deal with them. But this much must be said. The prospect is full of perils for others besides the actual belligerents, and it consequently behoves neutral nations to avoid embittering or enlarging the contest by any thoughtless word or ill-considered act. If we feel drawn towards one belligerent by its real grievances, by its patience, moderation, and manly conduct, and by the political relations which link us with it, we are, perhaps, not less drawn to the other by our own recent experience of the anxieties and sufferings of a great war, and perhaps also by a not inconsiderable community of Imperial ambitions and blundering methods. Whatever hope there may be of a mitigation of the horrors of the war itself and of the wide-reaching dangers with which it is fraught, it must rest finally, not on the prudence of statesmen, but on the spirit of moderation and charity and the high sense of the common good with which the 'unofficial people,' as the late Lord Salisbury called them, are inspired.

Digitized by Google

611

Art. XI.—CHINESE LABOUR FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

1. *Present Position and Future Prospects of British Trade in South Africa.* Report of Henry Birchenough, Commissioner appointed by the Board of Trade. London: Spottiswoode, 1903. (Cd. 1844.)
2. *Report of the Transvaal Labour Commission.* London: Spottiswoode, 1903. (Cd. 1896; Cd. 1897.)
3. *A Descriptive and Statistical Statement of the Gold Mining Industry of the Witwatersrand.* Appendix to the Thirteenth Report of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines, 1902.
4. *Debates in the House of Lords and House of Commons.* 'Times,' February 17 and March 22, 1904.

It was inevitable that much discussion should take place before Chinese could be imported into the Transvaal to work as unskilled labourers in the mines. Considerable time was required to ascertain if it were not possible to procure the labour in South Africa, and for the people of the Transvaal to consider the question thoroughly; after which an ordinance had to be framed acceptable to the people as well as to the British and Chinese Governments. The requisite legislation has now been passed and sanctioned; but before the consent of the Imperial Government was obtained the subject was exhaustively debated in the House of Lords, the House of Commons, and the legislative assemblies of most of the self-governing colonies. Party feeling has generally affected these debates. In Cape Colony the introduction of Chinese into the Transvaal has been opposed by both political parties with a view to securing the native vote In Australia and New Zealand it has been made use of as a cry to please the working man. In this country Chinese labour has been made the chief pretext for what was practically a motion of censure on the Government.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that people have become bewildered over this much-vexed question, for many statements have been made which obscure the main issue and render it difficult for those who are endeavouring to form dispassionate and unbiassed judgments to ascertain the essential facts. The Archbishop

Digitized by Google

of Canterbury, in an eloquent speech in the House of Lords on March 22, said:—

'I have been in the last few days the recipient of appeals from many different quarters, including those made to me in this House, that I should, I had almost said, put myself at the head of a movement to resist, in the name of liberty, or rather religion, the enactment for which the Transvaal asks. That would be a very easy course to take, and in one sense might be a very popular course. Nothing is easier than to inflame popular feeling on a matter of this kind. Why? Because you have ready to your hand to use—may we not say to trade upon?—one of the noblest and most sacred instincts which God has implanted in the minds of the English race—the love of liberty, and the hatred of anything like slavery. It is a perilous thing, and may be grossly unfair, to trade upon that feeling unless you take care to tell those to whom you are speaking the whole story. . . . To take something that is very sacred and utilise it for lower purposes for a party end is to debase and degrade it. I am not accusing members of your lordships' House of doing this; but any one, I think, will admit that it is being done up and down the country to-day.'

The Archbishop of Canterbury put his finger here upon a real danger to the Empire. It is unfortunately true that whenever a great national question comes up for discussion it is at once made a political pawn for party purposes. The people of South Africa are satisfied if the subject is discussed honestly, sincerely, and on its merits. But their very existence must not be imperilled in the struggle for party ends. On this account it is to be regretted that so many reckless misstatements have been disseminated both at home and in the colonies. Did these misstatements damage only the Government at home it would matter comparatively little; but they are doing incalculable harm to our fellow-countrymen in South Africa and to the interests of the Empire at large.

The volume and violence of ignorant or interested criticism which has recently obscured this question has already caused the people of the Transvaal to consider very seriously their relations with this country. It is likely to make them clamour for responsible government before it is in the true interests of the Empire that it should be granted. Many people are already inclined

Digitized by Google

to take the view that it is better to secure responsible government at once than to be left to the tender mercies of a party which has shown so ominous an intention to govern the new colonies, not as they wish to be governed, but as best suits the party in power. In these circumstances responsible government is likely to be demanded; but the premature concession of it, especially if made in answer to an angry demand, would be fatal to Imperial interests, though it would possibly tend towards the immediate prosperity of the country.

It should be remembered that in the Transvaal, where the people have had the opportunity of studying the question on the spot, it has taken twelve months to convince them of the necessity of importing Chinese to do their unskilled labour. A year ago they were as strongly opposed to this measure as any in the Empire are to-day; and it has been necessity only which has gradually changed their views. The evidence disclosed in Lord Milner's despatches and elsewhere, that the vast majority are now in favour of the proposal, is too clear to require recapitulation. Are we seriously to suppose that the resolutions and petitions have all been 'got up,' or that the change has taken place without good reason?

It is clear from the debates that few speakers realise the seriousness of the position in South Africa. Wait, they say; do not be in such a hurry; everything will come right with a little patience! Is this language to use to a starving man? Distress is steadily increasing; and when distress has been gradually creeping on a population for over two years, after a long period of privation and exile caused by the war, there comes a point when something must be done. The situation becomes intolerable. A remedy, distasteful enough in happier circumstances, has to be applied.

As to the present state of things, we may quote the 'South African News'—an unimpeachable witness, for it is violently hostile to the importation of Chinese labour. Its special correspondent writes from Johannesburg, under date February 13, as follows:—

'Johannesburg to-day is practically moneyless. Business is almost at a standstill. Big houses are dismissing their men or reducing their staffs. The smaller stores and warehouses are almost tottering. I have the statements of owners of large

Digitized by Google

businesses that their trade is declining day by day. I have it on the authority of bank officials that the merchants are practically living on credit. Trade was never worse. . . . The engineering yards are stacked with machinery; the veld is scattered with machinery. Numbers of artisan engineers are out of work, waiting for this machinery to be put up. The streets are overrun with men out of work, mostly unskilled men, but still a sad number of artisans and mechanics. . . . Mines are threatening every day to shut down. Workmen are leaving the Rand nightly in large numbers.'

Shortly before the war the mines of the Rand produced gold at the rate of about 20,000,000*l.* per annum. They employed about 12,000 white men and 100,000 natives. About 6000 stamps were running. The total European population of the Rand was estimated at under 80,000. To-day the mines produce gold at about the rate of 14,000,000*l.* per annum. They employ about 70,000 natives and 13,000 whites. About 4500 stamps are at work. The total European population of the Rand is now estimated at 95,000.

It has been argued that there is no reason for complaint in this state of things, since the mines produce as much gold to-day as they did four years before the war. Earl Spencer said in the House of Lords on March 18:—

According to Lord Milner the production of gold was greater now than in 1895 and 1896, when the gold production of the Transvaal was the marvel of the world. Why, then, was it necessary to force an extra production by the importation of Chinese labour? Was it because it was desired that great fortunes should be made in a short time? Could not the mine-owners wait until the market had become more settled? He protested against a course of action so fraught with evil being taken merely for the sake of increasing the output of gold so that a few men might make their fortunes rapidly.'

To this argument we reply that conditions have radically changed since 1896. Enterprises have been launched and vast sums of capital expended, not only to extract gold equivalent in amount to what was being produced before the war, but to provide for the natural increase which, but for the war, would have taken place. It seems to escape these critics that it requires four to five years to put a deep level mine into the producing state. The

Digitized by Google

town of Johannesburg, nay the whole of the Transvaal, has been counting not merely on getting back to the gold output of 1899, but on a great advance beyond 1899. It is difficult to find a good comparison, but perhaps the following may serve as an illustration. London in 1880 was a most prosperous town, the marvel of the age; but what would be the result if the London of to-day were reduced to the conditions of 1880? Thousands of houses would stand empty; all the new trade would be killed; professional men in the new districts would be unemployed; there would be wide-spread suffering. It may be difficult for an inhabitant of this country to imagine the distress that would ensue; but a person who knew Johannesburg in 1899, and who had lately returned from the Transvaal, would find it easy to conceive such a deplorable state of things. It is only necessary to call to mind the many comrades who were happy, prosperous, professional men in 1899, and who are now in deep distress, though striving gallantly to keep up appearances on what little cash or credit they have left. Most of these men fought through the war, and many returned from it maimed by wounds for life. Is it not natural that they should feel the hardships im posed on them, and should bitterly resent the ignorant or prejudiced attempts to minimise their sufferings, and to depreciate their intellectual power or their mora sense?

The increase of production is not wanted for the few rich mine-owners; it is wanted for the whole of South Africa, where at least eighty per cent. of the production is circulated, and whence a large percentage is remitted home in payment for goods purchased. There is not a single producing or developing mining company belonging to a few rich owners. One of the largest groups, the Consolidated Gold Fields, is owned by nineteen thousand shareholders; and, although there are a few very rich people, it is an utter fallacy to suppose that millionaires are abundant in South Africa, and that therefore mine-owners and shareholders, as well as those depending directly or indirectly on the mines, require no considera-tion. Most of the capital is held in Europe; but the industry is carried on in South Africa, and is the main-stay of the country. It provides, directly or indirectly

Digitized by Google

the living of the population, and has been mainly responsible for an external trade of over 50,000,000*l.*

Another argument is that insufficient labour-saving appliances have been introduced, and that if more were done in this way the supply of unskilled labour would be sufficient. But, in the first place, labour-saving appliances chiefly affect skilled labour; and, owing to the peculiar nature of the reef, it is difficult to do much in this direction underground. In the second place, as much has been done in this direction as can be expected. There are few industries in which more readiness is shown to adopt improvements than the gold industry; and many Rand mines possess appliances as advanced as any in the world. It must also be remembered that such machinery is very costly, and that the poorer mines, in their present depressed state, are unable to spend capital on it.

People in this country have a very exaggerated idea of the richness of the Rand mines, and of the margin of profit which is available for the raising of wages or purchase of machinery. Gold production is no monopoly. The Transvaal gold fields extend over a very large area, much of it yet untouched. The regularity with which the gold is distributed through the rock enables an accurate forecast of the value of a mine to be made. This being the case, the whole problem resolves itself into the question—a quite simple one—Will the cost of extracting the gold leave a margin of profit over working expenses? The Transvaal mines are all low-grade mines; that is, the amount of gold in each ton of rock is very small; therefore the industry cannot prosper unless the costs are kept down. The average value of the gold extracted from each ton of rock raised from the Witwatersrand mines is under 2*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*; and the average profit derived, after paying all expenses, is under 10*s.* 8*d.* per ton. A comparison (made in 1902) with gold mines in other parts of the world may be of interest. (See following page.)

It will be seen that it is only the regularity of the supply of gold in the Rand that makes it possible to induce capitalists to invest their money in developing mines with so small a margin of profit; and that, if complications arise from labour or other causes, the advantages derived from the peculiar character of the

Digitized by Google

Country.	Name of Mine.	Average Value of Gold contained in each ton of rock in shillings.
		s. d.
South Africa . . .	Witwatersrand.	41 9·4
Australia—		
Queensland . . .	Mount Morgan	109 10
,, . . .	Charters Towers Field . .	103 7
West Australia . .	Kalgoorlie	140 0
,, ,, . .	Lake View	120 0
Tasmania	Tasmanian Gold Mine . .	82 0
India	Mysore	108 7
United States . . .	Cripple Creek (Portland) . .	200 6
,, ,, . . .	Cornstock (Nevada) . . .	205 4
Venezuela	El Callao.	152 2
Mexico	El Oro	55 9
Canada	Le Roi	49 6

banket' formation will be counterbalanced, and no profits will accrue. Generally speaking gold-mining on the Rand is not a speculation at all; it is a solid, commonplace, unexciting trade, as stable as cotton-spinning or coal-mining is here. In some respects it is even less speculative, because its product practically never fluctuates in value, never finds an over-stocked market, and never suffers from a change of fashion.

One of the most important contributions to the facts as regards the mining industry and the labour question generally may be found in Mr Henry Birchenough's report to the Board of Trade. He spent considerable time in Johannesburg studying the problem, and his weighty remarks deserve serious consideration. Speaking of the mines first, he says:—

'This great industry was brought to a standstill by the war. For more than two years the mines remained practically idle valuable machinery was perforce allowed to deteriorate; and great undertakings were "eating their heads off" with interest charges. The actual losses have been estimated at nearly £7,000,000, without counting indirect losses through deferred dividends. But the greatest misfortune of all was the dispersal of the vast army of labourers, white and black, which it had taken thirteen years of patient effort to collect.'

But it is not only in regard to the mines that the shortage of labour is alarming. Mr Birchenough says

'There can be no doubt that the provision of an adequate

Digitized by Google

supply of labour is the dominating factor in the present situation. It would be a great mistake to suppose it is only a mining question. Native labour is equally necessary for railway extension, government and municipal works, building operations, private enterprise, and agriculture. No rapid development is possible in any single direction without it. And the difficulty of the situation is increased by the fact that, if labour is diverted from the mines in order to press forward other branches of industry or public works, the flow of wealth upon which the country depends for its development is *pro tanto* checked. The mines must be supplied first of all, since they are the pivot upon which general prosperity turns. It can hardly be wondered at if men from all classes, believing that this one need stands between the present moderate progress and the most amazing expansion, should wish to make a short cut and seek labour wherever it can be found.

'The real danger of the situation lies in the prolongation of the present financial strain. . . . It is really a race against time; and that is why experiments, however well-meaning, which take years to show their results, are impracticable. Troublesome as the problem is, its difficulties are mainly concentrated upon one factor. . . . It remains, therefore, to find an acceptable solution of this one question. The interests at stake, which are not merely those of the financial groups, but, as I have indicated, the whole of the industrial and commercial interests of the Transvaal, are too important for it to be allowed to stand indefinitely in the way.'

The position could not be put in a clearer or more forcible manner; and, when it is remembered that a year has elapsed since Mr Birchenough visited Johannesburg, and that things have been growing worse instead of better, it is almost unnecessary to add that the gravity of the situation has become still more accentuated.

We need not dwell on the importance of the mining industry to the Transvaal and to South Africa. The facts are too patent to be insisted on. As to the value of the South African trade to the mother-country, the statistics compiled by Mr Birchenough may be quoted as the best authority on the subject. For the purpose of comparison we reproduce the figures for the years 1893 and 1902, showing exports of British produce from the United Kingdom to South Africa and five other countries.

Digitized by Google

	1893.	1902.	Increase.
	£	£	£
To South Africa	9 millions	25¾ millions	16¾ millions
,, India	27 ,,	30 ,,	3 ,,
,, United States	24 ,,	23⅝ ,,	—
,, Germany	17 7/10 ,,	22⅞ ,,	5⅛ ,,
,, Australia	11¼ ,,	19⅛ ,,	7⅞ ,,
,, France	13⅓ ,,	15½ ,,	2⅛ ,,

In 1902 the total value of all merchandise imported into South African ports (exclusive of imports by the Imperial Government) was:—

	£
From the United Kingdom	29¼ millions.
,, British possessions	5½ ,,
,, foreign countries	10⅜ ,,
Or a total of about	45¼ millions

Mr Birchenough also makes the following noteworthy observations:—

'It is interesting to point out that, whereas in 1893 South Africa took only about 4 per cent. of our total exports, last year she took 9 per cent. of our exports to the whole world, and 23·6 per cent. of our exports to British possessions. Her purchases from us in the same year were three times as great as those of Russia, Holland, Belgium, or China, and almost five times as great as those of Brazil, Argentina, or Japan. Passing from figures to actual manufactures, South Africa is already our best customer for mining machinery, cutlery, hardware, cast and wrought iron and steel manufactures, ready-made clothing of all kinds for men and women, haberdashery and millinery, boots and shoes, saddlery and spirits; our second best customer for paper, cement, locomotives, iron and steel wire; and third on the list for angle, bar and galvanised iron. She takes two thirds of the boots and shoes, two fifths of the mining machinery, and one third of the apparel and slops exported from the United Kingdom.'

But this great trade, capable as it is of indefinite expansion, is dependent on the stimulating and fertilising current which flows from the mines, as this in turn is dependent on the supply of labour, at present so lamentably defective. Imports are now falling off, says the chairman of the Bank of Africa, at the rate of 1,000,000*l.* a month. This is why men have come to the conclusion

Digitized by Google

that labour *must* come in, and yellow labour, since black cannot be obtained. There is not a single mine-owner or manager in the Transvaal who would not prefer to work with native labour or suitable permanent white labour if he could get it or pay for it. The managers have given ample proof of their *bona fides* in this connexion. They have offered increased pay and better food and housing to the blacks without any appreciable success; they have imported natives from Central South Africa with most disappointing results; and they have practically exhausted the labour resources of Portuguese East Africa. It does not seem to be generally known that even if Kaffir labour could be got in sufficient quantity for ordinary work, not above one Kaffir in five will work underground. All enquiries in other directions having proved fruitless, the decision to employ Chinese was come to, however reluctantly, by all concerned.

As regards the employment of whites, it may at once be said that if applied to the Witwatersrand mines it would mean that 50 per cent. of the mines would be working without any profit, and the remainder would reduce their dividend by 44 per cent.; while an immense amount of development and prospecting work would be at once abandoned, as it would be useless to continue such work in face of the fact that none but the richest grades of ore would pay. Not only have these matters been enquired into and dealt with exhaustively both by the Chamber of Mines and the Labour Commission, but one company has actually tried the experiment of working with white miners. It lost by this measure 40,000*l.* in seventeen months. Besides the fact that, with few exceptions, the mines are not rich enough to pay the wages required by white men, it is most undesirable that white men should do black men's work in a country where the status of the white race must be upheld. This is recognised by the men themselves; and none but the poorest type of white will do unskilled miners' work. The only men that could be got to do it would not be Englishmen, but the refuse of Europe. The employment of yellow labour, therefore, does not keep British labour out, any more than does that of Kaffirs. On the contrary, it has been convincingly shown that the demand for skilled labour—the only kind of labour which better-class

Digitized by Google

whites in South Africa will or can permanently apply themselves to—depends on the supply of unskilled.

The population of the Transvaal cries out for immediate relief. Even 25,000 additional labourers would make an immense difference; and, though a greater number of Chinese may in time be employed, it will be many years—if ever—before the numbers referred to in the debate which took place in the Legislative Council can be required. Meanwhile, owing to the abolition of tribal wars and native customs which kept the population down, the Kaffirs will increase rapidly and will furnish a larger number of labourers. The area for recruiting in Africa will also gradually be extended, and men of a suitable type, from regions where climatic conditions do not render the inhabitants unfit to bear the somewhat rigorous climate of the Rand, will be induced to go thither to work. The mere cost of conveying men to and from China is a guarantee that, the moment African natives are obtainable in sufficient numbers, the importation of Chinamen will decrease and probably in time cease entirely. Australia and other countries have employed foreign labour so long as it suited them; when they were ready to do the work themselves they passed restrictive laws. In the Transvaal nobody thinks of a permanent employment for Chinese; the law provides for their repatriation; and the men will come with that understanding. Some opponents of the scheme object to the regulations as likely to prevent South Africa from becoming a white man's country; and this seems to be the chief ground of Australasian opposition. Others object to compulsory repatriation as cruel to the Chinese. Our opponents cannot have it both ways. The fact is that South Africa, with its vast black population, can never become, in the true sense of the phrase, a white man's country.

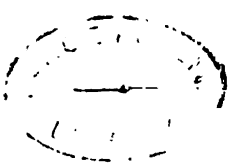
With the final objection—that raised on so-called moral grounds—it is somewhat difficult to deal patiently. The statement that Chinese labourers, freely making contracts, and subsequently living in compounds, will be slaves or serfs, indicates a confusion of ideas and a perversion of facts which, if not wilful, is marvellously unintelligent. They are less slaves than the soldier who, having taken the King's shilling, lives in barracks, and,

Digitized by Google

if he deserts, is liable to be shot; for the coolie can withdraw, by making a small pecuniary sacrifice, when he pleases. In this country many classes of persons—employés in gasworks for instance—are unable to leave their work at pleasure. Indentured labour has gone on for years, with no objection raised, in other colonies. But it is needless to refute at length statements which have been repeatedly shown, in Parliament and elsewhere, to be utterly unfounded. It is difficult to see how they can continue to be made in the face of the denials of leading ecclesiastics, Episcopalian, Free Church, and other, in South Africa. We will only quote what the Archbishop of Canterbury said in the House of Lords.

'There is one man now in this country who knows this subject from end to end, and has spent many years in working in the compounds among the natives in South Africa, the Bishop of Mashonaland, who is not, on the whole, in favour of the policy of the Government. But with regard to that particular point I am allowed to quote his words. He says: "It is absurd and almost a prostitution of language to talk of compounded labour under government supervision as slavery, or even servility."'

To sum up, whether we consider this matter from a moral, a colonial, a British, or an Imperial point of view, the answer will be the same. Morally, we have shown that no fair objections can be urged. From the colonial point of view, the people of the Transvaal have made up their minds, and are unlikely to take an adverse decision lying down. As to the opposing colonies, what would Mr Deakin and Mr Seddon say if South Africa tried to meddle in *their* affairs? From the merely British point of view, it is not wise to injure or even to check the prosperity of one of your best customers. From the Imperial point of view, it is not politic to set up a new precedent by interfering in the local affairs of a British colony, to alienate the loyalty and affection of the men who, for three years, fought to keep the British flag flying, and, by so doing, to run the risk of reviving the old trouble and strife in place of laying the foundation for a united, prosperous, and therefore peaceful South Africa.



Digitized by Google

Art. XII.—THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

THE 15th of May, 1903, will long be remembered as an epoch in English domestic politics. The political situation before that day had presented few features which were striking or abnormal, none which were seriously alarming. The Unionist party had held power for an unusual period. There were some signs of that unrest among the rank and file which is produced by a long suspension of exciting party conflict; and it seemed to many observers that the fatigue of eight years of office was telling upon some members of the Government. The education controversy had roused the Nonconformist opponents of the ministry to a vigorous and even a furious activity; while the accumulated result of those small occasions for unpopularity, which are inseparable from the tenure of office, weighed upon the Government.

The feeling prevailed that the Unionist party must strengthen itself before it faced a general election; but calmer judges, at any rate, thought that it would find little difficulty in doing so. For, if its long spell of power had weakened it to a degree corresponding with that unusual length of ascendency, it had some advantages less ordinary still. The Opposition that faced it were discouraged by the great majority against them in Parliament, and by their own internal divisions. Their leaders, though men of ability, were certainly overmatched both in the House of Commons and in the country by Mr Balfour and Mr Chamberlain. It seemed likely that the transient dissensions among the Unionists would easily be allowed to pass and be forgotten, and that the party, united and confident in its leaders, would, in the summer of 1904 or 1905, encounter a general election without danger of more than a slight reverse. The next Parliament might be a repetition of that of 1892. After a few years of helpless and inglorious administration, the Liberal party would be driven from power; and the country would turn again with renewed confidence to those who alone could offer it that unity and capacity which are necessary for its government.

Yet, while reasonable people felt no pessimism about the prospects of the Unionists, there was, in some quarters

Digitized by Google

a note of panic. The feeling was that something must be done to save the party; and both friends and foes were inclined to look to Mr Chamberlain to do that something. He had returned from Africa with his high reputation further enhanced. The chief misfortunes of the Government had happened in his absence. Things, people had said, would be better when he came back. His return was thought of as that of a deliverer. The brilliant caricaturist of the 'Westminster Gazette' well expressed the general sentiment. Mr Chamberlain was the sleek and well-favoured cock returning to his native farmyard to find the other fowls chevied and dishevelled. He was the gardener who lamented that those withered plants, his colleagues, had not had a drop of water since he went away. Every one looked to him to display his characteristic vigour and resource in aid of his party. It is now easy to see that what was wanted was quiet and unexciting leadership with conciliation of reasonable criticism. The sick man suffering from a passing indisposition needed nothing but bed and wholesome food. But the cry was for Mr Chamberlain. The great physician came. Instead of the expectant treatment that was wanted, he prescribed a potent drug. Its effect has been so violent that the party now lies shivering and exhausted, grievously sick, it is feared, of an organic disease.

It is not unfair to Mr Chamberlain thus to view his action. Certainly it was not merely a desire to aid his party that made him adopt the new policy. That he has become convinced of its necessity, quite independently of party considerations, is clear. But no one who reads the first Birmingham speech can doubt that he chose that moment for its proclamation because he wished to save the Government and the party from their embarrassments. In the course of that speech he referred to those embarrassments. He had come back from Africa, he said, to find that the political meteorologist had been at work; that disaster to the Unionists was predicted; that the Opposition were apportioning the spoils of victory; that the younger members of the party had become troglodytes dwelling in 'caves.'

'I was told' (he continued) 'that the by-elections were going against the Government. I was told that the constituencies were prepared to forgive the pro-Boers their want of patriot-

Digitized by Google

ism, and the Little Englanders their want of courage, and that they were now ready to give to Home Rule and the Newcastle programme a new chance. Well, it may be that I am less sensible to sudden emotion since I returned from my travels in South Africa. The calm which is induced by the solitude of the illimitable veldt may have affected my constitution. At any rate I was not moved by those depressing statements.'

Then followed the memorable advocacy of a policy of colonial preference. But at the end of the speech Mr Chamberlain again touched the party theme.

'I do not think myself' (he said) 'that a general election is very near; but whether it is near or distant, I think our opponents may perhaps find that the issues which they propose to raise are not the issues on which we shall take the opinion of the country.'

There is nothing wrong in this regard for party advantage. It is the business of a politician to strengthen his party so far as he can do it honestly and patriotically. Mr Chamberlain's attempt to combine a benefit to his party with one to his country was perfectly legitimate. But even his admirers must admit that no party leader since 1886 has blundered worse. We have discussed in these columns on more than one occasion the question how far the new policy is good for the Empire. So far as its subordinate purpose as a party move is concerned, no failure could be more complete.

After May 15—that hegira of the prophet from imperialism to protectionism—there follow two periods nearly equal in length. Each extended for four months or a little more. The first, called the period of enquiry, ended with the meeting of the Cabinet in September and the consequent resignations; the second, or period of agitation, comprising the mission of Empire, or 'raging, tearing propaganda,' lasted till the meeting of Parliament In these periods the political situation changed with astonishing rapidity. Dissension in the Cabinet was followed by resignations; the party became divided into three sections, each angry and perplexed, each contemplating the other with growing distrust; and the whole body became more and more unpopular.

The responsibility for this result does not wholly lie

Digitized by Google

with Mr Chamberlain. It is in a large measure due to the policy pursued by Mr Balfour in his efforts to meet the difficulties of the position. How far he was aware beforehand of what Mr Chamberlain was going to say at Birmingham has never been made quite clear. It seems probable that he knew in outline the new policy, but not the particular method of its presentment in the speech as delivered. Certainly we may take it he did not foresee the storm that would be raised. Even down to the present time he has not appeared able to sympathise with, scarcely to realise, the warmth of feeling that the controversy between free trade and protection excites. Apparently underrating the gravity of the question, he first aimed at the avoidance of a split in the Cabinet. As this grew inevitable, he laboured, not in vain, to postpone the resignations till Parliament was no longer in session, and, with less entire success, to prevent them, when they came, from involving a break-up of the party. The merits of the different fiscal policies seem to have been to him throughout a matter of subordinate concern. He has his opinions on those merits; but it may reasonably be doubted whether he thinks the worst fiscal policy likely to inflict so great an injury on the country as the ruin of the Unionist party. Comparatively indifferent as to the economic result of the contest, he has devoted inexhaustible dexterity and unflinching courage to averting its incidental political evils. Of any personal craving for office no one will accuse the present Prime Minister; but, considering the critical state of foreign affairs, the labour question in South Africa, the settlement of education at home, the threatened revival of Irish demands, he may well have placed the maintenance of party unity above every other consideration. It is this dominant thought which, we believe, explains all his subsequent action. With Mr Balfour's aims—if we are right in our diagnosis—we have no quarrel; it is only his methods which seem to us mistaken. If he has failed—as we fear he has—it is a striking illustration of how little, in politics as in war, skill in execution can redeem a plan essentially unsuited to the occasion.

Mr Balfour's first effort was to minimise the effect of the Birmingham speech. This he attempted in the debate on the adjournment for Whitsuntide; but, before that

Digitized by Google

sitting was at an end, Mr Chamberlain had shown that he would not allow matters to be smoothed over. Next, by proclaiming an enquiry and imposing silence on his colleagues, Mr Balfour strove to prevent the dispute among them from becoming scandalous. But meantime the fire had spread. Protectionist members of Parliament held a meeting attended by nearly a hundred. Unionist free traders rejoined, though in a smaller gathering. The Tariff Reform League and the Free Food League came into existence; and Mr Chamberlain, while himself remaining silent, set Mr Vince to flood the country with leaflets. Every day feeling grew higher, and the contending forces made ready for battle. All through, Mr Balfour struggled hard to quiet things down. So far as he could, he avoided debate in the House of Commons. Straining the great control over parliamentary business which the orders of the House give to ministers, he refused time for discussing any motion on fiscal policy which was not a vote of censure on the Government. Thus he avoided a debate expressly devoted to the subject. Some discussion took place half illicitly upon the Budget; and his speech in that debate implied that of all the dangers of the situation the greatest, in his judgment, was a rupture with Mr Chamberlain. The speech, while committing the speaker to nothing, was carefully worded to please and encourage the Colonial Secretary. This note has been audible in all Mr Balfour's utterances. It may in part be explained by personal friendship and sympathy. But such an explanation would not do full justice to the reality of Mr Balfour's zeal for his party. If his phraseology has been systematically more pleasing to the ears of protectionists than those of free traders, it is, we may be sure, because he thinks that the most serious menace to the party is to be found in a protectionist secession.

This fear of a Chamberlainite secession is probably the key to much that has perplexed critics in the events of September. Being mainly solicitous to preserve the unity of the party, Mr Balfour must have seen two individuals to be of the highest importance. These were Mr Chamberlain and the Duke of Devonshire. No secession of protectionists without Mr Chamberlain, no secession of free traders without the Duke of Devonshire,

Digitized by Google

could be formidable. If both could be retained, that would be best. Doubtless, for some time Mr Balfour tried for this ideal. At the very outset, searching in the recesses of his mind as a housewife overtaken by a domestic emergency searches in her lumber-room, Mr Balfour remembered that he had always been in favour of fiscal retaliation. Here was something which might keep the Cabinet and the party together. Retaliation is not contrary to the theory of free trade, yet it is acceptable to protectionists. From Mr Balfour's point of view, what a jewel of a policy! From an early period, possibly immediately after the Birmingham speech, Mr Balfour had recourse to this aid to unity. And if Mr Chamberlain had been willing to limit the new policy to retaliation, Mr Balfour would have succeeded. The Duke of Devonshire on his side seems to have been ready to assent. But Mr Chamberlain cared too much for the colonial side of his plan to give it up or even defer it.

Failing the retention of both his chief colleagues, Mr Balfour sought for the next best; and what he attempted had at least the merit of ingenuity. Was it not possible, he seems to have asked himself, to let Mr Chamberlain resign without his resignation resulting in a general protectionist secession? If so, the Duke, being satisfied that protection was really abandoned, would be willing to remain, and a serious split in the party on either side would be avoided. The manœuvre was one of extraordinary delicacy; for it was necessary that the rupture with Mr Chamberlain should be sufficiently definite to satisfy the Duke that free trade was really safe, but should not be so decided as to be offensive to Mr Chamberlain or to those protectionist supporters whom, like every other leader, Mr Chamberlain was bound to regard. It would appear that Mr Balfour felt far from sure that he would retain the Duke, and that he had in his mind some alternative scheme by which Mr Chamberlain might be kept if the Duke went. This is suggested by the remarkable statement of the Duke of Devonshire in the House of Lords. The Duke declared that at first Mr Balfour treated Mr Chamberlain's resignation as probable, and that it was not spoken of as definite until the last interview. This surely indicates that Mr Balfour had not decided to part with Mr Chamberlain until he had, as

Digitized by Google

he thought, made sure of the Duke of Devonshire. Then Mr Chamberlain's resignation was announced, and its unique circumstances were disclosed to the world.

No resignation on grounds of policy has, we suppose, ever been surrounded by so surprising an atmosphere. The Colonial Secretary parted with his chief not merely without a rupture of friendly relations, not merely with many expressions of mutual esteem, but exchanging assurances of a measure of agreement more naturally associated with the formation than the severance of official ties. To prove that this was not on either side mere lip-service, Mr Chamberlain left behind him his son, to be at once a testimony of the Prime Minister's sympathy and a security for his own continued loyalty. And that his official obsequies might lack no pomp, his three principal opponents were sacrificed to the repose of his ghost.

These three gentlemen must be reckoned among Mr Balfour's lesser but still considerable difficulties. If they had not resigned, Mr Chamberlain's resignation would have placed a dangerous strain on the allegiance of the protectionists. That Mr Ritchie, at any rate, should go was indispensable to the success of Mr Balfour's plan. And this circumstance gave an unpleasant appearance to the fact that neither Mr Ritchie nor Lord George Hamilton knew that Mr Chamberlain's resignation had actually been offered when they resigned. It looked as though they had been purposely allowed to misunderstand the situation in order that Mr Chamberlain's resignation might be adequately balanced. But discussion and recent disclosures, especially that of Mr Ritchie in the 'Times,' of March 15, seem to have made it clear that this was not so. The misunderstanding was *not* engineered. What did take place was that, when it became clear that there was a misunderstanding, Mr Balfour gave his colleagues no opportunity of reconsidering their resignations. There was no treachery or trickery. But it is impossible to deny that the course taken was harsh and unkind towards colleagues and old friends.

That Mr Balfour should be guilty of personal unkindness is perplexing, for it is not generally to be reckoned among his faults. Some phrases that he let fall in his speech on Mr Ellis's motion for adjournment may perhaps

Digitized by Google

furnish the explanation. From that speech it would seem that he had suspected the resigning ministers of an intrigue against him, which, if not positively treacherous, was at least such as to give him reasonable ground for offence. The suspicion is a strange one. It is true that there was, during July and August of last year, much talk of a possible coalition between the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Rosebery. But it is hardly credible that Mr Ritchie and Lord George Hamilton could have wished to break up Mr Balfour's Government if, consistently with principle, they could remain in it. In what conceivable government could they have occupied more important or distinguished offices than those that they held? Every motive of self-interest was in favour of their remaining where they were. Nor, if they were at heart wreckers, is it easy to understand why they did not force a crisis in July, when Parliament was sitting, and when a reconstruction of the Government would have been well-nigh impossible. Then was the moment to smash the ministry. But they allowed Mr Balfour to choose his own time for reconstruction, and he wisely chose the recess.

This is not the course of those whose purpose is by all methods to upset their chief. They may, indeed, have naturally desired that, if the Prime Minister adopted the Birmingham policy, so many ministers would resign that the Government could not go on. Strong convictions and a sense of public duty could desire no less. Nor would it be unreasonable or unfair to look forward and consider what combination could be made to avoid the appointment of a purely radical ministry. A proper anxiety for the fate of Conservatism would suggest such forethought. But that there was any spite or personal antagonism against Mr Balfour is not to be believed. Yet suspicion of some such hostility seems to have inspired him with an unusual spirit of harshness.

By whatever means and under whatever passions the different actors had pursued their various ends, the event is clear. Whether they were old friends or recent enemies, Mr Balfour was rid of his three colleagues. He had, as it seemed, surmounted all his difficulties. Mr Chamberlain had indeed gone, but with the most sympathetic of farewells, and remaining still linked to the fortunes of the Government by the tender tie of parental

Digitized by Google

affection. On the other hand, the Duke of Devonshire was still safe in the Cabinet, and, except under his leadership, no free trade attack was likely to be dangerous. The unity of the party—that pearl of great price—seemed preserved.

But there remained one danger to pass. Mr Balfour had to address the Sheffield conference. The conference was in a highly protectionist mood. Before Mr Balfour spoke, it was only prevented with difficulty from adopting a Chamberlainite resolution. The wish to carry the conference with him in the exclusion of the taxation of food from the official party programme perhaps led him to spice his speech highly to suit the taste of protectionists. Unquestionably he believed that the Duke of Devonshire had irrevocably decided to remain in the Cabinet. If it is true that Mr Balfour is a negligent student of the daily press, such neglect may help to explain the error which he made. For no one could have read the newspapers for the last fortnight in September without realising that the Duke must be uneasy in his mind, that the derision of free traders and the triumph of protectionists must jar upon him, and that these public comments were likely to be enforced by private remonstrances from friends. Whatever the cause, it is certain that Mr Balfour overdid the protectionist flavouring of his speech. It was too much for the Duke. He resigned. The most exquisite piece of political legerdemain ever attempted failed just when its success seemed secure; and Mr Balfour was left amid the litter of his cups and balls to curse his colleagues and his stars.

'Philip, pity me,' says Louis XI in 'Quentin Durward'; 'you, at least, should know that, to men of judgment and foresight, the destruction of the scheme on which they have long dwelt, and for which they have long toiled, is more inexpressibly bitter than the transient grief of ordinary men, whose pursuits are but the gratification of some temporary passion—you who know how to sympathise with the deeper, the more genuine distress of baffled prudence and disappointed sagacity—will you not feel for me?'

Some such cry as this, we may fancy, rose to Mr Balfour's lips when he received the Duke of Devonshire's resignation.

Digitized by Google

But, instead of lamenting, it would have been better if he had laid the lesson to heart. For why had he failed? Because the Duke of Devonshire and Mr Chamberlain differed fundamentally on the fiscal question, and it was therefore impossible, by any device, however ingenious, to induce them to work together as political allies. Mr Balfour's great personal influence and unequalled tact in the management of individuals enabled him to come near success. But even with his colleagues, even where he could spend hours in dexterous conversation, he could not quite succeed in arranging a working alliance between convinced opponents. Surely he might have learnt from this the futility of his whole scheme of tactics. If, with all his great powers as a diplomatist, he could not, in spite of infinite pains, keep two individuals, both his personal friends, from an open rupture, how could he hope that the thousands of people in the country who could never come under his influence at all were to be held together? There was and is, in truth, only one way of maintaining party unity, and that is to withdraw the fiscal question again into the background of politics. So long as it is the most prominent political issue, Unionists will inevitably be divided. They disagree; and by no manipulation can they be hypnotised into thinking they agree.

As Mr Chamberlain's agitation proceeded, the inadequacy of Mr Balfour's methods to the needs of the situation became more and more manifest. It was soon clear that Mr Chamberlain was frankly protectionist. The vigour and the crudeness with which he developed his views greatly aggravated the maladies of the party. The gap between him and the Duke of Devonshire widened and widened; and even Mr Balfour's sympathy gradually became somewhat strained. It may be doubted whether Mr Balfour would refuse to support a McKinley tariff for this country if he thought it would keep the Unionist party in power, and save the nation from the disastrous consequences of a Home Rule and Little England combination; but he would certainly regard such a tariff as a painful necessity. Plainly he does not like protection. And, what is of more weight, he could not but be aware that of those who accept retaliation, not all will support colonial preference; and of those who

Digitized by Google

support preference, many would be opposed to a protective tariff on foreign or 'scientific' lines. The further Mr Chamberlain waded into protection, the fewer of the party could be got to follow him, and the less chance there was of averting a break-up.

Nevertheless, Mr Balfour stuck to his post and to his plan of action with a tenacity and courage which deserved success. He patched the holes in his ministry, and did his best to make his policy comprehensive. At Bristol he emphasised the phrase 'fiscal reform' as the authorised title of that policy. Under this banner he thought he might unite, at any rate, the great majority of his party. Who is there who could not, with some straining, declare himself in favour of what is so pleasing in sound and so vague in meaning?

But in spite of all he could do, the health of the party became worse and worse. Two complications set in which he ought to have foreseen, but perhaps did not. The first was the speeches of his colleagues; the second was the action of the local party organisations. The truth is that, in his anxiety to propitiate the Chamberlainites and avert a protectionist secession, he had overdone his sympathy for their views. The Press, with hardly an exception, treated him as Mr Chamberlain's artful associate —the 'accomplished whist-player' who played into his partner's hand—or as the dummy whose cards were played by that partner. After what has preceded, we need hardly say that we agree with neither of these estimates; but the local caucuses accepted one or other of them, and gave free rein to their enthusiasm for Mr Chamberlain and protection. Even his colleagues (which is stranger) seem not fully to have appreciated the limitations of the Sheffield programme. They went about the country speaking with an admiration and a sympathy for Mr Chamberlain's policy which sometimes seemed to make their advocacy of retaliation cold in comparison.

The result was that, though Mr Balfour had carefully limited the official policy so as to make it acceptable to every one except the most rigid free traders, the Unionist party as an organised body seemed to be working wholeheartedly for Mr Chamberlain. The Unionist free traders, led by the Duke of Devonshire, naturally became more and more hostile. Harassed and in some cases cen-

Digitized by Google

sured by the local caucuses, the Unionist free trade members of the House of Commons viewed Mr Balfour's attitude with growing bitterness. If he were, they felt, at heart a protectionist, what trickery not to declare himself! If he were a free trader, why were his colleagues for ever heating the fiery furnace into which all who would not bow down to the Birmingham idol were presently to be cast? Why was nothing done to restrain or rebuke the party organisations who were dictating adhesion to Mr Chamberlain to their reluctant representatives? Why did Mr Balfour accord the full measure of his support to the most extreme Chamberlainite candidates who stood at by-elections, and yet not stir a finger to ease the difficulties even of so loyal a supporter of the Sheffield policy as Mr Lucas of Portsmouth? The feeling spread that the Unionist party was given over to protectionism; an utter distrust of Mr Balfour and a resolve to shrink from nothing which would save free trade, though it might involve the ruin of Unionism and the triumph of Radicalism, became the dominant feeling, at any rate among the more active Unionist free traders. Party unity was in a bad way.

One consolation came to Mr Balfour in the course of the winter, and that a strange one. Sir Michael Hicks Beach had been the first to raise the standard of revolt in June. He had attacked the Government in a speech of great ability on the Budget; he had been the founder and the leader of the Free Food League. But when Mr Balfour visited Bristol in November, Sir Michael, being one of the members of the city, attended the Dolphin banquet and delivered a speech warmly supporting the Sheffield policy. This utterance caused much surprise. Sir Michael had, it is true, never declared against retaliation. But Mr Balfour then seemed to be nearly in agreement with Mr Chamberlain, whose policy Sir Michael had always denounced. Was it not strange then that, without Mr Balfour making any public declaration which modified or explained his position, Sir Michael should give him an unequivocal support? The two statesmen stayed at Bristol with the same host, and, doubtless, had many opportunities for private conversation. What passed it is, of course, impossible to know. Some have regarded the episode as only another illustration

Digitized by Google

of the power of Mr Balfour's siren-like gifts. But this victim of his arts has not slipped away from him when the fascination was withdrawn. On the contrary, while maintaining his uncompromising resistance to the Birmingham policy, Sir Michael Hicks Beach has given to the Government help of the highest value—help which has, it may be, saved them from a parliamentary reverse. By what assurances, one wonders, was this help obtained? Whatever they were, it cannot be denied that the adhesion to the Government of so acute and skilful a politician is strong evidence that Mr Balfour will not in the end become an advocate of protection.

But down to the meeting of Parliament there was little except the attitude of Sir Michael Hicks Beach which could serve to mitigate the mingled fear and indignation with which free traders regarded Mr Balfour and his Government. His speech in Manchester seemed, indeed, to show that he was anxious to mark the difference between his views and those of Mr Chamberlain. But the active support of the Government continued to be given to the champions of protection; and a culminating point was reached when Mr Walter Long, in Wiltshire, made a speech in support of a Unionist candidate standing in opposition to the sitting member, a Unionist free trader. It would be difficult to imagine a step more likely to embitter feeling.

Meantime, the division in the party produced its natural result. Combined with other causes, it brought victory, moral or actual, to the Opposition in the by-elections. When Parliament met, the Unionists came to their places in no cheerful mood. If the free traders were angry and embittered, the tariff reformers were depressed. Mr Chamberlain's great mission had failed. He had put forth all his powers; but the country was more hostile to him when he finished than when he began. His exertions had been great though ineffectual, and his health had suffered. Rest had become necessary; and his supporters, who depend wholly on his abilities and personality, would have to do the bad best they could without him. For a time he designed to be present at the first fiscal debate; but the shock of Mr Powell Williams's death rendered even that impossible, and he went abroad. With the depression of the tariff reformers there mingled no

Digitized by Google

little discontent with Mr Balfour. All that Deborah felt for Meroz, they felt for the Government; nay, more than all; for Deborah was victorious and they were not.

Mr Balfour was overtaken by the fate that so often waits on those who refuse to take a whole-hearted part in a conflict. He was blamed by both sides. The free traders were indignant that he had given so much help and countenance to Mr Chamberlain. The tariff reformers were disposed to complain that he had not done much more. Both sides expressed the contempt always felt by those who have chosen to play a decided part, for one who, as they conceive, halts between two opinions. The main body of ministerialists, more faithful to their leader, yet felt sad and fearful at the dissensions in the ranks and the disaster that appeared imminent. All hearts were failing; and the finishing stroke seemed given by the announcement of Mr Balfour's illness.

It was against so dispirited a party that Mr Morley made his attack. The debate that followed was marked by the strangest alternations in the language of the Government. The effect was almost antiphonal. Mr Gerald Balfour declared for free trade. The arguments of Mr Bonar Law and Mr Lyttelton were protectionist. Mr Akers-Douglas, somewhat harassed by an excited and turbulent House, pronounced in clear terms against the Birmingham policy. Mr Wyndham alone danced on the tight rope with something of his absent leader's grace. Each speech was followed by excited comment in the lobby, where tariff reformers and free traders in turn anathematised the Government. The result of the whole was to leave the Government with a great loss of credit. Worsted in the debate, they incurred a more damaging reproach than want of skill. The ambiguity of their position was scandalously manifest; and a sickening sense that it was not defensible before the country sank deep into the hearts even of faithful partisans.

It was, however, remembered that Mr Balfour was not present. Had he been in his place the Government would certainly have played their part with more dignity. The debate would have been skilfully wound up; and not impossibly two or three votes would have been gained. But the essential weakness and humiliation of the Government's attitude could not have been hidden; and soon

Digitized by Google

after Mr Balfour returned to the House it was made clearer than ever. Mr Pirie, a Scotch Radical of extreme views, obtained priority in the ballot for one of the evening sittings which are assigned to private members. He brought forward a motion which declared that, owing to the language of 'certain ministers,' and the consequent disturbance of the public mind, it was necessary for the House to declare its condemnation of all proposals for 'preferential and protective tariffs.' The day before this motion was to come on, an amendment was put down by Mr Wharton, which dexterously changed the censure into praise, and asked the House to approve the 'explicit declaration' of the Government 'that their policy of fiscal reform does not include either a general system of protection or preference based on the taxation of food.'

This amendment caused much searching of heart on the Unionist side. It was evidently a ministerial move. Mr Wharton is one of those members, like Colonel Kenyon Slaney, who are very willing to propose, with a decent appearance of independence, amendments that the Government have framed. And it is not denied that Mr Balfour approved Mr Wharton's words. The Free Food League met at four o'clock in the afternoon on the day of the debate. Had they known what was taking place inside and outside the Cabinet they would undoubtedly have given Mr Wharton's amendment all the support in their power. But, believing that the Government and the tariff reformers had a perfect mutual understanding, they suspected a trick. The majority, therefore, determined only to abstain on the question of omitting Mr Pirie's words. The subsequent insertion of Mr Wharton's words they decided to support.

But the meeting was scarcely over when it became known that formidable protests had been made by the protectionists. Mr Lyttelton and Mr Austen Chamberlain had, it was whispered, strongly remonstrated; some even said they had threatened to resign. The tariff reformers were unquestionably breathing fire and fury, and were to hold a meeting immediately. Already the white flag was hoisted. Mr Wharton's amendment had been greatly modified. But this surrender was not judged to be sufficiently complete. The tariff reformers met, to the number of one hundred and twelve. Mr Austen

Digitized by Google

Chamberlain could not, of course, be present; but his private secretary, Mr Matthew Ridley, attended, and, it is rumoured, made a speech. The meeting unanimously decided to vote against the Government if Mr Wharton's amendment were not dropped. Their mandate was announced; and, with a prompt obedience, the notice was removed from the paper. It was a little more than five months since Mr Balfour had proclaimed at Sheffield that while he was leader he would lead, and a prophet in the audience had cried out, 'What about Joe?'

The Wharton episode was not, perhaps, so unseemly as the antiphonal chanting on the Morley amendment; but it was more humiliating and more significant. It showed that the Government depend for their official existence on the protectionists. It showed also that protectionist loyalty to the Government is purely conditional. They will support it as long as suits the interest of protectionism and no longer. Mr Balfour they regard, not as their leader, but rather as a useful and capable servant. If he will do their work, it is well; if he becomes insubordinate, they give him warning. He, as it seems, is not disturbed at his dependent position. His serene nerve appeared quite unshaken in the debate; his personal ascendency over the House scarcely, if at all, diminished. He made a charming speech, adorned by much clever chaff of the Opposition; and his one hundred and twelve masters rewarded him with a substantial majority.

The position in which the Unionist party is left is lamentably worse than when Mr Chamberlain brought his new policy to comfort it. The groups into which it is now divided have been made fairly clear by the recent divisions. Some thirty-three Unionist members are prepared to press their free trade convictions on all occasions, whatever the consequences to the Government. Led by Sir Michael Hicks Beach, there are, perhaps, twenty-five others who are strongly free trade in opinion but whose reluctance to turn out the Government prevents them voting with the Opposition. In the other wing there are about one hundred and twenty tariff reformers who will do whatever Mr Chamberlain directs. There remain some two hundred pure ministerialists whose allegiance to Mr Balfour is unshaken. Of

Digitized by Google

these, probably a majority are now inclined against the Birmingham policy. It may, indeed, be doubted if so many as two hundred members altogether would vote for that policy if it were proposed in the present Parliament. Nor, while the policy remains so unpopular, is it likely that Mr Chamberlain will make many converts. Before he captures even the Unionist party he has still much to do. All that he has so far achieved is to break it into three bodies who are growing to hate one another with the bitterness that proverbially marks conflicts between friends.

Meantime, the Opposition are united and confident. Reversing the conditions of a short time ago, their concord, in contrast with the chaos among their opponents, gives them, apart from political issues, a claim on the public support. They can press every point with the whole of their strength. The attack on the Education Act or on Chinese labour is urged with the energy and cheerfulness of those who know they are the stronger; and the defence is made by those who are dispirited and discontented, who feel no enthusiasm for their leaders, and of whom some enjoy a bitter satisfaction in defeat. No wonder that by-elections are lost. How could they be won? What is the poor ministerialist to say? Is he a Chamberlainite? He incurs the whole unpopularity of protection and the small loaf, and is confronted by the condemnation of the Duke of Devonshire and the Unionist free traders. Is he a Balfourian? He does not escape the odium of protection, and is reviled besides as a poor-spirited shuffler who does not know his own mind or dares not speak it. In either case he starts on the contest without the help of some who in former times were the party's best supporters, but who are now hostile or coldly neutral; while, of those who take the field, many—if the sides are fairly even—do not expect, and some scarcely desire, to win. How can a man so backed hope to contend with the perfervid vigour of Nonconformists fresh from martyrdom by auction, or trade-unionists declaiming about 'yellow slavery'?

The general opinion is that a dissolution cannot be far off. Yet it is not clear that the Government majority will be exposed to any greater strains during the rest of the session than those which it has successfully withstood.

Digitized by Google

Plainly no attack from the free trade side can be fatal; for none can be more formidable than those that have been repelled. The survival of the Government really depends on Mr Chamberlain and his one hundred and twelve. If they wish to make an end, it is easy. They need not vote against the Government. A little slackness of attendance on some well-chosen occasion would be enough. But if their leader still deems it better tactics to keep the Government in office and postpone a general election, there is no reason why Ministers should not, if they choose, still hold office when the session comes to its usual close. It is not certain that they will choose. Their position cannot be enjoyable; and they may well think that, though the prospects of the party are not good, they are not likely to grow any better. It is hard to make a sound guess; but, on the whole, the tenacity with which Mr Balfour has held his post suggests that he intends, if he can, to keep off the elections for another year.

Whenever Parliament is dissolved it seems probable that the Unionists will suffer defeat. By-elections are often delusive; parliamentary forecasts are proverbially liable to error; but the signs of the times are certainly ominous. On all questions save the fiscal, Ministers still control an overwhelming majority; and a battle is not lost till it is won. Still, without a popular decision, the fiscal difficulty cannot now be eliminated; and, combined with religious bigotry and the anti-slavery cry, is only too likely to wreck the Government. Whether the turnover will be so great as to give Liberals a majority over Unionists and Irish combined is doubtful. No such turnover has, we believe, taken place since 1832. Had it not been for Mr Chamberlain's wild-goose chase, such a result would have been out of the question. But now one cannot be sure. When such a seat as Mid-Herts has been lost, it is impossible to set limits to the possibilities of Unionist rout. The point is important; for, if the Liberal Government are not independent of the Irish, they will have difficulty in dealing with the education question. A measure involving peculiar favour to Roman Catholics will not be acceptable to British opinion, and will justify the House of Lords in offering a stout resistance. But, except by conciliating Roman Catholic

Digitized by Google

Irishmen, how is the future Education Bill to be passed through the House of Commons? The dilemma is a formidable one; and the only hope of escape for the Liberals seems to lie in the chance of breaking all records and gaining a clear majority.

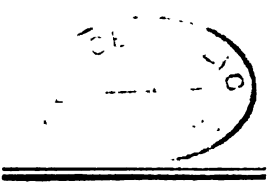
Nor is this the only difficulty in store for the Radicals. Their own divisions, though temporarily obliterated, are still there. It is hard to imagine Lord Rosebery acting with Mr Morley on foreign and colonial questions. Yet a Liberal ministry which should not contain both those distinguished men would lack support, of one sort or another, indispensable to its long continuance in office. The prospect would not be so terrifying to Unionists if a way out of the fiscal bog could be found for them. We cling to the hope that, when 'fiscal reform' has been emphatically rejected by the electorate, Mr Balfour will accept the verdict and will withdraw that futile ambiguity from the party programme. Mr Chamberlain might resent it, but he would have no choice save to submit; and protection would retire to its former resting-place in the sympathetic bosom of Sir Howard Vincent. But, unless and until the fiscal question becomes again a settled issue which no one but an eccentric would dream of re-opening, it is hard to see how all those classes and interests and opinions which, after a hard struggle, defeated Mr Gladstone, can be again combined into a united and self-confident party such as has long dominated British politics. If Unionists do not drop protection at the first opportunity it will do them all the mischief that Home Rule has wrought upon their opponents. Long years of helpless opposition, short terms of impotent office, will be the penance they will have to do for having desecrated the tombs of Cobden and Peel.

The nucleus of a regenerated party is to be found in the Unionist free traders. We regret that a few of these—excusably, indeed, in the hard circumstances in which they have been placed—appear to have resolved to leave the Unionist party and join its opponents. While we do not presume to blame them, we are sorry; for, the more free traders who remain in the Unionist ranks, the more hope there is of re-establishing the old party upon the old lines. Most of the small band who have stood firm seem themselves to take this view. They

Digitized by Google

hold tight to their party, and by so holding still link it to free trade.

It may be that in the concussion of the two main bodies the free trade Unionists will be ground to powder. Tory caucuses may have too little toleration, and Radical caucuses too little magnanimity, to suffer them to remain in Parliament. But the object is worth the risk. It is no light matter that all the good causes of which the Unionist party is the guardian should be identified with the bad cause of tariff reform, and should fall under the condemnation that is its due. So long as their voices can be heard, the Unionist free traders do well to protest that free trade is not the monopoly of Radicalism, and that the working classes of this country might still enjoy all the good gifts of the 'demon of cheapness' without disintegrating the Empire, or confiscating property, or disestablishing the Church. It may be that, after the chastening experience of a general election, if there are any Unionist free traders left to admonish, their comrades may be more patient of admonition, and may consent to be led back into the old paths where they were wont to walk securely and harmoniously before Mr Chamberlain discovered that the Empire was dying and Mr Balfour invented 'fiscal reform.' But, whatever the future may have in store, irretrievable damage, for the present, has been done. If Mr Chamberlain had only deferred his 'mission' till the next Parliament! Assuredly, the 15th of May deserves a black mark in every Conservative calendar.



Digitized by Google

INDEX

TO THE

HUNDRED AND NINETY-NINTH VOLUME OF THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

[Titles of Articles are printed in heavier type. The names of authors of articles are printed in italics.]

A.

Æsthetics, Recent, 420—two sets of investigators, 421—constituent departments of the science, 421—definition of 'æsthetic,' 422—the 'play' theory, 423—deficiencies of the theory, 425—the necessity of beauty, 426—'beauty' defined, *ib.*—comparative study of art, 427—the æsthetic imperative, 428—the æsthetics of music, 429—difference between form and subject, 430—the thorough seeing of form, 431—the faculty of *Einfühlung*, 432 *et seq.*—analogous to moral sympathy, 434—dynamic experience projected into visible form, 435—'Inner Mimicry,' 436—the 'Lange-James Hypothesis,' 438–440—'the beautiful,' 441—a cause of æsthetic decay, *ib.*—the contemplation of beauty a moral need, 443.

Agnosticism, the form of modern, 172—its ethical standpoint, 176.

Army, the British, History of, 32—works on, 32–35—Mr Fortescue's history, 32—breakdown of the feudal system, 35—under the Tudors, 36—training of the militia, 37—formation of the New Model army, *ib.*—under Cromwell, 38—growth of the standing army, 39—influence and authority of the Secretary at War, 40—Paymaster-General, 41—purchase of commissions, 42—Board of Ordnance, *ib.*—number of soldiers under William III, 43—disbandment of regiments, 44—neglect in garrisons abroad, 45—landing of the young Pretender, *ib.*—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 46—loss of Minorca, *ib.*—under the Duke of Cumberland, 47—Pitt's direction of the forces during the Seven Years' War, 48—war with America, 49–54—with the French Republic, 54—the 'dual system' of the Horse Guards and the War Office, 55—Commander-in-Chief, the military adviser, *ib.*

Art of the French Renaissance, The, 355—destruction of houses by French revolutionists, *ib.*—and by aristocrats, 356—Alexandre Lenoir, 357—nineteenth century writings on the subject, 358–360—M. Palustre's work, 359—M. Viollet le Duc, 360—meaning of the French Renaissance, *ib.*—Italian and French Gothic, 361—the earlier Renaissance, 362—Gaillon, *ib.*—the Renaissance in England, 363—effect of the Italian expeditions of Francis I, 363–364—Primaticcio, 365–366—the school of Fontainebleau, 366—dismissal of de l'Orme, *ib.*—relations of architecture to the other arts, 367—M. Dimier's conclusions, 367–369—Italian influence on French art, 370—the first use in building of scale-drawings, 371—improvement in architecture and sculpture, 372—Jean Goujon, 373–380—enfranchisement of French art, 381—brilliance of French architecture, 382.

Digitized by Google

Art, The, of the Nineteenth Century, 80—Mr MacColl's book on, 80–91, 95 *et seq.*—result of the liberation of art, 92—growth of landscape, 93—influence of science, *ib.*—anatomy, 94—French artists, 94–97—English, 97–99. *See also* MacColl, D. S.

B.

Balfour, Rt Hon. A. J., M.P., his policy of retaliation, 445 *et seq.* *See* Retaliation. *Also* 626 *et seq.* *See* Political Situation. His views on a Russian warm-water port in the Pacific, 593.

Baylen and Corunna. *See* Peninsular War.

Becquerel, Henri, his observations on the property of radio-activity, 101.

Belgium, result of the new socialism in, 13, 29.

Betting, evils of, 147.

Biles, Professor, on subsidised vessels, 343.

Binyon, Laurence, 'The Art of the Nineteenth Century,' 80.

Birchenough, Mr Henry, his report on the Transvaal mining industry, 617.

Bland, Humphrey, his 'Treatise of Military Discipline,' 40.

Blomfield, Reginald, 'The Art of the French Renaissance,' 355.

Bon, Gustave Le, 'Psychologie du Socialisme,' 31.

Bonnefon, 'Montaigne, l'homme et l'œuvre,' 154.

Booth, Charles, 'Life and Labour of the People in London,' 17.

Bosanquet, Helen, 'The Strength of the People,' 19.

Bowley, Mr A. L., excellence of his analysis of statistics, 452.

British Mercantile Marine, The, 323—Cromwell's measures against the Dutch, 324—comparisons between English and American shipping, 324, 333—Marine Department of the Board of Trade established 325—the navigation laws, 326—opinion of Adam Smith, 327—of Ricardo and Huskisson, *ib.*—views of the shipowners, 328—treaties of reciprocity, *ib.*—retaliation by the United States, 329—amendment of the shipping laws, 330—the Philippine islands, *ib.*—foreign sailors in British ships, 331—Board of Trade inquiry, 332—our naval reserve, 333—German and American shipbuilding, 334—the shipping trade of Canada, 335—the question of subsidies, 336—statistics of British and foreign shipping, 336–338, 341—foreign reservations, 338—England's one reservation, 339—the American Ship Subsidy Bill, 340—a plea for universal reciprocity, 341—report of the committee on subsidies, 342, 345—table of costs and subsidies, 343—Professor Biles on the speed of subsidised steamers, *ib.*—disadvantages borne by British vessels, 344—table of tonnage, 346—Russian bounties, 346—French, Austrian, Italian, and Japanese systems of subsidising, 347—tables showing the decline of British shipping, 347–349—what is a 'British ship'? 349—evasion of the navigation laws, 350—composite ownership, 351—Atlantic competition, 352—the Government and the Cunard Company, 353, 354.

Brooks, John Graham, 'The Social Unrest,' 10.

Bullant, Jean, his services to French architecture, 372—death of, 380.

C.

Caird, 'Christianity and the Historical Christ,' 287, *note*.

Canterbury, the Archbishop of, on the Chinese labour question, 612, 622.

Cassini Convention, the, 593.

Cecil, Lord Robert, 299. *See* Salisbury.

Central Asia, Marco Polo and his followers in, 553—geographical circumstances, *ib.*—and history, 554—nomad tribes, 556—effects of Alexander's invasion, *ib.*—Buddhism and Mohammedanism, 557—Tibet, 558—mediæval Asia, 559

Digitized by Google

—Marco Polo, 560 *et seq.*—Timur, 562 — Afghanistan, 563, 572 — modern developments in Central Asia, 563—Lhasa no longer unrevealed, 564—Manning's visit, 565—Chinese authority in Tibet, 566—relations with Russia, 567—Mongolia, 568—slackening of Russian influence, 569—Russo-Tibetan intercourse, 570—the British expedition, *ib.*—Russia as an Asiatic Power, 571—Persia, 572—England and Afghanistan, *ib.*—Habibullah 574—Russian influence in Afghanistan, *ib.*—the danger of a 'holy war,' 575.

Chamberlain, Rt Hon. J., M.P., his article on 'The Liberal Party and its Leaders,' 314—his protectionist policy, 451. *See* Retaliation. *Also* 624 *et seq.* *See* Political Situation.

'Chemical valency,' meaning of the term, 117, *note.*

Chinese Labour for South Africa, 611 — confusion of the point at issue, *ib.*—indirect dangers of the clamour, 612—the position in South Africa, 613—causes of the present distress, 614—increase of production needed, 615—character of the Transvaal mines, 616 — and the mining industry, 618 — facts of South African trade, 619—Kaffir labour, 620—the employment of whites, 620—employment of Chinese probably temporary, 621—the question of slavery, *ib.*—a business necessity, 622.

Chirol, Mr Valentine, 'The Middle-Eastern Question' reviewed, 568 *et seq.*

Cockle, M. J. D., 'Bibliography of Military Books,' 34.

Cordier, M. Henri, his edition of 'Marco Polo' reviewed, 560 *et seq.*

Corunna. *See* Peninsular War.

Cotton, Charles, 'The Essays of Montaigne,' 154.

Cramp, Mr C. H., on the Ship Subsidy Bill, 340.

Cranborne, Lord, 308. *See* Salisbury.

Creevey, Mr, and his Contemporaries, 216—sketch of his life, 216–219 — incidents, 219 — ministerial crisis on the death of Perceval, *ib.*—at Brussels, 220—on the trial of the Queen, 221–227—his indignation with Lord Brougham, 226—wrath with the Whigs, 227—on Canning's succession to the Foreign Office, 228—the crisis of 1827; 229–233 — on the Roman Catholic Relief Bill of 1829; 233, 235–237 — on Lord Brougham's motive in getting Lord Grey out of office, 238—popularity in society, 240.

Cricket, the modern method of playing, 132–137.

Cunningham, Dr W., 'The Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times' reviewed, 456 *et seq.*

Curie, M. and Mme, their discovery of radium, 108.

D.

Daudet, Ernest, 'Une Vie d'Ambassadrice,' 230.

D'Annunzio, Gabriele, 383 — his insight of the æsthetic consciousness, 385—and extraordinary earnestness, *ib.*—birth, 386—his small group of works, *ib.*—as dramatist, 387 *et seq.*—'Il Piacere,' 389–393, 413 — 'L'Innocente,' 394–399 — 'Il Trionfo della Morte' and 'Il Fuoco,' 399 *et seq.*—comparison with Zola, 405—'The Virgins of the Rocks,' 405–410, 417—an element of vulgarity, 411—the sexual relation in his works, 412–416—his treatment of 'love,' 417—where his 'æsthetic plenitude' and vulgarity meet, 418—uncertain result of the investigation, 419.

Decimal Associations, 65.

De l'Orme, Philibert, his work at Fontainebleau, 366, 369—influence on building in France, 372—death of, 380.

Dimier, M., his essay on Primaticcio, 359, 363, 365–371.

Disraeli, Mr, criticism of his policy, 303.

Du Cerceau, Jacques Androuet, the engraver, 380.

Digitized by Google

E.

Egerton, Mr H. E., on the advantages of free trade to the colonies, 464.

Electricity and Matter, 100. *See* Matter.

F.

Fencing, the sport of, 151.

Firth, C. H., 'Cromwell's Army,' 34

Flint, Professor Robert, his treatise on modern agnosticism, 172.

Football, the modern method of playing, 137–142.

Forbes, Mr James D., as a writer on the Alps, 469.

Fortescue, Hon. J. W., 'A History of the British Army,' 32, 35 *et seq.* —his estimate of Marlborough, 44 —of Pitt, 48.

France, result of the new socialism in, 12, 31—adoption of the metric system, 62—the centre of art, 95. *See also* Loisy.

Francis I and the French Renaissance, 363–364—probably his own architect, 371.

G.

George, Mr, his scheme for nationalisation of the land, 20.

Germany, adoption of the metric system, 64.

Gladstone, Rt Hon. W. E., tribute to his genius, 302—downfall, 305—the American coasting trade, 329.

Goujon, Jean, 373–380—portrait of Diane de Poitiers, 373—probable retirement to Bologna, 374—death, 380.

Grey, Sir Edward, M.P., formally announces that the Rosebery Government held Russia bound not to occupy Korean territory, 591.

Groos, Professor, and the 'play' theory of æsthetics, 424—on 'Inner Mimicry,' 436.

Grote on the composition of the 'Iliad,' 247, 248.

H.

Hall, Mr, 'The Oldest Civilisation of Greece,' 266.

Hammond, J. L. Le B., 'Charles James Fox,' 218.

Hardy, Thomas, The Novels of, 499—excellence in construction as well as in style, 500—reveals the romance of country life, 501—Mr Hardy's heroes, 503—his characterisation of women, 505—fatalism of his rural folk, 506—Wessex, 507—'The Return of the Native,' 508–510—'Under the Greenwood Tree,' 511—'The Woodlanders,' 512–514—his educated women, 514—the peasantry and the Education Act, 515—'Tess of the D'Urbervilles,' 516–520—compared with 'Adam Bede,' 516—its deficiencies, 518—powers of description, 519—'The Well-beloved,' 520—'Jude the Obscure,' 520–522—where Mr Hardy stands, 522—his philosophic creed, 523.

Hardy, W. B., his experiments on radium, 117.

Harnack, Professor, 'Wesen des Christentums,' 285, 292, *note*.

'Heart of the Empire, The,' 17.

Hedin, Dr Sven, discoveries in Central Asia, 557, 562, 564.

Hicks Beach, Sir Michael, his attitude on the retaliation question, 634.

Hirsch, Max, 'Democracy *versus* Socialism,' 15.

Homeric Question, Latest Lights on, 245—Wolf's theory of the 'Iliad,' 246—Grote's view, 247—the 'Iliad' an expanded 'Achilleis,' 249, 256—Dr Leaf's theory, 249–252—the 'Odyssey,' 253—recognition of its unity, *ib.*—the 'Telemachy,' 254—interpolations, 255—Pisistratus legend, *ib.*—conditions when first told, 258—when committed to writing, 259—creation of an age of decadence, 260—discoveries of Schliemann, *ib.*—the Achæans or Mycenæans, 261—dialect, 262—Æolian element, *ib.*—theory of a European origin, 263—geographical argument, *ib.*—the legends, 264—Homer 'the father of the rest,' 265.

Digitized by Google

Hooker, E. R., on the influence of Montaigne's Essays on Shakespeare, 169.

Horse-racing, style of modern, 142–147.

Houtin, Abbé, 'La Question Biblique,' 270.

Huskisson, Mr, and the Navigation Act, 327—his reciprocity policy, 462, 463.

I.

'Iliad, The,' 245. *See* Homeric Question.

Industrial Combinations in the United States, 183. *See* United States.

J.

James, Henry, 'Gabriele D'Annunzio,' 383.

Japan. *See* 'Russia and Japan,' 576.

Jenks, J. W., 'The Trust Problem,' 211.

Jowett, Professor, 'Dialogues of Plato,' 288.

K.

Kaufmann, Rev. M., 'Que sçais-je?' 153.

Kebbel, T. E., 'Mr Creevey and his Contemporaries,' 216.

L.

Leaf, Dr Walter, 'The Iliad,' 245.

Lee, Vernon, 'Recent Æsthetics,' 420.

'Lennox, Life and Letters of Lady Sarah,' extract from, 42.

Lewis, Sir G. Cornewall, 'Administrations of Great Britain,' 220, *note*.

Lipps, Theodor, his 'Spatial Æsthetics' quoted, 433.

Lister, Mr Reginald, his book on Jean Goujon criticised, 373–380.

Lloyd, Colonel E. M., 'The History of the British Army,' 32.

Loisy, The Abbé, and Liberal Catholicism, 268—the new theology, 269—Abbé Houtin's 'La Question Biblique,' 270—confusion of history with dogma, 271—Renan's view of Liberal Catholicism, 272—reign of terror, 273—publication of the encyclical 'Providentissimus Deus,' 274—submission of the Liberals, 276—authority the distinctive mark of Rome, 277—claim to infallibility, 279—Abbé Loisy's theory of religion, 279, 285—Harnack's philosophy of religious history, 280—the 'essence' of Christianity, 281–283—impersonality, 283—'Autour d'un Petit Livre,' 283, 294—'L'Évangile et l'Église,' 285—Jowett's criticism of Hegelianism, 288—condemnation of Abbé Loisy's works, 289—Mr Ward's 'Problems and Persons,' 290—union of the divine and human in Christ, 292—primitive Christianity, 293.

Lotze, his 'Mikrokosmos' quoted, 432.

Lowndes, M. E., 'Michel de Montaigne,' 154.

M.

MacColl, D. S., 'Nineteenth Century Art,' 80—his style of writing, 81–83—chapter on 'Vision,' 83—Impressionism, 84—on Monet, 84, 86—the phrase 'innocence of the eye,' 85—'The Imagination of the Century,' 87—the terms 'classic' and 'romantic,' *ib.*—his meaning of the terms Olympian, Titan and Mystic, 88–91—on French artists, 95–97—English, 97–99. *See also* Art.

McCulloch, Mr, on restriction of foreign shipping, 339.

McLean, Professor S. J., 'Pools, Trusts, and Industrial Combinations in the United States,' 183.

Mallock, W. H., 'Social Equality,' 26—'Aristocracy and Evolution,' 27

Marco Polo and his Followers in Central Asia, 553. *See* Central Asia.

Marx, Karl, his treatise on capital, 2.

Matter and Electricity, 100—works on, 100–103—air a non-conductor,

Digitized by Google

103—electrified particles or 'ions,' 104—the source of Röntgen rays, *ib.*—hydrogen, 105—ultra-atomic particles or corpuscles, *ib.*—absorption of cathode rays, 106—the 'electron' theory of matter, 107—Becquerel's discovery of the active properties of uranium, 108—radium obtained from pitch-blende, 109—cost of its extraction, *ib.*—sensitiveness of the property of radio-activity, *ib.*—electroscopic method, 110—detection of three types of radiation, 110–112—Professor Rutherford's discovery of emanations, 112—his series of experiments, 114—traces of radio-activity widely disseminated, 115—the use of radium in the treatment of diseases, 116—influence of charged ions on colloidal solutions, 117—products of uranium X and thorium X, 118—rate at which radio-active power is gained or lost, 119–121—restatement of results, 121—helium, 122—the energy available for radiation in radium, 124—delicacy of measurements 125.

Maurice, Sir J. F., 'The Diary of Sir John Moore' reviewed, 534

Maxwell, Rt Hon. Sir H., 'The Creevey Papers,' 234.

Mercantile Marine, The British, 323. *See* British.

Metric System of Weights and Measures, 57—derivation of the units of measure, 58—establishment by natural selection or statutory enactment, 60—search for a universal standard, *ib.*—Watt's proposal for a decimal system, 61—adoption of the metric system in France, 62—in Germany, 64—proposals for its adoption in England, 65—resolution of the colonial premiers, *ib.*—disadvantages of the existing system for trade, 66—consular reports, 68—cost of the transition, 70, 76—test of population, 71—import and export trade of the United Kingdom, 72—effect on inter-imperial trade, 73—foreign competition, 74—comparative merits of the metric and imperial systems, 77—abolition of the 'tables,' 79.

Monro, D. B., 'Homer's Odyssey,' 245.

Montaigne, his Essays, 153—popularity of his works, 154, 169—translation of his 'Journal,' 154—impressions of his travels, 155—characteristics, 156, 161—inventor of the 'essay,' 157—the father of modern agnosticism, 158, 179—self-revelations, *ib.*—imperturbability, 159—pagan views, 160—pursuit of truth, 161—easy-going indifference, 162—his distrust of human judgments, 163—view of nature, 164—love of truth, 165, 169—of stoicism, 166—keen sagacity, 167—filial piety, *ib.*—domestic and public life, 167, 180—influence on Shakespeare, 169—on other writers, 170–172—his opinion on the controversy between the agnostic scientist and his opponent, 174–176—his ethical system viewed from the modern standpoint, 177—estimate of his influence on modern thought, 179.

Moore, Mr Bramley, his views on the future of British trade, 452.

Moore, Sir John, his diary reviewed, 534 *et seq.*

N.

Navigation laws, the, 326 *et seq.*—their relaxation, 462.

New Zealand, result of the new socialism in, 12, 30.

Nineteenth Century, The Art of the, 80. *See* Art.

O.

'Odyssey, The,' 245, 253. *See* Homeric Question.

Oman, Mr C., 'A History of the Peninsular War' reviewed, 525 *et seq.*

P.

Palustre, M. Léon, his work on the French Renaissance, 359.

Peninsular War, The: Baylen and Corunna, 524—much new information on the war, *ib.*—pre-

Digitized by Google

judices of Napier, 525—Godoy, 526—unpreparedness of the French armies, *ib.*—their extortion, 527—the Bourbons depart, *ib.*—the 'Dos de Mayo,' 528—attempt to seize the Spanish fleet, 529—rising of the Andalusians, 530—Dupont capitulates, 532—spread of the insurrection, 533—Sir John Moore, 534—final interview with Castlereagh, 536—deficiencies in the English army, 537, 538—Convention of Cintra, 539—services of the Spaniards, 540—Napoleon's contempt for their military capacity, 541—Moore in chief command, *ib.*—an error of judgment, 542–544—concentration at Salamanca, 545—influence of Napoleon, 546—Moore's tactics, 547—Napoleon foiled, 549—returns to France, 550—death of Moore, 551—success of his strategy, *ib.*

Phipson, C. B., 'The Science of Civilisation,' 15.

Political Situation, The, 623—the state of things in May 1903, *ib.*—Mr Chamberlain's return from Africa, 624—the first Birmingham speech, *ib.*—Mr Balfour's opportunism, 626—Tariff Reform and Free Food Leagues formed, 627—Mr Balfour's fear of a Chamberlainite secession, 627—resignation of Mr Chamberlain, Lord George Hamilton, and Mr Ritchie, 629—the Sheffield speech, 631—resignation of the Duke of Devonshire, *ib.*—Mr Chamberlain's agitation, 632—effects on the Unionist party, 634—Sir Michael Hicks Beach's attitude, *ib.*—and Mr Long's, 635—failure of Mr Chamberlain's mission, *ib.*—debate on Mr Morley's amendment, 636—Mr Wharton's amendment and its withdrawal, 637—splits among the Unionists, 639—the Opposition inspirited, 639—possibility of a dissolution, 640—the Irish party, *ib.*—the Unionist free traders, 641.

Polo, the game of, 147.

Pools, Trusts, and Industrial Combinations in the United States, 183. *See* United States.

Primaticcio, 365—work at Fontainebleau, 366—probable retirement to Bologna, 374.

Q.

'Quarterly Review, The,' and Lord Salisbury, 296. *See* Salisbury.

'Que sçais-je?' 153. *See* Montaigne.

R.

Radio-activity, the study of, 100. *See* Matter.

Radium, discovery of, 109—cost of its extraction, *ib.*

Recent Æsthetics, 420. *See* Æsthetics.

Recruiting, Report of the Inspector-General for, on the deterioration of the physique of the working classes, 130.

Retaliation and Scientific Taxation, 444—position of the Prime Minister, 445—expansion of his Sheffield 'lead,' 446—an aggressive policy, 447—retaliation involves a tariff war, 448—effects of the tariff war between Italy and France, 449—and between Germany and Russia, 450—Mr Chamberlain's policy, 451—inquiries and comments on the condition of British trade, 452 *et seq.*—pre-Victorian decline in exports, 454—Mr Cobden's testimony, 455—protection and free trade in the Middle Ages, 456—growth of English shipping, 457—fiscal measures in Cromwell's time, 458—establishment of a permanent Committee of Trade, 459—Walpole's policy, 460—opposition of London merchants, *ib.*—new conditions of production, 461—the Navigation Laws and the Reciprocity Act, 462—repeal of the Corn Laws, 463—success of free trade, *ib.*—free trade and the colonies, 464–467—Canada and preference, 465—Mr Chamberlain's present proposals the outcome of past failure, 466—independent position of the colonies, 467.

Ricardo, J. L., on the Navigation Act, 327.

Röntgen rays, the source of, 104.

Digitized by Google

Rosebery, Earl of, declines to join coalition against Japan, 591.

Rowing, the sport of, 150.

Russia and Japan, 576—the expansive energy of Russia, 577—also of Japan, *ib.*—causes of Russian expansion, 578—timorous Russian policy, 579—indirect effects of the Crimean War, *ib.*—pledge not to occupy Korean territory, 580—early Japanese apprehensions, 581—Russianising of the Amur, 582—the new Japan, *ib.*—Japanese suspicion of Russia, 583—preparations for the conquest of Korea, *ib.*—Russia secures possession of Sakhalien, 584—Korean outrage on Japan, *ib.*—the Chinese suzerainty, 585–587—Japanese attacked in Seoul, 586—rebellion in Korea, 588—treaty of Shimonoseki, *ib.*—stages of the development of the present crisis, 589—Japanese demand for Liao-tung, 590—attitude of Great Britain, 591—German occupation of Kiao-chou, 592—mismanagement in Downing Street, *ib.*—the Cassini Convention, 593—annexation of Port Arthur and Talienwan, 594—the Boxer outbreak, 595—Russian breach of faith, 596—the Anglo-Japanese alliance, 598–602—Russian desire to acquire Masampho, 600—partial evacuation of Manchuria, 603—Russian mistakes, 604—conciliatory efforts of Japan, 605—proposed scheme of settlement, *ib.*—counter proposals by Russia, 607—negotiations, 608–610—outbreak of the war, 610.

Rutherford, E., 'Radioactivity and Radioactive Change,' 101.

S.

Salisbury, Lord, and 'The Quarterly Review,' 296—his contributions to literature, 297—number of articles, 298, 317—'The Church in her Relations to Political Parties,' 298—'The Elections,' 298, 307—'Photography,' 299—'The Budget and the Reform Bill,' 299, 301—his paper on 'Theories of Parliamentary Reform,' *ib.*—political views, 300—tribute to the genius of Mr Gladstone, 302—on Mr Disraeli's policy, 303, 314—'The Conservative Reaction,' 305—on the fall of Mr Gladstone, *ib.*—'The Coming Session,' 308—'The Conservative Surrender,' 311–314—'Disintegration,' 316—his articles on America, 318—on France, 319—'Poland,' 'The Danish Duchies,' and 'The Terms of Peace,' 320—admiration for Pitt and Castlereagh, 321—his patriotism, *ib.*

Sandonini, M., his discovery about Goujon, 373 *et seq.*

Sarat Chandra Das, his visit to Tibet, 565.

St Augustine, 'De Vera Religione,' 295, *note.*

Schliemann, his discoveries, 260.

Schuster, Mr Felix, on the excess of imports over exports, 463.

Smith, Adam, his opinion of the Navigation Act, 327

Smith, Mr J. B., statistics of a decline in exports, 454.

Snyder, Carl, 'New Conceptions in Science,' 102.

Socialism, The New, 1—Karl Marx's treatise on capital, 2–4—failure of his prophecies of the future, 5—exchange value of commodities, *ib.*—industrial effort, 6, 11—invention, 7—complication of the productive process, 8—works on, 9, 15, 17, 26, 28, 31—Mr Webb's 'Problems of Modern Industry,' *ib.*—Mr Brooks's 'The Social Unrest,' 10—examples of the practical application, 12–14—socialisation of the soil, 15—various classes of reformers, 16—conclusions of Mr Charles Booth, 17—'The Heart of the Empire,' 18—Mrs Bosanquet's 'Strength of the People,' 19—Mr George's scheme for nationalisation of the land, 20—the socialistic theory, 20–22—equality of oppertunity, 23—evil of economic subjection, *ib.*—result of a socialistic State, 24—Mr Mallock's works, 26—equality of reward, 26–28—examples of false socialism, 28—experiments in Belgium, 29—New Zealand, 30.

Soddy, F., 'Radioactivity and Radioactive Change,' 114.

South Africa, Chinese Labour for. *See* Chinese.

Digitized by Google

Spencer, Herbert, and the 'play' theory of æsthetics, 423.

Sport, Modern, Some Tendencies of, 127—universal passion for sport, 128—support of the old traditions, 129—deterioration of the physique of the working classes, 130—strain of the first-class cricket season, 131—increase of professionalism, 132—the 'amateur,' *ib.*—remuneration, 133—alterations of the rules, 135–137—widening of the wicket, 135—the Football Association, 137—number of spectators at matches, 138—evil of over-elaboration in the rules, 139—admission of professionals, 140—the Rugby Union, *ib.*—methods of American players, 141—condition of horse-racing, 142–146—evil of betting, 147—the Jockey Club, *ib.*—game of polo, *ib.*—craze for sheer speed, 148—motor-car racing, *ib.*—yachting, 149—rowing, 150—fencing, 151—walking, *ib.*

Spring-Rice, Mr, on the effects of the German-Russian tariff war, 450, 451.

Steel Corporation, 190—capital, 193, 196—finances, *ib.*—dividends paid, 200—depression in its securities, *ib.*—inflated capitalisation, 203—export trade, 214.

Stein, Dr, M. A., his discoveries in Turkestan, 555, 562.

Stephen, Sir Leslie, 'An Agnostic's Apology,' 163, 177, 181—his essays on 'Social Rights and Duties,' 168, 177.

Stephen, Leslie, and his Works, 468—parentage and education, *ib.*—mountaineering, 469—theological views, 470—works on the 'Saturday Review,' *ib.*—political views, 471—'Essays on Reform,' *ib.*—edits the 'Cornhill Magazine' and the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' 472—marriages, *ib.*—intellectual qualities, 472–474—personal characteristics, 474—'Science of Ethics,' 475–477—'History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century,' 477—view of Butler, 478—of Gibbon, 479—of Hume, *ib.*—religious views, 481—as biographer, 482—his lighter vein, *ib.*—'Hours in a Library,' 484–486—opinion of Wordsworth, 486—of Sterne, 487—lecture on Coleridge, *ib.*—'Studies of a Biographer,' 490—essay on Tennyson, 491—on Froude, 492—'Shakespeare as a Man,' 493—literary methods, 494—his position as a critic, 496—affinity with Lowell, 498.

Strong, Mr S. A., on Jean Goujon, 374—on Henry II of France, 375

Swinburne, Mr, his essay on Chapman, 87, *note*.

Symons, Mr Arthur, his translations of 'La Gioconda' and 'Francesca,' 388.

T.

Thomson, J. J., 'Conduction of Electricity through Gases,' 101.

Trenchard, John, 'Short History of Standing Armies,' 39 (*note*), 43.

U.

United States, Pools, Trusts, and Industrial Combinations in the, 183—'pooling' agreements, 184–186—'trust' organisation, 186—the 'holding company,' 188—enumeration of integrated industries, 189—capitalisation of industrial combinations and methods of financing, *ib.*—Steel Corporation, 190, 193, 196, 200–204, 214—stability of the system, 191—economies of consolidation, *ib.*—the term 'good-will,' *ib.*—total stock issue to be determined by amount paid, 192—capital of the Steel Corporation, 193—preferred and common stock, 193, 194—formation of the Shipbuilding Company, 194—underwriting syndicates, 195—failures of combinations, 196—table of stock quotations, 198—of dividends paid, 199—economies effected by industrial combinations, 204, 214—power to fix and raise prices, 205–208—potential competition, 207—regulations, 209—tariff revision, 211—enforcement of the anti-trust law, 212.

W.

Ward, Robert, his 'Animadversions of War,' 37.

Ward, Wilfrid, 'Problems and Persons,' 290, 291.

Digitized by Google

Waters, W. G., his translation of the 'Journal of Montaigne's Travels,' 154.

Watt, James, his proposal for a decimal system of weights and measures, 61.

Webb, Sidney and Beatrice, 'Problems of Modern Industry,' 9—'History of Trade Unionism,' *ib.*

Weights and Measures, The Metric System of, 57. *See* Metric.

Weights and Measures Act of 1897; 65.

Whetham, W. C. D., 'Matter and Electricity,' 100.

Willoughby, Professor, 'Social Justice,' 28.

Wright, Edward, 'The Novels of Thomas Hardy,' 499.

Y.

Yule, Col. Sir Henry, appreciation of his 'Marco Polo,' 559.

END OF THE HUNDRED AND NINETY-NINTH VOLUME.

LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED, DUKE STREET, STAMFORD STREET, S.E., AND GREAT WINDMILL STREET, W.

Digitized by Google

THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW

RENEWED BOOKS ARE SUBJECT TO IMMEDIATE RECALL

DEC 6 1967

LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, DAVIS

Book Slip–20m-8,'61 (C1623s4) 458

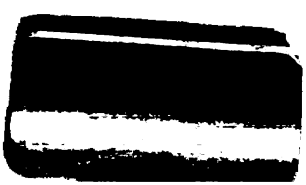
Digitized by Google

240338
Quarterly review.

Call Number:
AP4
Q2
v.199

Quarterly
AP4
Q2
v.199

240338



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google